

HISTORY
OF
THE FOUNDATION AND THE RISE
OF THE
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE
1517-1550

BY

HENRY DE VOCHT

DR. PH. & LITT., DR. PHIL. TARTUENSIS AD HON.
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

PART THE FOURTH :
STRENGTHENED MATURITY

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Relating to his pupil James SANCTARAGUNDUS the story of
his quest for literary instruction, Cornelius MUSIUS,
of Delft, Poet and Martyr ¹⁾, describes in his *De*
Temporum Fugacitate, how, in the course
of his wanderings, *Lovanium petitur* ²⁾;
he then breaks into the praise of
the University :

Nobile LOVANIVM, turritis mœnibus, atque
Artibus omnigenis :
Non tamen ergo aliquâ frugem messêque reporto,
Desidiosus enim
Nescio quas nugas & friuola segnis amabam :
Ingenium ut taceam
Quam fuit exiguû, quodque omnia tempore in illo,
Barbarieque mera,
Et plusquam Gothicis fuerant plenissima monstris ;
Plenaque hodie forent,
Si non præsidium studiorum magnus ERASMUS,
Talia monstra stilo
Confecisset, & insigni procul urbe fugasset :
Et nisi BVSLIDIVS
Ille, SCHOLAM proprio qui condidit ære TRILINGUEM,
Perpetuaque stipe
Dotavit, Musas omnes Charitesque benignus,
Præsides cum Clario,
Mercuriumque una, ueluti ad sua templa vocasset...

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 196-202, 515, III, 118, 402, *sq.*

²⁾ *Cornelii Musii Delphi Imago Patientiæ* : Poitiers, 1536 : p E 2, v.

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PREFACE

The lines which, more than four centuries ago, the venerable Cornelius Musius wrote in adequate recognition of the great benefit bestowed on him by the University of Louvain, seem as the fittest device for the dedicating of this fourth volume, like the three preceding ones, to my dear ALMA MATER, in deep gratitude for the formation I was as fortunate as to receive from Her.

Exactly fifty years ago, when I submitted my first attempt at a scientific paper to my Professor, the great Anglist and Orientalist W. BANG KAUP, he checked my enthusiastic defence of my conviction by his golden principle: 'Never express any judgment, were it only three words, unless you have the proof of its truth in your hand, black on white'. He had not to repeat it on any occasion, for I have tried ever since to make it the foundation of my intellectual work, and I was most fortunate to find in my well-beloved Master a magnificent example: far from the glitter of academies and the applause of congresses, he devoted his whole existence to constant and thorough researches in his homely study, producing works which will outlast centuries.

Professor Bang proposed to me as subject for my doctoral thesis a study on the influence of Erasmus on the English Dramatists of the Elizabethan period. It explains the series of my contributions to his collection, the '*Materialien zur Kunde des Aelteren Englischen Dramas*'¹), as well as my interest in the great Son of Rotterdam and his contemporaries. As I had undertaken the editing of a bundle of original xvth century letters, addressed to councillor Francis de Cranevelt, a friend of Erasmus, of More and of Vives, I looked everywhere for authentic documents to illustrate that correspondence, according to my Master's principle. I made the utmost of the rich store of xvth century books of which the Louvain Library was remarkably well provided²), in so far that, for my work, its destruction, in August 1914,

¹) Louvain, 1902-1914: I published volume XLI (1913), besides assisting Prof. Bang in the editorial work for volumes XXVI to XLIV. In 1927, I continued the series under the name of *Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama*, of which I am taking care as editor; I issued in it vols. I (1927), IV, IX, XI, XIII, XIV, XVIII, XX, XXI and XXII (1950).

²) For years, Louvain University Library had been lodged miserably for want of space; only in the spring of 1914, it could extend itself in the rooms used up to then for lectures: in some of these, lots of valuable books and papers were discovered hidden behind the old wainscot: cp. further, pp 491, sq.

was a real calamity ¹⁾. It obliged me to spend the years of the first World-War near Brussels, where I could make use of the wealth of the Royal Library, and investigate the records of the Old University in the Archives of the Realm to prepare an edition of the newly discovered correspondence ²⁾.

Unfortunately the immense amount of documents about Louvain University in the latter office, was in a lamentable confusion : only the bound-up volumes were mentioned in a provisional catalogue, whereas the countless masses of loose deeds and charters were still in the disorderly condition in which they probably had reached the depository. In order to put them to use, I resolved to catalogue them ³⁾ : if they did not help me for Cranevelt as much as I had expected, they revealed themselves as the richest and most precious source of intelligence for the knowledge of the influence of Humanism on Louvain and on the Netherlands ; and yet, their existence had never been suspected ⁴⁾.

Those documents suggested the glorious plan of building up that still unused material into a history of, at least, the first three decads of the Institution, of which it was only known that, in the beginning, it had to contend with a bitter opposition ⁵⁾ : how or when it reached a calm and prosperous existence, has, up to now, been left to guess. A subsequent study of those records opened for me such a vast amount of information about the portentous events and their illustrious artisans ⁶⁾, that it seemed as a deep, which, apparently, had neither limit, nor bottom ; yet it showed to be in connection with other deeps : it prompted to further researches in the treasures of London and Oxford, of Cambridge and Manchester, of The Hague and Schlettstadt and Basle ⁷⁾. It realized the Psalmist's *Abyssus abyssum invocat* ⁸⁾ ; it brought me, amongst other finds ⁹⁾, to the reconstitution of Bishop Dantiscus' correspondence, dispersed in the records of Cracow, Frauenburg, Llow, Poznan and Uppsala ¹⁰⁾, to the tracing of the collection of

¹⁾ *Cran.*, ix : several unique copies of books and documents were destroyed there before they had told their messages.

²⁾ *Litterae Virorum Eruditorum ad Franciscum Craneveldium*, 1522-1528 : Louvain, 1928 : x, sq.

³⁾ *Inventaire des Archives de l'Université de Louvain, 1426-1797, aux Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles* : Louvain, 1927 : v, sq, xxviii, sq ; cp. *inf.*, p 228.

⁴⁾ Those who, like Paquot (cp. p xiv), Nève, and others, wrote at length on the history of the humanistic movement, had not even had an inkling of the existence of those most interesting documents.

⁵⁾ Cp. *NèveMém.*, 49-50 ; de Jongh, 145-46.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, ix, sq ; *FUL*, v, sq ; *Busl.*, vii-ix.

⁷⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, v, sq, ix-xl, II, vi, III, viii-ix.

⁸⁾ Psalm XLI, 8.

⁹⁾ Such as Busleyden's doctoral diploma, *Busl.*, 33-36, 125-29 ; *supra*, III, 344, 413-14, and further, pp 260-62, 455-72, 487-506.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *DantE* ; also *sup.*, III, ix-x, and further, p 508.

Stephen Vinandi Pighius' *Epistolæ* in Berlin, Breslau and Hamburg ¹⁾ and to the glorious discovery of Auwater's manuscripts in Cologne ²⁾.

Some of the documents I thus had gathered, were published in the *Monumenta* of 1934 ³⁾; they were followed by several studies in a different branch : I found and pointed out the evident superiority of Ben Jonson's *Quarto* editions of his dramas over the stately 1616-*Folio*, though considered as the 'Landmark of English Literary History' ⁴⁾. The second World-War, by rendering such comparative work as good as impossible for want of copies, or at least photo-copies ⁵⁾, made me start making ready for the press what, since twenty-five years, I had noted down about the History of the *Trilingue*. In 1950, I published the life and literary legacy of the Founder, Jerome de Busleyden ⁶⁾; it was meant as an Introduction to this *History*, of which the first pages were printed off in the beginning of November 1950. The considerable amount of work required for these four bulky volumes ⁷⁾ involved endless difficulties for which I expect the reader's benevolence : it is rare that a reviewer does not find fault with the language and style of a book of some extent, even if it is written in the author's native tongue : the use of a foreign language is necessarily a handicap. In my case, it was by far not the only one. Although worked by first class craftsmen, the material of the small old-time office that publishes the *History*, is so limited that the nine tenths of the sheets of these four volumes had to be printed off successively, hardly a fortnight after the first proofs reached me; and even those proofs were rarely without turns. At many periods I could avail myself only of the days when the press was not occupied with more remunerative labour. What with the correction, which, from the first to the last, was left to me; what with the checking of the large amount of references, with the inserting of numerous rectifications of wrong statements by time-honoured authorities; what with the continuous desire to spare time and money by avoiding breaking up parts already composed; what with other difficulties to solve, it is hardly possible to produce an unobjectionable text of such extent. Apologizing for all shortcomings, I thank my reviewers for pointing them out, and hope they will allow me a similar service.

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp 206-7.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, vi, III, x, and further, pp 454-72.

³⁾ *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia. Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists in the first half of the xvth century : Erasmus, Vives, Dorpius, Clenardus, Goes, Moringus : Louvain, 1934 : xxiv, sq.*

⁴⁾ *Poetaster (Materials, IX : Louvain), 1934 ; Sejanus (Mat., XI), 1935 ; Volpone (XIII), 1937 ; Every Man out of his Humour (XIV), 1937.*

⁵⁾ That question was treated again, later on, in two issues of 1950, *Cynthias Revels* and *The Alchemist (Materials, XXI and XXII)*.

⁶⁾ *Jerome de Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue. His Life and Writings : Turnhout, 1950.*

⁷⁾ They count, the first, xii-663 pages; the second, viii-695; the third, xii-670, the fourth, xvi-592.

Thus, in his critique, in the *English Historical Review*, of the three first volumes of this *History* ¹⁾, Mr. Denys Hay expresses the current, yet groundless, belief that '*Trilingual Schools*' abounded in that century ²⁾. I avail myself of the opportunity which he offers me by his verdict: 'The significance of Busleyden's foundation is, indeed, that it is not by any means unique', to give a most apodictical denial to it. I assume he does not take 'foundation' in the sense of just the 'establishing', but of the actual establishment itself. He mentions that 'northern Europe witnessed *Corpus Christi College* in Oxford and the *Collège de France*'. The latter may be at once dismissed, as it started only in 1610 ³⁾, for King Francis I realized very 'pauvrement' his rash promise of 1520 ⁴⁾. As to *Corpus Christi*, it was not a *Trilingue*, nor even a *School*, but only a foundation, securing to the limited number of inmates, the bilingual services of some able men, who might, if they liked, train them, or 'tutor' them ⁵⁾, or, what Stephen Leacock lately called, 'smoke at them'. There were never any crowds that thronged to hear the readers, but at times, in their hatred, they tried to discourage them, as they did John Clement ⁶⁾; and the lessons are hardly mentioned after 1530 ⁷⁾. On the contrary, the Louvain *Trilingue*, was unique in its prosperity: the lectures were free, and gathered so many hearers that the class-room, though it could contain three hundred — standing, as was the custom, — was enlarged so as to admit six hundred in 1524 ⁸⁾, and, even then, Goclenius had to double his lessons, as he mentions on May 10, 1528 ⁹⁾; it was widened once more in the summer of 1530 ¹⁰⁾. As thus, it was certainly *unique*.

¹⁾ April 1955, pp 281-82.

²⁾ Hay makes many mistakes in his review: for example, in what he mentions as the number of bursars on the foundation; as the reason of the choice of Louvain as University town; also, as to the influence of Luther on the early troubles of the *Trilingue*, January 1518 to March 1519; further as to the widened 'lecture-rooms', and other facts.

³⁾ Cp. for the 'Royal Professors' of Francis I, and his shifting in the execution of his promise to found a *college*, Lefranc, 59, sq, 101-67, spec. 107-13, 162; also *sup.*, II, 43, 360, sq, III, 84-90; and further, pp 102, 447.

⁴⁾ Roy, 37-38: the Royal professors and their few hearers were highly disliked: cp. *Dolet*, 58; & *sup.*, II, 249, 292, 362, III, 89-90; also *Port-Hum.*, 128-29, 138; *BudERép.*, 124-30, 158, 228; *Aléandre*, 99, sq.

⁵⁾ *ErAllen*, 145-56; P. S. Allen, *Early Corpus Readerships*: Oxford, 1905; id., *Early Life in Corpus*: Oxford, 1931; cp. *sup.*, II, 245, 291, sq, 356-60, III, 370, 427; *Dolet*, 58.

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 43, 291-92, 356-58, 404, and further, pp 423, sq.

⁷⁾ The danger of another Reuchlin quarrel (Mourret, 302-4; Renaudet, 610-55; *HerMaur.*, 67, sq; &c) lamed all humanistic propaganda.

⁸⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 123, 237, 249, 328.

⁹⁾ *Sup.*, II, 347, 606, 621, III, 104; Allen, VII, 1994A, 26-27.

¹⁰⁾ *Sup.*, III, v, 12-15; and further, p 443.

Nor was that affluence a passing fashion : it even interfered with the staff : in May 1528, Goclenius complained to Erasmus, not to have accepted the offers of brilliant situations, by Wolsey and others, declaring 'Collegium nos non alit, nec potest' ¹⁾. That deficiency, — which *EHR* tries to explain by the inflation of the mid-century in England ²⁾! — is fully accounted for by what follows in Goclenius' letter, mentioning that the excellence of the teaching and the growing renown of the *Trilingue* attracted so many visitors that the treat which, according to the custom of the time, was given to them by the congratulated professors in addition to the meals provided by the College ³⁾, absorbed all his earnings as well as his time : 'tanta', he complained, was the 'salutatorum turba' that even a rise in his salary could not help : 'quam <turbam>', he added, 'ob famam Collegii effugere non licet, nisi Collegio effugiamus' ⁴⁾. As such the *Trilingue* was also *unique*.

Nor were the lectures only attended by natives of the Netherlands who just wanted to avail themselves of a free hour to learn something useful : Nannius' '*De Rebus Inferorum*' mentions that there were groups, not only of Germans and Frenchmen, but even of Spaniards and Italians amongst his hearers ⁵⁾ : he duly describes them, and he would have jeopardized all the effect of his warning if such had not been the case ; for the audience, who can safely be admitted to be able to judge what was meant as truth, and what as a mere joke in that speech, would readily have concluded to the inanity of the admonition if those foreigners were either exceptional, or totally absent. Even in that respect — which, unfortunately, there are no documents to make unobjectionable, — the *Trilingue* was *unique*.

It was also *unique* in its teaching, which aimed at far more than at mere 'eloquence', as *EHR* seems to suggest. A similar despising of the *Trilingue* had been expressed by Roger Ascham, who missed the lecture of Nannius on October 6, 1550, and attended the Greek lesson, which was, unfortunately, not given by the ordinary professor, Adrian Amerot, but by Thierry de Langhe, a substitute, whom the audience, — which Ascham estimated at about eighty! — warmly applauded at the end ⁶⁾. Yet from those most unstable grounds, the flighty visitor considered himself entitled to conclude to the superiority of Cambridge ⁷⁾! Allen, more wisely, remarked that : 'for the actual working

¹⁾ Allen, VII, 1994A, 70-81, IX, 2456 ; *sup.*, II, 610, *sq* ; III, 88-89.

²⁾ It is considered as the result of the abolition of the abbeys and religious houses, — Sanderson, 411-18, 443-45 ; Gardiner, 394-401, 414-18 ; *GasqMon.*, II, *chs* VI-XIII, — which did not take place in this country.

³⁾ *Cp.* further, APP. VI, 217 : p 484 ; *sup.*, III, vi.

⁴⁾ Allen, VII, 1994A, 78-80.

⁵⁾ *Cp.* further, APP. VII, pp 502-3.

⁶⁾ *Cp.* further, pp 265, *sq*, 286-87 ; *ErAllen*, 161-62.

⁷⁾ 'If Louvain, as far as I could mark <from 11 a. m. to 2 p. m!>, were compared with Cambridge, Trilingue with St. John's or Trinity College, Theod. Laudius with Mr. Car, ours do far excel' : *ErAllen*, 162.

of the college the material available is all too scanty' ¹⁾). Since Allen wrote those lines, a large amount of material has become 'available', which, to mention only Latin, abundantly proves that more was taught in Louvain than mere 'eloquence'. Several old students of the *Trilingue* went to Italy, not just to admire the blue sky and the fine mountains, nor even to acquire rare coins and medals ²⁾, but to look out for the inscriptions, hardly noticed by the inhabitants, so as to copy them, and treasure them as monuments for their philologic studies. One of Goclenius' hearers, his mediate successor Cornelius Auwater ³⁾, left amongst his papers a quire, of which nine pages are filled to the very borders with inscriptions collected in *Gallia Cisalpina*, in Spain and in Italy : Naples, Rome, Verona, Padua. Some are accompanied by sketches of urns, and monuments, and provided with notes serving as description ⁴⁾. No doubt, he found those epigraphs whilst journeying there with one or other of his pupils. They have not yet been examined by experts, but they certainly testify to a recommendation impressed on all those present at the lectures of Latin in the *Trilingue* : for he was not the only one to work in that direction : Louvain sent beyond the Alps a continuous series of young men, who interested themselves in that matter : one was Martin de Smet ⁵⁾; another was Antony Morillon ⁶⁾, then followed John Visbroeck ⁷⁾; later on, the brothers Mark and Guy Laurin ⁸⁾, Stephen Pighius ⁹⁾, and many others. Two of them, Smet and Pighius, gathered famous collections; their work and their transcriptions still serve nowadays as the basis of Roman Epigraphy ¹⁰⁾. In that respect, too, the *Trilingue* for certain was *unique*.

From those results, it is evident that, as already frequently pointed out ¹¹⁾, the lectures in the *Trilingue* did not merely aim at 'eloquence', as the *EHR* supposes, but communicated a sound scientific knowledge, which anchored in judgment and mind, rather than in memory, as was

¹⁾ *ErAllen*, 160-61.

²⁾ Nearly all old students who had some fortune, put their glory in such collection : so did Antony de Granvelle, Maximilian Morillon, and many more : cp. *CollTorr.*, 75-78.

³⁾ *Cp. sup.*, III, 270-81.

⁴⁾ *Cp. sup.*, III, 317.

⁵⁾ *Cp. sup.*, III, 318-22.

⁶⁾ *Cp. sup.*, III, 305-12, 486.

⁷⁾ *Cp. sup.*, III, 314-16.

⁸⁾ *Cp. further*, pp 185-93.

⁹⁾ *Cp. further*, pp 197, 200-8.

¹⁰⁾) *Cp. further*, p 453.

¹¹⁾ The undeniable fact that the *Trilingue* taught and spread the scientific method of the immediate study of the object under consideration — which has never before been mentioned (cp. further, pp 447-53) — has been pointed out, asserted, and proved again and again in this *History* : cp. *sup.*, I, v-vii, II, v, III, v-viii, and further, pp 449-53. Yet, the review in *EHR* does not say one word of the message which this *History* brings ; the fact that, amongst those who, despisingly, are called there 'relatively great men', 'Joannes Secundus' is placed as the first, tells, at any rate, a strange and sad tale about the want of judgment and of knowledge on the subject.

done by the *Doctrinale*, the *Græcismus*, or any other mediæval treatise. The spirit of Busleyden Institute, in full opposition with those old manuals, wished to teach a language by the choicest works of its literature, explained by as much information about the culture, policy, conditions of life and thoughts, as well as about the aspirations of the group of the countrymen for whom they were composed. That new concept of study was as the result of the method which Erasmus wanted to be applied in the New School : that, namely, which holds that all knowledge should be based on the object of the study itself, or, when it could not be reached, on unquestionable attestations. That method was, to him and his friends, more essential than the communicating of languages. He had codified it for theology in his '*Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*', and, from the very first, it was applied by Campensis and Rescius, and, later on, by Balenus, but, before all, by Goclenius : it soon became the glory of the *Trilingue*, in so far that, by 1533, it was renowned and imitated as '*o método lovaniense*', as it was called in the Iberic Peninsula ¹⁾. As such too, the *Trilingue* was unique.

That method was not only reserved to languages : from the very beginning, the professors made it clear to their audience that the way used for Latin, is the only one that can lead to truth, in whatever other branch of intellectual activity. Thus was rung the knell of *Summæ* and *Specula* and *Aphorismi* of all sorts, and was put an end to the secular hegemony, as well of Isidore of Seville, of the *Magister Sententiarum*, and of Baldus and Bartholus, as of Hippocrates and Galenus, of Ptolemæus and Dioscorides. It was assured that theology could be only learned from the Bible and the Fathers ; Jurisprudence, from the laws and their authentic purport ; Pedagogy, from the knowledge of the powers of soul and senses and of their limitations ; and that sciences should be derived from the very objects they wanted to describe or investigate. That change was far more important than it looks : it revolutionized the whole system of University study, which, since centuries, consisted for a large, if not the larger, part in useless debating, in idle arguing as well about medicine as theology and jurisprudence. To those debates the young men were trained by dialectics and by constant practice according to the laws of *Barbara celarent*, *baroco* and *pheryson*, which even *The Ship of Fools* ridiculed as '*Foolish Learning*' ²⁾. Instead of that useless study, the *Trilingue* taught the new, the real, the only rational way of investigating the truth which still prevails.

That teaching, most fortunately, fell on good ground ; it grew and expanded beyond all expectation. Even in the first decads of its existence, the *Trilingue* produced foremen in all sciences, who, far from just 'patching up' what they had been taught in their special branches in the University, broke off from the Faculty that had given them their

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 372-73 ; CarvMurça, 6-7.

²⁾ H. de Vocht, *Érasme (Ann. Cercle Pédag.)*, Louvain, 1936 : 92-98 ; F. A. Pompen, *The Ship of Fools* : London, 1925 : 204-27.

title, and, on their own, boldly took the only way that leads to truth according to the modern scientific standard. So did William Lindanus in exegesis; Gabriel Mudæus, in his interpretation of jurisprudence; Francis Baudouin, in basing laws on history; Hubert Barlandus, in his disbelief in Arabic medicine, which, in each case, entailed difficulties with the University ¹⁾. As to Andrew Vesale, he became the butt of bitter jests of his Paris master of anatomy, and of his best disciples in Italy ²⁾. Fortunately for Louvain, the students formed by the *Trilingue* soon became professors in their turn, which was a great advantage compared with other universities: for there the new ways were accepted only after several decads, if not after several centuries. Meanwhile the *Trilingue* produced a most brilliant choice of innovators: Viglius, editor of juridical texts; Vives, the first modern pedagogist and apologist; Gemma Phrysius, the inventor of scientific apparatuses that are still in use, and of the basis of geography, which his fellow-student, Gerard Mercator, worked out; historians, like Lambert Hortensius, John Sleidanus and Nicolas Mameranus; antiquarians, like Antony Morillon, like the brothers Laurin, and Ogier de Busbeek; further a series of men who were the beginners of new scientific branches: the orientalist Andrew Masius; the liturgist George Cassander; the patristic authorities John de Coster and John Vlimmer; the epigraphists Martin de Smet and Stephen Pigge; the botanists Rembert Dodoens and Charles Clusius; as well as a large group of most glorious statesmen, of most renowned professors of no less than *twenty-seven Universities* ³⁾, besides meritorious teachers and officials. All of them were formed by the truly scientific method, which, in their turn, they applied themselves, thus heralding, and actually building up, the modern civilization and the present-day intellectual development ⁴⁾. Nor was the *Trilingue* exhausted after such a marvellous 'output': it was only as an announcement of what was coming ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 212, *sq.* 215, *sq.* (Mudæus), 519-22 (Barlandus), III, 521, *sq.* (Baudouin), and further, *pp.* 383-89 (Lindanus).

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 331-33, and further, *pp.* 452-53; also Heinrichs, 40.

³⁾ Altdorff (Giffen), Angers & Bourges (Baudouin), Avignon & Bologna (Papio), Copenhagen (Bording), Coimbra (Murtia), Cologne (Cellarius), Velsius, Isaac, S. Petri, Mannius), Cracow (Campensis), Dillingen (Ryt-hoven, Lindanus), Douai (Vendeville, Tack, Rævardus), Duisburg (Masius, Cassander), Erfurt (S. Petri), Franeker (Tiara), Heidelberg (Baudouin), Ingolstadt (Fabricius, Bosche, Gameraen, Giffen), Jena (Wesembeek), Leyden (Dodoens, Tiara, Foreest, Clusius), Lund (Arvidsen), Marburg (Neuzen, Cop), Padua (Vesale), Paris (Strazellius, Winter, B. Latomus, Baudouin), Rome (Campensis), Roskilde (Jepsen), Rostock (Bording), Turin (Suckett), Wittenberg (Adrianus, Wesembeek).

⁴⁾ The professors gave a suggestive example: Goclenius was an expert in astronomy, geography and history: cp. *sup.*, III, 569.

⁵⁾ Cp. a glimpse of the work achieved by the *Trilingue* after the period described in this *History*, as given further, *pp.* 444-47.

As such, without the least doubt, the Louvain *Trilingue* was unique. That uniqueness may even be safely said to extend beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees. Italy, indeed, absorbed in her art and artists, lost the lead gained in the *Quattrocento*, whereas the *Trilingue* rendered literary critical study more exact, and developed it into the perfection revealed by Lips for Tacitus ¹⁾. In the Iberic Peninsula, the teaching of Alcala was suffocated from 1530 by the jealous acrimony of philosophic discussions, whilst the Inquisition created an appalling unrest, which hardly spared a Francis de Borgia or a Luis de Granada ²⁾: it withered the activity of the School founded by 1554 in Salamanca on the example of that of Louvain ³⁾.

* * *

The completing of this *History* brings the welcome opportunity of expressing hearty gratitude to those who contributed to its realization. In the first place to the Dear Master who introduced me to scientific research by his grand example and his golden principle ⁴⁾, which is none other but what inspired and directed the immortal work of the *Trilingue*. Even after he left Louvain, Professor BANG continued to take a vivid interest in my researches, and always proved ready to help me, not only by his beneficent encouragement, but even by tracing up and procuring some rare texts connected with the College ⁵⁾. Unfortunately he did not live to see the execution of the grand project.

No more did my dear friend, Mrs. Florence TASKER, who died during the second World-War, when I had gone a good way in the redaction of this *History*; she had provided a most reliable basis to many a part of it by her most careful copies of documents, made before photographs could be obtained: she not only provided a replica of the Busleyden manuscript of poems, speeches and epistles ⁶⁾, she also copied a collection of Pighius' letters, as well as parts of the unedited *Historia Universitatis Lovaniensis*, by J. L. Bax ⁷⁾, all of which have been most useful during a long series of years. She, moreover, rendered an immense service in providing a large amount of information, as well as an ever ready means to check it, by composing indexes to a long set of works, ranging from Paquot's eighteen volumes of *Mémoires*, to Valerius Andreas' *Fasti*. To her most effective and minutely exact lists, this *History* owes, to a very large extent, its reliable and copious documentation.

¹⁾ Symonds, 540-46; *DébAgMod.*, 253-59, 275-80; *inf.*, p 453; *ErAge*, 264, sq. ²⁾ *PortHum.*, 255, 273-76.

³⁾ *EraSpain*, 260, 546, 622, 698, 777, 815; *PortHum.*, 214, sq, 255, 268-70; *DébAgMod.*, 250-67; H. Brémond, *L'Humanisme Dévot*: Paris, 1924: 11-17; *cp. sup.*, III, 80, 81; *inf.*, pp 434-36, 440-41.

⁴⁾ *Cp. before*, p v.

⁵⁾ *Cp. sup.*, I, xi, 533-43.

⁶⁾ *Cp. Busl.*, viii; *sup.*, I, xi-xii.

⁷⁾ *CartMan.*, 187; *BrsRL*, MS 22172, 3.

Amongst the large amount of information gathered, here and abroad, during more than forty laborious years ¹⁾, by far the richest and most important part is supplied by the documents that used to belong to the *Trilingue*, and are now preserved in the Brussels General Archives. They allow to check and correct all histories and comments, and, strange to say, they have been completely ignored for several centuries, even by that most penetrating of searchers, John Noel Paquot, though he was a professor of the College ²⁾. Thanks to them, it has been possible to resuscitate the events of the first decads of the glorious Institution, when it decided on and began its most beneficent career : for a wealth of reliable details are offered by the few yearly accounts preserved, and by three of the *manuale*'s, in which the Presidents noted their expenses and receipts ³⁾. More suggestive even are the three successive draughts of the Founder's Will about the College ⁴⁾, and, especially, the *Motivum Juris* against Rescius ⁵⁾, which, with the account of the execution of Busleyden's testament ⁶⁾, provides the irrecusable chronicle of the first years.

Those documents, though, would not have yielded their message on a first acquaintance, however thorough and penetrating ; indeed, they refer to an endless amount of details, which get only their significance from a suggestive familiarity with all the circumstances of the long-gone past ; they, consequently, would have remained a closed book if, by the great kindness of the 'Archiviste Général' Dr. Joseph CUVELIER, and of his successors, Dr. Camille TIRON, and Dr. J. LEFÈVRE, they had not been left at my disposal, so that I could constantly examine them, and compare them at any moment with other documents, or with the records of historians ⁷⁾. Thanks to the eminent generosity of a loan extending over several years, this work has been made possible. To that far-seeing and great-hearted benevolence of the 'Archivistes Généraux' this *History* is due.

* * *

The issuing of this work has been largely helped by the great generosity of the *Fondation Universitaire*. For a series of four years, they have supplied a most important subsidy, without which this

¹⁾ Cp. before, p vi, sq ; sup., I, v, sq.

²⁾ Cp. BN. — Paquot was professor of Hebrew from 1755 to 1772 : his historical and biographical sketches have been rifled by de Ram, Nève and Reusens : *ULAnn.*, *NèveMém.*, *NèveRen.*, *ULDoc*.

³⁾ *AccMeerb.*, *AccMarvI-III*, *AccHoevI-II*, *AccGoch.*, *AccEdel.*, *ManHoev.*, *ManBorchI-II*. ⁴⁾ *Test.* ⁵⁾ *MotJuris.* ⁶⁾ *Rek.*

⁷⁾ Cp. sup., I, ix, II, v-vi, III, ix ; it was almost as a kind of reward for having put into order the Archives of the Old University, at which I worked from 1916 to 1927 (FUL), that the Archiviste Général, Dr. Cuvelier, granted me the 'primeur' of documents I had found amongst the Fund when it still was in a lamentable disorder : they had never been mentioned before.

History would have had to stay amongst the pious, but ineffective, desires. In fact, these four volumes are ready and at the disposal of all scholars thanks to the generosity of the Members of that beneficent Institution, and especially to the great kindness of the President, Mr. Jean WILLEMS, and to the never failing intercession of the Secretary, Mr. Jean MASURE, always ready to assist and encourage a needy author in the working out of his design. Hearty, most hearty thanks are offered to them.

For the edition of this fourth volume, which was sure to suffer some delay through the increasing cost of labour, generous assistance has been kindly supplied by my most venerated colleague, Prof. Dr. Maurice APPELMANS : acquainted with the state of things, he lets me benefit by the aid offered to intellectual searchers at the University by the great Master of Therapeutics, Prof. Dr. Manille DE (March 3, 1866 † May 25, 1945) : in his admirable generosity, the genial inventor of the *Bios* left a bequest to help those who, in the measure of their power, imitate the splendid example he gave of staunch work and of illimited devotedness to science and to the Alma Mater. Deep gratitude is offered to his blessed memory, as well as to the dear Colleague, thanks to whose kindness a precious assistance is granted to this book intended for the honour and the renown of our University.

* * *

To my most revered Rector, his Excellence Mgr H. VAN WAEYENBERGH, Bishop of Gilba, I offer the expression of my deepest gratitude, not only for the genial encouragement, but especially for the generous aid he grants me in the realizing of my schemes. For the rejoicing fact that the task I had undertaken, is brought to a finish, I am, to a large extent, beholden to his kind protection and his benevolent intervention ¹⁾. I similarly thank him for having continued the permission granted to me by Mgr. Ladeuze, his great Predecessor, to make full use of part of the documents that had come unexpectedly to light in the spring of 1914 ²⁾; escaping destruction in the subsequent wars, they now bring their precious testimony to the glorious past.

To those thanks, I join the repeated expression of my indebtedness to the responsible librarians of the various funds where I was as fortunate as to find some highly appreciated accessions to my documentation about the *Trilingue* and about all its friends and well-wishers, like Dantiscus and Pighius ³⁾. I similarly repeat, in full gratitude, the hearty acknowledgment of the kindness of the friend who does not want to be known as the author of the fine drawings that adorn this volume as they do its predecessors ⁴⁾.

Last, not least, my learned colleague, Prof. Dr. R. AUBERT, is re-

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, xi.

²⁾ Cp. *infra*, p 491.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp vi, vii.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, viii.

quested to find here the expression of my great thanks for the help he extends to this fourth volume, whereas the original grant was only designed for three. I appreciate his continued assistance, not only as a precious aid which he affords by the protection of his world-renowned *Revue*, but also as an implicit and unconditional approval of the work I accomplished.

* * *

I express my most heart-felt gratitude to the willing assistant in my continuous labour, my secretary Miss Charlotte SCHAEPMAN : she has been patiently, and very efficiently, seconding me in my five years' toiling at the ultimate preparing of the text, and at the tiresome correcting of the proofs of this *History*. She was particularly helpful in the building up and the checking of the final lists, whereas all the time she was rendering a service as endless as invaluable, by indexing works of continual reference. Consequently a large part of the information contained in these volumes, and the accuracy of the references, is due to her unceasing attention and boundless devotedness.

Like for the preceding volumes, my very dear friend and colleague, Professor Canon René DRAGUET, although overburdened himself with his Oriental studies and editions, has been most generous with his highly appreciated aid. His sharp eye detected many a mistake, and spared many an inexactitude; whereas his prudent perspicacity actually helped and encouraged me in difficult chapters on ticklish subjects. Especially for this fourth volume, his assistance has been most beneficent : his provident thoughtfulness found and secured a welcome way to alleviate the cost ; his practical insight suggested the retrospective view of the whole work in the *Epilogue* and in one of the *Appendices* ; whereas, in the despondency caused by a rash reviewer, he advised me to insist on the *uniqueness* of the *Trilingue* that was called in question, which gave me the occasion to bring forward the various arguments developed in this very *Preface* for the greater glory of our *Alma Mater*.

Louvain, November 15, 1955.

HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION AND THE RISE
OF THE
COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE LOVANIENSE
1517-1550
PART THE FOURTH : STRENGTHENED MATURITY

CHAPTER XXI

PRESIDENCY OF
JAMES EDELHEER

1. THE NEW AUTHORITIES

A. THE EDELHEER FAMILY

The prosperity that meets a new institution is, without doubt, a characteristic proof of its being useful, either answering a need generally felt, or correcting a long suffered wrong. Though the practical advantage procured to the community may become a source of personal profit to the promoter, that advantage is not essential, and he should even prove far nobler and greater if he granted his benefit to the general welfare, notwithstanding his own trouble and discouraging loss. A nation derives far more distinction from her humble heroes than from her wealthy magnates, and the centuries of the Martyrs were more glorious to the Church than the days of opulent Mediaevalism. In that respect the *Trilingue* apodictically proved the greatness and excellence of her spirit, when, after the magnificent years of her development and her wonderful rise, thanks, in a very large part, to the excellence of Goclenius' work and influence, she withstood Rescius' insidious and most dangerous attack.

Indeed, he availed himself of the decease of the artisans and witnesses of the splendid past, to claim advantages which Busleyden, to be true, had proposed, but which his Executors could not grant, as the grafting of the new Institute into a decaying college, which had been the necessary condition of the founding, had been refused, and many advantages offered in the Will had inevitably to be curtailed. Since Rescius, temporarily invested with Goclenius' succession as administrator, proved hankering after his own profit against all right and reason from the very first days that he was entrusted with the management, the '*provisores*' lost no time, and took all powers out of his hands : they committed them at once to a man who, in his own family, had been educated to the ancestral virtues of truth and equity, and had been further strengthened in them by many years of conscientious practice of law and justice.

*
* *

The president appointed as proper successor to Conrad Goclenius belonged, in fact, to one of the chief patrician families of Louvain, Edelheer, or Edelheere ¹⁾. His ancestors had taken an active part in the management ²⁾, as well as in the defence of the town ³⁾. In the second half of the troublesome xivth century, Franco Edelheer had opposed Coutereel and van der Leyen, and was one of the patricians thrown out of the windows of the townhall to the exasperated crowd on December 16, 1378 ⁴⁾. Half a century later, William Edelheer and his wife, Adelaïde Cappuyns, started a foundation in St. Peter's in honour of the Holy Ghost, of Our Lady and of St. Jerome, and adapted a chapel to it ⁵⁾ : in 1443, its altar, dedicated to St. Albert, was adorned by one of the gems of the first school of Flemish painters, the picture of the Descent

¹⁾ Mol., 119, 708 ; DivRL, 65, 72, 88, *Pls* 5, 6, 9 ; *LouvTrib.*, 36, 109, 112 ; *LouvAssist.*, 183 ; *LouvArch.*, 4731, &c.

²⁾ Mol., 709 ; *LouvBoon*, 286 (1300-1340), 293 (1337-1381) ; DivRL, 72, 88 ; *LouvArch.*, 8504, 8517-18.

³⁾ DivRL, 88, 103, 118, 120 ; *LouvBoon*, 293, *Pls* 53, 54, 57.

⁴⁾ DivRL, 88 ; *LouvTrib.*, 39 ; *LouvEven*, 51, 44-52.

⁵⁾ Mol., 119, 708 ; William had died before October 17, 1439, and the foundation of a daily Mass was already in existence on June 24, 1442 ; *LouvEven*, 324.

from the Cross by Roger van der Weyden, still treasured in the venerable Brabant sanctuary ¹⁾. The fine painting is provided with two wings, which, on the outside, represent in grey, one, God the Father holding in his embrace the Son just detached from the Cross, and, the other, Our Lady fainting and sustained by St. John ²⁾. On the inside of the wings are represented, to the right of the onlooker, the donor kneeling, and, at his back, St. William, with staff and scallop-shell; also, beside him, his two sons, William, in an alb, and his younger brother James. The other wing shows, kneeling, William's wife and her two daughters, Adelaïde and Catherine, whereas, behind them, is the mother's Patron Saint, St. Adelaïde, carrying an empress's crown in her hand ³⁾. The foundation, which was first enjoyed by the son William, was enlarged by him in 1472-73 ⁴⁾, and was continued as long as there were descendants in Louvain ⁵⁾. James, the founder's son, left a daughter Machteld, and a son James, who had two sons, Jerome, who became town sec-

¹⁾ *LouvEven*, 324-26 : the founder's son William ordered the painting in 1443, and Roger van der Weyden made a smaller replica of the Descent from the Cross which he provided for the Chapel of Our Lady of the Outside, and which now is preserved in the Museum of Madrid : *LouvEven*, 325, sq ; *KunstLeuv.*, 25-26, *Pls* xi-xiii.

²⁾ *KunstLeuv.*, *Pls* xiv, xv : the group to the right, seems inspired, or imitated, by the contemporary painting of the Holy Trinity (now in the Louvain town hall : *Pl* xvi), although the dove over the head of Christ, on the right wing, is absent.

³⁾ *KunstLeuv.*, *Pl* xi, and pp 25-26 ; *LouvEven*, 324-26 ; James Edelheer married Mathilde van den Dycke ; his sister Catherine became the wife of William Colve, and Adelaïde that of John de Leest.

⁴⁾ William Edelheer, who was already a priest in 1431, was the first beneficiary of his parents' foundation : he enlarged it by a second chaplaincy in 1472, by means of a rent of 8 French crowns bought from the Louvain town authorities on June 1, 1472 ; his executors, Peter Beyere, canon of St. Peter's, and James Edelheer, transferred on March 20, 1476, a rent of 2 gold crowns on Louvain town to the Convent of the 'Black Sisters' of the 'Molenweg' : *LouvArch.*, 2581, 4282 ; *Mol.*, 709 ; *LouvEven*, 325.

⁵⁾ The altar was dedicated to St. Ignatius and St. Francis-Xaverius in the xviith century ; still, the triptych was kept in what was called *Edelheers Coorcken* ; in the xxth century it just escaped destruction : *LouvEven*, 325-26.

retary, and James, who was chosen President of the *Trilingue* in January 1539 ¹⁾.

B. THE NEW PRESIDENT

James Edelheer was inscribed on August 31, 1499, amongst the rich students of the Porc, as *minorennis* ²⁾, whereas his elder brother Jerome had matriculated, also as *minorennis*, in the same Pedagogy on February 25, 1494 ³⁾. After his studies of the *Artes*, he applied to laws, and promoted 'licentiatus Vtriusque Juris', in which quality he was elected dean of the *Collegium Baccalaureorum I. V.* ⁴⁾. He seems to have kept in constant connection with the University, most probably as juridical assessor in one or other of the academic Courts of Justice ⁵⁾, presided by the Rector, or by the Abbot of St. Gertrude's as *Conservator Privilegiorum*, who often lacked all acquaintance with judicial proceedings ⁶⁾. At any rate when, on November 29, 1519, the question about the kind of *supplicatio* to be imposed as necessary condition on the professors of the *Trilingue*, was to be examined by a

¹⁾ Cp. DivRL, 65, reproducing the funeral inscription in the family chapel, where the founder, his sons William and James with his children, as well as the President, his sister-in-law, his niece and his brother were buried.

²⁾ Jacobus edelheere de louanio ex porco minorennis pro quo iuravit Mag. Rod. de Monckendam : *LibIntIII*, 77, v ; *Excerpts*, 92. — John Rudolph of Monickendam, *Monachodamus*, Licentiate in Divinity, was probably then one of the *legentes* in the Porc ; he became vice-curate and 'pastor' of Gouda, and founded, by 1550, a scholarship in his Pedagogy, which seems to have been lost in the xviith century : Mol., 124, 635 ; VAnd., 259 ; *ULDoc.*, iv, 162. One of his students and colleagues, the professor of divinity, James Latomus (cp. I, 324-34, 347, II, 250-53, 414), dedicated to him, on December 31, his *Articulorum Doctrinæ Fratris Martini Lutheri per theologos Louanienses damnatorum Ratio* : Antwerp, Michael Hillen, May 8, 1521 : a 2, r-b 3, v.

³⁾ Jeronimus edelhere de louanio in artibus iuravit dominus Jo. obtrek : *LibIntIII*, 43, v ; *Excerpts*, 91.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 210 : *Fasti Decanales Collegii Baccalaureorum I. V.* (viz., association of the students in law) : of that body, started in 1503, 'Jacobus Edelheer, Louaniensis' is the fifth 'Decanus' in the list.

⁵⁾ Nicolas Everardi, and, most probably, Francis de Cranevelt, had done the same : *Cran.*, xliii.

⁶⁾ Cp. VAnd., 29, sq, 61, sq ; *ULDoc.*, i, 356-61, 515, sq.

committee of deputies of the various Faculties, who, moreover, were to stipulate how their lessons should have to be arranged, in the supposition that they would be granted, James Edelheer was one of the four representatives chosen by the lawyers ¹⁾. That committee was further to reconsider the very admission of Busleyden College, which was found to have been accepted too rashly on Sept. 20, 1519. Those questions, however, were ousted by William Nesen's astounding audacity, claiming the right to teach whilst refusing to comply with the primordial condition of becoming a member of the University ²⁾.

By 1526, James Edelheer had been entrusted with the accountancy of St. Yves' College ³⁾, which was then managed by Josse Vroeye, of Gavere ⁴⁾, who had illustrated himself as Latin poet ⁵⁾ and Greek teacher before he turned to the study of the Law. The scanty documents that have survived from those years, comprise nine accounts of the economy of the College and of the scholarships, rendered by James Edelheer, from June 24, 1526 to the similar day of 1535 ⁶⁾, besides one of the scholarships from 1526 to Dec. 24, 1527, which is

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 450-53; de Jongh, *14, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 452, 453-60.

³⁾ VAnd., 295-98; *ULDoc.*, III, 102-107; FUL, 1865-1971, and references quoted.

⁴⁾ He had been long at work as 'legens' of the Lily, where he studied and taught Greek, and became one of Erasmus' close friends; he was appointed President of St. Yves' College on May 6, 1521, but died on February 10, 1533: cp. I, 222-26, II, 82, &c.

⁵⁾ Besides his poem *Scire palemonias*, in praise of John de Spouter's *Syntaxis* (cp. I, 223, and references), there appears to be a second, of sixteen verses, by him: ¶ Jodoci vroii gaurici epigramma in quo emptor cum libello colloquitur', in praise of John Varenacker's *Quodlibeticæ Questiones duæ*: Paris, Thomas aguelart, for Giles de gourmont (no doubt 1512), under the title: Habes in hoc opusculo candide lector duas quodlibeticas questiones doctissimi viri magistri Joannis Varuaker artium et sacre Theologie doctoris curati ecclesie diui Petri louaniensis dicte ab eo louanii in schollis artium: Maitland, 183. — John Varenacker, after teaching in the Lily, became professor of divinity and plebanus of St. Peter's in 1443, and died on Jan. 4, 1475: his two *Quodlibeta* were printed in Paris in 1512 and again in 1544: Mol., 504, 73, 623, 633; *BibBelg.*, 573-4; VAnd., 78, 88, 252, sq, 289; Vern., 81; de Jongh, 79, 84; Polain, IV, 168; and before, I, 127.

⁶⁾ FUL, 1898.

signed by 'J. de Gavere' ¹⁾). In that capacity he was replaced by his brother Jerome, who rendered six accounts of the economy, from June 24, 1535, to a similar date of 1540, after which he was succeeded by Thierry van Loemel ²⁾).

That elder brother may have been prevented continuing his work in St. Yves' on account of his office of town secretary, for which he is mentioned in 1540 ³⁾; a son of his niece Ann Peters ⁴⁾, the professor of divinity John van der Moelen, Molanus, whose name is linked with the history of the University in the second half of the xvith century ⁵⁾, praised him as an upright and devout man : — 'vir rectus,

¹⁾ FUL, 1919.

²⁾ FUL, 1898. Cp. ActArtV, 194.

³⁾ A deed of the Louvain aldermen, evicting a house situated in Shrine Street, belonging to Matthias van Willebringen, in favour of the *Trilingue*, is dated July 29, 1540, and signed 'Edelheere', no doubt Jerome : *Inv.*, 11, r.

⁴⁾ Judging from the funeral inscription of the founder and his descendants in their chapel (DivRL, 65 : Marie Peters / Huysvr^e / Katlyne / Dochtere / van Meester Jeronimi Edelheere), it seems as if Mary Peters was Jerome's wife : the son of her niece, or possibly grand-niece, Ann Peters, thus could refer to Jerome as 'meus avunculus major' : Mol., 709.

⁵⁾ John Molanus, van der Moelen, born accidentally at Lille, probably about 1536, was the son of Henry van der Moelen, Vermeulen, of Schoonhoven, Licentiate of Laws, and Ann Peters, niece, or grand-niece, of Jerome Edelheer. He was trained at Diest by the saintly chaplain of the Béguinage, Nicolas van Essche, Eschius, and, having returned to his parents' house, near the *Capella Clericorum*, he promoted M. A. in Louvain on March 31, 1558, being classed the sixth : *ULPromRs.*, 209. Having started the study of theology, he became Doctor of that science on September 12, 1570, and professor. In 1571, Philip II appointed him as censor of books, and entrusted him, in 1579, with the presidency of the *Collegium Regium* which he was founding and endowing to see to the preparing of an able and fit clergy. For that purpose M. wrote several most lucid and useful books, whereas he continued his life-work on the cult of Saints, to which he devoted several most remarkable publications. His health was not equal to his activity, and he died long before his time on September 18, 1585; he was buried in St. Peter's, and left his books, his fortune and his belongings to the College he had organized and to a free scholarship; amongst his papers were the ample notes he had gathered for the history of Louvain town and University. Cp. Mol., vi-xcix, 739; FUL, 3424, 4530, 3219; Vern., 275-76; VAnd., 120-21; Opmeer, II, 130, b; *BibBelg.*, 539-41; *ULDoc.*, III, 368, sq; *Diest*, 441, 476-80, 483-4.

qui quotidie primo sacro intererat' ¹⁾). He had several sons who either devoted themselves to divine service ²⁾ or to the welfare of their brethren in the most difficult years of the latter part of the xvith century ³⁾: their names ⁴⁾ and those of their descendants are recorded amongst the councillors, aldermen and mayors of the Brabant town from 1555 to 1620 ⁵⁾. Jerome Edelheer meanwhile had died on December 10, 1555, and had been laid to rest in the family chapel with his wife and daughter and his younger brother James, who had preceded him in 1539 ⁶⁾.

C. DEATH OF VAN VESSEM

The new President at once entered upon his function, and one of the first events that happened during his administration, was the decease of Bartholomew van Vessem. He died

¹⁾ Mol., 709.

²⁾ The eldest, Jerome, who matriculated on October 7, 1523 (*Jheronimus Jeronimi edelheer, minorennis, iuravit pro eo jeronimus pater : LibIntIII*, 308, v), became subprior in Bethlehem Convent, Herent; his brother James, who matriculated on Aug. 28, 1531 : *LibIntIV*, 37, r, and promoted M.A. on April 9, 1538 (as the 98th : *ULPromRs.*, 97), was first a Bogard before entering the Franciscan order, in which he was followed by his brother Philip, after he had been for a time in St. Gertrude's Abbey : Mol., 709.

³⁾ John Edelheer, who matriculated on Aug. 28, 1531, with his brother James, and promoted with him in 1538 (*LibIntIV*, 37, r; *ULPromRs.*, 97, being placed 84th), married Jane van Mechelen, and died, after an active public life, on October 2, 1568. The fifth brother, William, husband of Margaret van Coelen, rendered great services to the town until he died on Jan. 2, 1603, aged 72; his wife survived him only a few weeks : — she followed him on April 16, being 77; with their brother and sister-in-law they were buried in the family chapel in St. Peter's : *DivRL*, 65.

⁴⁾ *DivRL*, 65; *DivAL*, 83-92; *LouvBoon*, 133, 172, 283, 379, 400; *LouvTrib.*, 66; Mol., 383.

⁵⁾ *DivAL*, 86-96; *DivRL*, 65; *LouvBoon*, 165, 284, 324; *LouvTrib.*, 66. — John Edelheer's daughter Jane married Baldwin Bleyleven, Louvain senator in 1595 and 1597 : *DivRL*, 67; and a James Edelheer was Pensionary of Antwerp in 1650 : *Paquot*, iv, 218; *AntwHist.*, v, 504, vii, 617; *AntwAnn.*, ii, 101, 216.

⁶⁾ *DivRL*, 65.

at Mechlin on April 29, 1539 ¹⁾, after a life of busy and affectionate care, first for his master Jerome de Busleyden, and afterwards for what had been the dream of his life. If it had not been for this genial and generously self-sacrificing worker, the scheme of the *Trilingue* might have remained a splendid *fata morgana* ²⁾. Up to his very last days he was constantly thinking of the College : he sent the chest with the documents that had been in his keeping, by water to Louvain, and by his will of April 25, 1539, he made a legacy of 18 *Rh. fl.*, which William Sarens, the executor, paid to Edelheer ³⁾. As he had been suffering for some time, not one account of Goclenius had been passed. Neither he, nor his last fellow-executor, Adrian Joseph, had been to the Institute when van der Hoeven had to be replaced, nor when a successor to Goclenius had to be appointed. The Antwerp canon did not disinterest himself from his ward ; for during Edelheer's administration he sent three pictures as a present to the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾ : possibly amongst them the portrait of the Founder with the epitaph by Erasmus, which Francis Sweerts saw in the College in the first years of the xviith century ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ There is no doubt possible about the year-date, although the inscription of the funeral stone in Mechlin Metropolis is given as : *Hic jacet sepultus Dñs Bartolomeus Vessem Subdiac. & Canonic. hujus Ecclesiae qui obiit anº Dñi xv. c xxxviii penultima mensis Aprilis. R.i.p.* (*MalInscr.*, 65, a). The inventory of his goods in his house in the Heembeemd, made up by the notary Robert Persoens : *Inventaria Bonorum Mobiliū* (Archives of St. Rombaut's Chapter), v : 121, v-124, r, is ascribed to April 30, 1538 ; it explains the year-date quoted in *Busl.*, 351, and I, 54. Still there is evidence about its being used for the old style : the account for Edelheer's administration provides full proof : 'Item ontfangen van heeren Willemme sarens executeur vanden testamente wijlen heeren berthelmeeus van vessem xxv aprilis anno xxxix stilo leodiensi vuijt saken van zekere legate... dess. collegien gelegateert xvij Rgs.' : *AccEdel.*, 2, v. In Laenen, I, 264, the will 'du prêtre Barthélemy Vestem' is referred to as falling in the second quarter of the xvith century, and mention is made of the decision of the Chapter to dispose of the totality of his succession.

²⁾ Cp. before, I, 53-55, 293, II, 47, III, 379.

³⁾ *AccEdel.*, 2, v.

⁴⁾ Item gegeven den dienaar van meesteren adrianen van antwerpen die gebracht heeft voir de collegie drie tafelreelen die meester adriaen der collegien gegeven hadde : *AccEdel.*, 18, r.

⁵⁾ *SweMon.*, 254-255 ; cp. *Busl.*, 100, sq.

As soon as the heirs of Goclenius reached Brabant, measures were taken for the rendering of the accounts of his administration : that for the first year, from September 10, 1536 to September 10, 1537, was rendered on February 25, 1539, by the steward and accountant of the deceased, Matthew Cogge ¹⁾; that for the second year — which is still extant — was heard on March 6, 1539, by the two *provisores* Ruard Tapper and Peter de Corte, as well as the President, in the presence of the three professors Rescius, Balenus and Nannius ²⁾. A few days afterwards, on March 12, Cogge rendered the account for the time between September 10, 1538 and January 25, 1539, which ended with the total amount of 11'035 *Rh. fl.*, and half a stiver. As he was the steward, he probably had the money available in his keeping, and in the name of the heirs, he paid over to Edelheer that part of the amount which was not required for thoroughly substantiated claims ³⁾. As a good *pater familias*, the new President had already invested part of that balance in rents before a month had passed ⁴⁾ : he managed the interests of the College with his innate prudence, helped by the experience gained in St. Yves' College.

2. NANNIUS LATIN PROFESSOR

A. HIS TRAINING

It had been most fortunate that Peter Nannius had been requested to replace Goclenius for a few weeks before his decease, as it saved the trouble to find him a successor. His appointment, which was only provisional in the beginning, was made definite in the last days of January by the *provi-*

¹⁾ *AccGocl.*, 1, r : it closed with a balance of 728 *Rh. fl.* and nearly 16 stivers to the good of the College.

²⁾ *AccGocl.*, 1, r. 39, r : it showed a balance of 10'017 *Rh. fl.* and a little over 3 stivers, in favour.

³⁾ *AccEdel.*, 2, r.

⁴⁾ A rent of 2 *Rh. fl.* was invested on a property at 'Thieldonck', April 3, 1539 ; another, of five *Rh. fl.*, on goods at 'houdert', probably Houwert, Houwaert, April 14, 1539 : *Inv.*, 24, v.

sores, which gave rise to the rumour abroad that the 'theologians' had nominated 'their candidate' in the *Trilingue* ¹⁾. Still those 'theologians' were the very persons indicated in the Founder's Will; animated by an excellent spirit, they continued treating the new College as an intrinsic part of the University to their mutual advantage, and ratified the appointment of the most qualified man that then could be found to take the succession of the Great Professor, to whom he had been substituted in his fatal illness.

After an excellent preparation as teacher in the Schools of Alkmaar and Gouda, he had been busy tutoring students in Louvain ever since the summer of 1535 ²⁾, and had met with great success. He had given evident proof of his ability when, in 1522, he edited his fine drama *Vinctus* ³⁾, and again in 1537, when he contributed several poems to the bundle which Rescius published in memory of Erasmus ⁴⁾. He had thrown himself at once in the movement of University life, since, in December 1535, he delivered an oration at the *Quodlibeticæ*, which was printed already in the first days of 1536 ⁵⁾, whereas he had supplied *annotatiuncule* to the Greek *Institutiones Iuris Civilis* of Theophilus Anticensor, which came out on January 5, 1536 ⁶⁾. Indeed he had not limited his lessons and study to one language, but seems to have devoted much time and work to Greek, which explains how he was led to publish the text of Aristophanes' *Rane*, 1534 ⁷⁾, and several Latin translations of Greek texts: in

¹⁾ John Altenanus writing, on Oct. 28, 1539, to Boniface Amerbach refers to 'Nannium a Theologis in Goclenii professionem suffectum': *AmerMS*: 112, r; Allen, x, p 419, 82.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 150, 177-79, 557, III, 565-67, 569.

³⁾ Polet, 33, sq, 210-235; *NijKron.*, I, 1584: it was dedicated to Gerard Suckerraet, Utrecht official: July 1522: Polet, 212, 238.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 405-6; Polet, 78, sq; *NijKron.*, II, 2842.

⁵⁾ *De Bello Turcis Inferendo*: Louvain, R. Rescius, January 13, 1536: Polet, 70, sq; *NijKron.*, I, 1585.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 149, sq, III, 117, 125-26, 416-7, 535; Polet, 127, sq; *NijKron.*, I, 2002; his notes having been criticized by James Curtius, Sept. 1536: *NijKron.*, II, 3938, he vindicated them in his *Apologia super Annotatiunculis*, Nov. 1536: *NijKron.*, I, 1583 (II, 2003).

⁷⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, for Barth. Gravius, Jan. 2, 1534: *NijKron.*, I, 135; Polet, 240-42.

September 1528, *Aliquot Dialogi Luciani* ¹⁾; in February 1537, letters of Demosthenes and Æschines ²⁾ and the homily of St. Basil the Great, *In Sanctam Christi Natiuitatem* ³⁾; in March 1538, three other homilies of the same Saint ⁴⁾, and, in June 1540, the *Catonis et Phocionis Vitæ ex Plutarcho* ⁵⁾.

Nannius had continued in Louvain the active and studious life which had gained him a name in Holland : for his drama *Vinctus* was better known by his contemporaries than by the xxth century historians of Renascence Drama ⁶⁾. His disciple, the poet Garbrand Schoenmaecker, Tutor, recalls his influence in one of his poems ⁷⁾, and his Amsterdam colleague, John Sartorius, dedicated to him his *Grammatica... una cum Centuria Syntaxeon*, of 1536 ⁸⁾, — for it was addressed on April 2, *domus Hieronimianæ moderatori apud Louanios*, where Peter resided and taught from the end of 1535 to the middle of 1536 only ⁹⁾. Whilst in Louvain, he made the acquaintance of Olah ¹⁰⁾ and of Damian a Goes ¹¹⁾, both of

¹⁾ *Aliquot Dialogi Luciani* in linguam latinam traducti, Petro Nannio interprete, Alcmariæ bonas literas proficiente : Deventer, Alb. Paeraet : NijKron., II, 3442.

²⁾ *Demosthenis et Æschinis Epistolæ* : Louvain, R. Rescius, Febr. 1537 : Polet, 96, sq ; NijKron., I, 696.

³⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, Febr. 1537 : Polet, 94, sq ; NijKron., I, 255 : it was dedicated to Ruard Tapper, January 1, 1537.

⁴⁾ D. Basilii Magni... *Homiliæ tres* (dedicated to Abbot John Recamp, of Adwert, March 15, 1538) : Louvain, R. Rescius, March 1538 : Polet, 95 ; NijKron., II, 2383.

⁵⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius : Polet, 99, sq ; NijKron., I, 1744.

⁶⁾ It is neither mentioned in Bahlmann, nor in Creizenach — since it is not in the list of works supplied in *BibBelg.*, 749-51 ; Miræus, II, 45 ; Paquot, XIV, 62-78 ; &c. ⁷⁾ Cp. III, 270 ; Polet, 8.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 178, 477-83 ; Polet, 326 ; NijKron., II, 3848.

⁹⁾ Cp. II, 178, 479, III, 565.

¹⁰⁾ Just before the publishing of *De Bello Turcis inferendo*, Rescius sent the text and a letter of Nannius to Olah, on Dec. 27, 1535 ; when the book appeared on January 13, 1536, two letters from Nannius and a reply from Olah had been added : cp. III, 565 ; to the connection of the Queen of Hungary's Secretary, who in his bent for literature applied to Nannius' advice, reference has been made before : III, 537-38.

¹¹⁾ As result of Nannius' interest in Goes' commendation and description of the Spanish nation and people, *Hispania* was addressed and dedicated to him : GoesO, T 1, r-Z 4, v. Nannius moreover wrote a *Genethliacum* on Goes' eldest son, and an *Elegiacum* on the high feats of the Portuguese in India : GoesO, S 5, v, sq, m 3, v, sq ; NijKron., I, 678.

whom he helped and encouraged in their literary compositions; and he gained most distinguished pupils by his successful tutoring: amongst them was, in the last months before his appointment in the *Trilingue*, the son of Robert, Lord of Aigremont, Count of la Marck and Arenberg, who played a conspicuous part under the reign of his relative, Bishop Erard de la Marck ¹⁾: for the benefit of the young nobleman of the same name as his father, his unknown tutor for arithmetic had an old treatise reprinted: *De Numerorum Varitis Notis* ²⁾ which Nannius adorned with eighteen verses, when it was brought out by Rescius on February 1, 1539 ³⁾.

B. QUALIFICATIONS

Thus Nannius, a rather short-statured man, but strong and lively ⁴⁾, although suffering, like Horace, from ophthalmia ⁵⁾ and, like Virgil, from headache ⁶⁾, entered the service of the *Trilingue*. He had acquired already a fine erudition and a perfect mastery of Latin; his excitable, enthusiastic nature, and his quick wit, made him into a most agreeable orator, and caused him to put all his heart into his teaching, in so far that it became exhausting. That way he strangely contrasted with the calm and placid Goclenius, who, in his

¹⁾ Count Robert, Lord of Aigremont, was, by 1532, at the head of a small group of men of war sent to help the Emperor against the Turks; at Cardinal Erard de la Marck's death, he inherited part of his plate; his decease is recorded in 1544: *MarckHalk.*, 210, 248, 258.

²⁾ Judging by the dedicatory letter: 'ex ædibus nostris Calendis Januarij' 1539, the arithmetical handbook may have been an old treatise currently used (cp. *NijKron.*, 1, 1482, 11, 3295, 3494), either translated or adapted for the use of his pupil by the otherwise unknown 'F. R. P.': 'Res vetus in lucem redijt, quæ mersa profundis In tenebris aliquot secula delituit', Nannius wrote in his poem. Cp. *Ch. XXII*, 5, A.

³⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, February 1, 1539: *NijKron.*, 11, 3669.

⁴⁾ *NanOF*, d.

⁵⁾ He complains about it to Olah, Oct. 18, 1536, and Sept. 28, 1537: *OlaE*, 593, 604.

⁶⁾ He mentions his *immensum dolorem capitis* to Olah, June 1, 1536: *OlaE*, 576, and to Andrew Masius, on March 25, 1544: *MasE*, 18. To Olah he wrote, on October, 5, 1537: Duo summi poetæ sua vitia in me exonerarunt, Virgilius capitis dolorem, Horatius lippitudinem. Mallet potius virtutes transtulissent: ἀλλὰ τὰ παρόντα εὐτίθεσθαι δεῖ: *OlaE*, 607.

sound and smart common sense, drew from the vast wealth of his knowledge and experience just that which was necessary to enlighten and instruct his audience, more by the strength of his conscious effort than by the lure of a brilliant elocution. Where the older professor wisely husbanded his power, the younger man lavished his energy, which he unfortunately often tried to restore by what excitable natures consider as a paramount cordial. It explains, not only some scathing remarks made about Nannius in later times ¹⁾, but also the far less effective hold he had, both as professor and as priest, on the minds and hearts of his students.

C. LECTURES

Nannius gave as an illustration of his character on the day of Conrad Goclenius' solemn funeral service, held in the chapel of the *Trilingue*, if not in St. Peter's, when he delivered a *Funerbris Oratio* ²⁾ on his predecessor. It was evidently addressed to students, who, up to then, had attended the lessons of the deceased; yet it seems strange that it should have been pronounced during a divine service, as it does not mention any religious feeling. Probably it was said in the auditory; and even then, it was quite out of place in the mouth of a priest: since, instead of the solemn thoughts which were of season, or of at least a sketch of the character and the teaching of the Great Master, Nannius only produced a specimen of his oratorical attainments; it seems as if he was pleased to find a fit opportunity to display his own talents, as well as his rhetorical tricks and subtleties, even though recording the death of

¹⁾ Cornelius Valerius, in *NannOF*, h, explained the fast coming age: *Nec enim vino tantum forma perit et Venere, quod interdum, sed falso ut opinor, obiectum Nannio fuit, sed... etiam immoderato atque continenti studio maxime vero literato.* And when about noon of October 6, 1550, Roger Ascham, passing through Louvain, went to Nannius' chamber to have a talk with him, 'he was either drunken at home, or drinking abroad: for he was making merry and would not be seen, as an English boy, his pupil, told' him, as he scathingly related in a letter of Jan. 20, 1551, to Edward Raven: *ErAllen*, 161: it must not be forgotten that Ascham was far from being unbiassed in his judgment on Nannius and on Louvain,—except in Mary's reign: cp. Ch. XXIV, 5.

²⁾ Polet, 50-51; cp. III, 569.

a man, 'quem', as he said at the end, 'natura acutissimo ingenio instruxit, fortuna prosperitate beavit, eruditissimi uiri coluerunt, potentissimi maximis muneribus exornarunt, quem sua merita nobis uenerabilem faciunt, libri ab obliuione uendicant, uirtutes Deo superisque commendant' ¹⁾).

On the first lecturing day ²⁾, Nannius started reading Horace's *Ars Poetica* by an introduction, as he afterwards regularly did : he announced a few days beforehand, on St. Peter's doors, that he was going to begin his lessons on a certain text, and at the stated time he gave as preliminary lecture an introductory oration in praise of the book to be explained, couched in a style that imitated that of the author chosen, about whom and about whose writings a summary study was given. Although some of those preliminary orations are published ³⁾, the one by which he started the reading and the commentary on the *Ars Poetica*, does not seem to have been preserved as such ⁴⁾.

Taking up his abode in the *Trilingue*, Nannius seems to have been entrusted with the office of celebrating the anniversary masses of the foundation, which hitherto had been held by 'brother John Regis', as the account of Edelheer calls him, whom noting down that, from February 11 to April 8, he officiated fourteen times ⁵⁾. After the latter date he is not mentioned any longer, whereas Nannius is recorded to have celebrated sixteen masses during Edelheer's management ⁶⁾, after which he was replaced by the President Nicolas van der Borch, who was also a priest.

¹⁾ *Oratio Funebris*, B 4, v ; cp. before, III, 569-70, and Ch. XXIV, 5.

²⁾ It is quite possible that Nannius started lecturing on Horace on February 1, as Goclenius' students had then become his.

³⁾ Cp. Polet, 12, 15, 52, sq, 57, sq, 68, sq.

⁴⁾ In the Abbey of St. Peter in *Monte Blandinio*, Nannius found the life of Horace ; he edited it and ascribed it to Suetonius : Polet, 150-58, 125, 145, 300, 302 ; he left a commentary *In Artem Poeticam*, which Valerius Andreas edited in 1608 : Polet, 179-186, 191.

⁵⁾ *AccEdel.*, 16, r : Item vanden missen bynnen der collegien gedaen by bruederen Janne Regis wesende xiiij missen beginnende xj februarij tot viij aprilis inclusiuē a° xxxix stilo leod... betailt tsamen... xxj st.

⁶⁾ *ManBorchI*, 27, v : Item mgro. Petro Nannio die ten tyde van Meester Jacob edelheer xvj werff jnt collegie gecelebreert heeft voor zijnen loon gegeuen xxiiij st.

3. KNOTTY QUESTIONS

A. GOCLENIUS' INHERITANCE

Meanwhile Goclenius' succession was not lost sight of. Rescius' disgraceful attempt at securing part of it, which had made the Rector take the chest with the hoard under his keeping, had given an increase of importance to the question about the ownership of some, at least, of the money found in the room of the deceased ¹⁾. A large amount of it was unquestionably his own; some of it may have belonged to the College, although the bulk of those funds was in Matthew Cogge's keeping ²⁾; yet, an important part, for certain, belonged to Erasmus, since, at his death, the professor had by far not executed his trust to the full extent. Thanks to Cogge's account, it would be easy to estimate the claim of the *Trilingue*; nor would it be difficult to gauge approximately the amount that had been distributed, for as a prudent man, Goclenius was sure to have noted down his payments, and even to have taken some friends into his confidence when he felt the end approaching. At any rate, the question highly interested the Rector Michael Drieux ³⁾, in so far that, for the meeting of the Deputies on January 29, 1539, he had set down as third point of the order of the day, 'De Pecunia Erasmi', and had even invited the representative of the heirs, 'Mgr Johannes altenanus' ⁴⁾, to come and declare what right he had to that part of the money ⁵⁾.

In February 1539, the Rector was ordered by the Imperial fiscal procurator to keep the money and valuables under his care as if arrested, until the question about the rates and dues to be paid by the heirs would have been settled ⁶⁾; and that measure was extended to all the belongings of the

¹⁾ Cp. before, III, 590-92.

²⁾ Cp. before, III, 127, 383-84.

³⁾ Cp. before, III, 481-82, 590-91, 612, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 591, *sq.*, 599.

⁵⁾ Tertio de Pecunia Erasmi quod videlicet ad hu[nc] Lo[cum] est vocatus Mgr. Johannes altenanus ad dicendum allegandum quid juris ipse prætetendat in hac pecunia : *LibActVII*, 236 : meeting of Jan. 29, 1539. .

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 95, *g.*

deceased ; it was also feared that the revenue officers should levy very high taxes, considering the absence of a will, and the fact that the claimants were foreigners ¹⁾. The intelligence that Goclenius had devoted three hundred Rhine florins towards the securing of instruction and schooling to the children of his brothers in Westphalia, was suspected by some as an illegal use of Erasmus' money out of Brabant, and, by others, as a fraud to avoid paying the dues ; restitution of the whole amount was urged in consequence. In reply, the heirs pleaded that if they were not natives of the Burgundian Netherlands, they were, at any rate, the Emperor's subjects ²⁾, and they submitted the case to the Brabant Council, where, after a lengthy examination, the question was decided in their favour in the following August ³⁾.

Meanwhile Gisbert Loyden ⁴⁾ had been elected, on February 28, as Rector, but he had enjoined his predecessor, Michael Drieux, to keep Goclenius' hoard intact at the request of the procurator of the heirs, and prohibited, under some penalties, to take any part of it away before the arrest should be lifted ⁵⁾.

Difficulties also seem to have been raised about Goclenius' books : amongst them were found some written by Melancthon, and printed in Wittenberg, which were considered as

¹⁾ Cp. *GocCor.*, 70 (Oct. 28), 15, *sq.*, and 71 (Nov. 6), 15, *sq.* (Allen, x, pp 417, 421).

²⁾ Altenanus to Amerbach, Oct. 28; *GocCor.*, 70; Allen, x, p 418, 49-51, 73.

³⁾ *GocCor.*, 70, 64-65.

⁴⁾ Gisbert Loyden, of Hertogenbosch, J.V.L., was allowed in 1537 by the Faculties of the Laws to explain *juridice* the text and the glosses of the Institutes on days when there was no ordinary lecturing, so as to oppose all comments 'Grammaticaliter, Græce et alijs novis modis', — viz., those for which silence had been imposed on Rescius : cp. before, III, 128-30. He was elected Rector six times from Febr. 1539 to Febr. 1569 ; by his will of May 8, 1576, he rendered useful the foundation of a scholarship in the Porc, and of Masses in Standonck House, made by his brother Henry, Licentiate in Divinity, canon of Breda, by testament of Sept. 13, 1567, which was not sufficiently endowed. His son Renier, J.V.L., sheriff of Westerloo, and his wife, Gertrude Peeters, suffering from the pest in Herenthals Hospital, made a common will on March 9, 1597 : *FUL.*, 2102, 2106 ; *VAnd.*, 42-4, 158, 260 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 266-70 ; and before, III, 612.

⁵⁾ Loyden to Mary of Hungary : *GocCor.*, 67, 13-25 (before, III, 612).

very dangerous and had been proscribed by a most severe edict. Some 'impuri amici' of the late professor suggested that the whole collection should be seized and confiscated if the heirs should make any difficulty; they would even have preferred that the fisc should have taken all rather than leave anything to the family ¹⁾).

B. ERASMUS' MONEY

The rumour of Goclenius' death soon reached Basle, so that, by April, Erasmus' executor, Boniface Amerbach ²⁾), had learned with surprise that only part of the money which Erasmus had entrusted to the Louvain professor, was spent according to his wishes, and that whatever was still in his keeping, was running the risk of being seized for the taxes ³⁾). He therefore wrote to Louvain University, on April 7, that Erasmus had enjoined him to let Goclenius dispose of the money entrusted to him, and apply it to such uses in Brabant as he had specified himself; that Goclenius had written to him that he would execute the trust as soon as could be, and that, consequently, he had thought that the mandate had since long been fulfilled.

As news to the contrary had reached Basle, he expressed his fear that the fisc might have a design upon it, and considering that the right of disposing of the remainder devolved upon him, he requested the University to see to the execution of Erasmus' wishes, and suggested that the money should be used for scholarships of students, preferably in the *Trilingue*, unless other ways should have been indicated as stipulated by Erasmus ⁴⁾). The letter, with the promise to supply the

¹⁾ Altenanus to Amerbach, Oct. 28: *GocCor.*, 70, (Allen, x, p 419), 119-124: ... minitantur, si heredes ad purgationem descriptores bonorum adegerint. — To that postscript, Altenanus added: Abiicias in ignem.

²⁾ Professor of Laws in Basle University from 1525 to 1562: Allen, II, 408, *pr*; SadolE, 50, 174; Gabbema, 7; Friedensburg, 230; &c.

³⁾ Amerbach to Altenanus, Dec. 2: *GocCor.*, 74 (Allen, x, p 420), 1-10.

⁴⁾ The letter is preserved in Basle Library, and reproduced in Allen, x, pp 412-13; it is referred to and summed up in that of Amerbach to the University of October 2, 1539: *BbBasle*, MS G². I. 22: 30, r; Allen, x, p 414, 4-21.

necessary documents ¹⁾, duly reached the University, and in the meeting of the Deputies of June 7, 1539, the Rector read it out, and decided, on the advice of the assembly, to inform the heirs that Erasmus' executor Amerbach enjoined them to dispose of Erasmus' money that was in Goclenius' keeping ²⁾, according to what had been prescribed to him. As they had grown distrustful, probably as well through Rescius' unwarranted claim, as through the absconding of the hoard, the procurators declared their conviction that the deceased Professor was the owner of that money, and not merely a distributor of it in Erasmus' name. Altenanus had secured an authenticated copy of the memorandum of August 28, 1533, by which Erasmus declared to Goclenius: '*totam pecuniam quam hactenus a me depositam habuisti, volo pleno iure tuam esse, vt de ea statuas quicquid volueris*' ³⁾; and he considered it as an unequivocal argument in favour of his employers. He made use of it in the lawsuit before the Council of Brabant to justify the 300 gold florins sent by Goclenius 'in patriam' to buy a rent for his nephews to help them in their 'trivialibus'; still that gift was objected to, both by the fiscal procurator, as apparently it subtracted part of the heritage to avoid the dues, and by Erasmus' friends, as it was spent outside of Brabant ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Boniface Amerbach, a professional lawyer, refers to the fact that, shortly before his death, Erasmus made his will '*pontificis Romani ac Caesaris Augusti diplomatibus instructus*' (Allen, x, p 413, 7-8); so there can hardly have been any occasion that the Imperial fisc should have had any right to make difficulties on account of the illegitimate birth, as Altenanus suggested on October 28, 1539 (Allen, x, p 418, 42-43, 60-64), and as is presumed by Allen, x, p 407: 'The Treasury of Brabant', it is said there, 'contended that Erasmus' will had no validity in Brabant' as he 'had not procured a licence to make a will from the Duke of Brabant', that 'procured from the Emperor being deemed insufficient': — which is nonsense, since Charles was Duke of Brabant whilst — and even long before, — being Emperor.

²⁾ *LibAct VII*, 244.

³⁾ Allen, x, 2863, 4-5: the original was found amongst Goclenius' papers in 1539, and an authenticated copy, now in GoclE, 34, r, was sent to Basle. Altenanus' copy of this document is still preserved amongst Amerbach's accounts.

⁴⁾ Letter of Altenanus to Ben. Amerbach, Oct. 28, 1539: *AmerMS*, 111, v, 117 (Allen, x, pp 417-20; — *GocCor.*, 70), 44-52; a note is added in

At any rate Amerbach's letter had revived, in Louvain, the hopes of those who had been promised a share in Erasmus' money, notwithstanding the claims of the heirs and the authoritative confiscation. One of them was Ruard Tapper, dean of St. Peter's ¹⁾, who knew that Erasmus had wished to bequeath 200 florins to his church — no doubt for masses and services; he was aware of the arrest, but he addressed a demand to Queen Mary of Hungary, who, in her turn, asked the Rector Gisbert Loyden to allow Michael Drieux to pay him out that sum. On August 4, 1539, the Rector replied that he could not comply with her request on account of the sequestration, which one of the procurators of the heirs refused to have lifted off before the end of the lawsuit in the Brabant Council, whereas his colleague was momentarily absent from Louvain ²⁾.

C. CLAIM OF THE UNIVERSITY

By the end of August, the suit in the Brabant Council had ended by a sentence in favour of the heirs ³⁾, who consequently wished all sequestration to be taken off, so that the money and the valuables should be handed over to them. Before parting with that precious chest, however, the Rector

Altenanus' hand requesting a copy of Erasmus' will for a Brabant Councillor who had been his great friend : 125-29.

¹⁾ Cp. before, III, 575-80.

²⁾ *LibActVII*, 249. — Cp. *GocCor.*, 67 (*ViglEA*, 37) : III, 612-13 : letter of the Rector G. Loyden to Queen Mary of Hungary, with a fine rectorial seal on the 4th page and the apostil '*R<ecept>a te Harlem viij aug.*': it is preserved amongst the missives of 1539 in *BelgArch.*, *Audience*. — A copy of the text (2 pp) without address, is amongst the documents referring to the Latin professor in *FUL*, 1441.

³⁾ It is quite probable that the Brabant Council, of which several members had been aware of Goclenius' great work, considered it as a duty to exonerate his succession, in return for a life devoted to the welfare of the country. The fact, moreover, that some of the money found in his rooms belonged to that other great Benefactor of the Nation, who counted hearty friends amongst the councillors — such as the van der Noots : Allen, v, 1300, *pr*, x, p 420, 125-29, — may have been an incentive to free from all taxes also that part of the heritage, which, like the legacy to St. Peter's, claimed by Tapper, was meant as a help and bounty to the Duchy, whose interests were entrusted to their care.

and the Delegates, on the advice of the Academic Senate, August 30, 1539, finding that not all the money belonged to Goclenius, decided examining his various documents, which, with his furniture and belongings, had been kept in the *Trilingue*, in order to discover the exact amount of Erasmus' deposit that was left, and what claims the heirs had on it. They then informed Queen Mary of Hungary of the matter, and she commissioned one of the most able and perspicacious lawyers of that time, an old professor of the University, Louis de Schore, future President of the Privy Council and that of the State ¹⁾, so as to help and solve the question ²⁾. As a result of the investigation of the documents and the letters of the deceased, the Rector Jerome de Blioul, elected at the end of August ³⁾, and some members of the University were shown, on September 27, the papers which clearly proved that Erasmus' money had not been given to Goclenius in full property, as the heirs would have it, but merely in trust ⁴⁾.

Indeed, the act of donation was real in so far that the Latin professor could have vindicated his right of ownership before any judge against any one who might either suspect his right or claim part of the money. That measure had been taken, on the one hand, as a precaution against inquisitive

¹⁾ Louis de Schore, born in Louvain about 1490, studied in the Lily under Dorpius before he applied himself to jurisprudence, in which he promoted Doctor on May 22, 1520; from 1519 he was professor of Civil Law until 1524, when he was appointed member of Mechlin Parliament. On May 31, 1535, he entered the Privy and State Councils, of which he was President from October 10, 1540 to his death, February 25, 1548. He rendered eminent services to his Monarch and his Country, to his University and to Jurisprudence in general. Still he left little in writing, besides his *Consilium Super Viribus Matrimonii Serenissimorum Henrici Octavi, & Catharinæ Regum Angliæ* (Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, August 1534 : NijKron., II, 3860), which was the result of his share in the proceedings about the Royal Divorce, in November 1528 : *MonHL*, 34, sq. *Cp. Cran.*, 110, c-f, and references quoted; *Paquot*, IV, 123-28; *VAnd.*, 182-85, 361, &c; *Vern.*, 33, 61, 98, 107, 298; *Foppens*, II, 835-36; *AnteAnn.*, II, 300; *LuChaV*, v, 518; *Hoynck*, I, i, 164, III, ii, 321, &c.

²⁾ *LibActVII*, 256, 258; cp. further, p 24.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 214, III, 612.

⁴⁾ *LibActVII*, 259.

or invidious colleagues, who might easily endanger Goclenius' fame in case the large amount of money was found, and even cause him to be deprived of it by forcible confiscation, if there were no unobjectionable deed to substantiate his right to it. Moreover, the Latin Professor had to be made safe against any attempt of any shrewd messenger, or amanuensis, coming with a pretended request of Erasmus, as well as against any of his relatives, who are described as eager, hungry ravens, all ready to follow the example of Peter Winckel, if ever they knew that they could turn their family connection into account. On the other hand, Erasmus did not want to lose any hold on the money, since he intended enjoying it in his last years, which he hoped to spend in Brabant; although certain of his friend's reliability, he had to make secure against his death, or any accident, by which Goclenius might lose all control over the money entrusted to him; otherwise what would have served to safeguard his friend's interests, would be ruinous for his own.

There consequently was to be a counterdeed, a 'defeasance' of that donation, in the shape of a declaration that Goclenius owed to his Friend the full amount of the money entrusted to him, which would allow Erasmus to claim his due at any time and under any circumstances. Thus the deed of August 28, 1533, by which he transferred '*pecuniam... depositam... pleno jure*' to Goclenius ¹⁾, is closely connected to the one of September 17, 1533, when Goclenius bequeathed to Erasmus a sum equivalent to that which he had received from him, with an additional free legacy of twenty ducats ²⁾. The original deeds, of which authenticated copies are still preserved in the records of Boniface Amerbach's execution in Basle University Library ³⁾, must have been found in Goclenius' possession along with the hoard, since Amerbach had sent back all '*chirographa sive quittancias*' soon after Erasmus' death, — probably by Lambert Coomans ⁴⁾ on his final return to Brabant. The latter had been despatched to

¹⁾ *AmerMS*, 109, r; *GocCor.*, 45; *Allen*, x, 2863, & pp 409-10.

²⁾ *AmerMS*, 110, v; *GocCor.*, 45; *Allen*, x, pp 409-10.

³⁾ The big volume of the collected documents referring to the execution, bears the press-mark C. VIa. 71.

⁴⁾ *Cp. before*, III, 394-400.

the Netherlands a few days after his Master's decease to see about the money left with Schets, the Antwerp banker, and with the Louvain Professor. On August 19, 1536, — probably when the messenger left for Basle, — Goclenius expressed his deep regret at the loss of his well-beloved Friend ¹⁾, and described the measures that had been taken in answer to the executor's demand : after paying all amounts due, collecting all debts, and setting right some mistakes, Schets would see to the handing over of the money in his trust, reduced to German or French currency, at the next Frankfurt Fair ²⁾, with the exception, however, of the legacy and the wages due to Coomans, who requested to have them paid, for safety's sake, after he should have settled in Louvain ³⁾. In reply to Amerbach's request for some of Erasmus' money to be used for his foundations in Basle, Goclenius reminds him that their Great Friend had, long since, indicated what the amount entrusted to him was to be applied to in the Netherlands, which he was intended to follow out exactly, unless the able lawyer could suggest a better course ⁴⁾. He wishes for his affection, now their common friend has gone ⁵⁾, and closes his letter with the urgent demand to destroy all his letters to Erasmus : they had been written in order to make him acquainted with the full truth of what he should have known, so that he and his beloved Friend could take care of their fame and their safety. 'Si cogites', he concluded, 'quam hic sit parum libertatis præ quam apud vos, non miraberis me esse sollicitum in re, quæ neglecta multis fuit damno ; et eadem opera intelliges me tibi pro adempto omni metu ac securitate reddita summas delaturum esse gratias' ⁶⁾. Amerbach fully understood Goclenius' refusal to send to Basle part of the money which he was to distribute in Brabant ; but since the correspondence between the two Great Men has survived, it appears that the Basle Jurisprudent judged that, provided they were kept unpublished for some time, those most interesting documents for the history of that

¹⁾ Allen, x, pp 410-12, 1-19.

²⁾ Allen, x, pp 411-12, 19-52.

³⁾ Allen, x, pp 411, 36, sq.

⁴⁾ Allen, x, p 412, 53-62.

⁵⁾ Allen, x, p 412, 63-71.

⁶⁾ Allen, x, p 412, 71-84.

grand friendship deserved a better fate than was requested for them, 'vt... penitus aboleantur' ¹⁾).

Meanwhile, several facts can be pointed out about whether Erasmus' money in Goclenius' keeping was a real donation, or a mere trust : it certainly appears that Boniface Amerbach, the man who, barring the Louvain Latin professor, knew best the real state of affairs, had not the least doubt about the nature of the transfer of the amounts. On September 1, 1536, he sends word to Goclenius that he readily accepts and approves of his refusal to forward to Basle part of the money which he had to distribute in Brabant : 'Re diligentius perpensa sic existimo in vltimis voluntatibus nisi alia testatoris mens appareat a scripto non temere recedendum esse'. And he adds : 'Eam ob causam quo liberius instituto tuo ex præscripto satisfacere possis, chirographa siue confessiones, vt appellant, tuas quotquot inuenimus in fasciculum collectas Frobenii ductu mitto' ²⁾).

Amongst the 'chirographa' sent through Froben in September 1536, there was, most probably, the Memorandum by Erasmus of April 8, 1534, to which he attributed the value of a will : he declares in it that he had entrusted to Goclenius (... deposui...) several sums of money ; from that amount he wishes him to keep four hundred *coronatos* for himself : 'reliquum aut tradat heredi quem institui, et executoribus, aut ipse dispenset in pios vsus'. The document was sent to Louvain, where a notarial copy was made by Giles Martini, and forwarded to Basle, where it is still amongst the *Goclenii Epistolæ* ³⁾. Even if those documents were not there to

¹⁾ Allen, x, p 412, 75. — As already remarked before (III, 550), the letters exchanged between Erasmus and Goclenius are by far the most interesting — because the most confidential — part of that correspondence ; still, at the time of the fully reliable amanuenses, like Quirinus Talesius, or the intimate friends, like van der Dylft, the most important of the communications were transmitted by word of mouth rather than by written epistle. The last letters falling beyond that period are, therefore, most interesting.

²⁾ AmerMS, 116, v ; on December 2, 1539, in a Memorandum of Documents sent to the Louvain University by Amerbach, is an extract from a letter of Amerbach to Goclenius 'datum Calendis Septembris Anno millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo sexto Basileæ' : Allen, x, pp 423-24, 8-19.

³⁾ Cp. Allen, x, p 410.

prove apodictically that the 'donations' were fictitious, and amounted to a mere trust, the last letter of Erasmus to his Louvain friend, on June 28, 1536, is conclusive: for he not merely allows, but almost compels Goclenius, to make use of his money: 'Si quæ te urget necessitas, scito meam pecuniam esse tuam'! Since no permission is required to use money which has been actually given, the sentence quoted proves, beyond doubt, that on June 28, 1536, the money in Goclenius' keeping still belonged to Erasmus ¹⁾. Even more conclusive is the will of February 12, 1536, in which Erasmus enjoins his heir: Pecuniam apud Conrardum Goclenium depositam illi in Brabantia disponendam relinquet, quemadmodum ei mandaui! ²⁾ It leaves no room for any doubt.

Those considerations had convinced many members of the University that Goclenius' heirs had no right to the totality of the money found in his possession. To prevent all obloquy, they decided to have the truth recognized by Queen Mary in a formal judgment: Louis de Schore, appointed as umpire, inquired accurately into the matter ³⁾. On the strength of documents he concluded that Erasmus' money had been given in trust to Goclenius ⁴⁾, not in donation; and had investigations made to find out, from the Professor's notes and from testimonies, the exact amount that had been paid out, and what was still to be distributed. That judgment imparted to the Rector on September 27, was announced by him at the general meeting of September 28; a messenger was going to be sent to Amerbach to confer on the subject, and it was decided that the chest with the hoard entrusted since the end of January to Michael Drieux was still to be kept as security ⁵⁾, whereas permission was granted to the heirs to take all the belongings of the deceased out of the College, so that his room might be placed at the disposal of his successor or let to inmates ⁶⁾.

Neither that permission, nor the decision of the University pleased Rescius: wishing to obtain part of what he considered

¹⁾ Allen, XI, 3130, 14-15.

²⁾ Allen, XI, *Appendix* xxv (p 365): 43-45.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 20.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 389.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, III, 590-92.

⁶⁾ *LibAct* VII, 259-60, 264.

the result of gratuities due to the three professors, but kept unduly by Goclenius, he had started an action against the heirs already in August 1539 ¹⁾; the want of proofs for his claim, and especially the little help he found in the University authorities, made him desist from that action, whereas he tried to find a compensation for several advantages that he never enjoyed and for the diminution in his wages that had served to raise those of Goclenius : on October 6, 1539 he started a *processus arbitralis* against the *Trilingue* itself ²⁾.

Meanwhile Boniface Amerbach, not having received any reply to his letter of April 7, wrote to the University on October 2, that, having asked them to undertake in his place the part with which Goclenius had been entrusted without fulfilling it, but not having heard about their complying with it, he was dispatching a special messenger to beseech them, 'by Christ and by the Sacred Studies', to inform him whether they were willing to take up that mandate. For in the case of a negative reply, he would have to find another means to prevent that the money destined to pious aims, should be profaned, or go to those to whom it was not due : since, before all, he wished to execute the will of the deceased ³⁾.

Just then the Rector, and those of the University, looking for a messenger to Basle, appointed the notary Judocus van Grimbergen, who was sent off with a letter of October 15 ⁴⁾, written by the clever jurisprudent Peter de Vriendt, *Amicus* ⁵⁾. They explained that, wishing to help the heirs against the fisc, they were involved in a long suit, which was decided in their favour ; that the propitious ending had led to a new controversy about the nature of the transfer of Erasmus' money, which the University considers as a trust, on the strength of the memorandum of April 8, 1534 ⁶⁾, whereas the

¹⁾ Cp. Ch. XXII, 2, A ; the action had started before Gisbert Loyden as Rector, who was succeeded by Jerome de Blioul on August 30, 1539 : *MotJuris*, 12.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 13 ; cp. Ch. XXII, 2, B.

³⁾ *BbBasle*, G², I, 30, r ; *GocCor.*, 68 ; Allen, x, p 414.

⁴⁾ *BbBasle*, G², II, 67, 50 ; *GocCor.*, 69 ; Allen, x, p 414-15.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 126-27, 419-20.

⁶⁾ Allen, x, p 410 ; and before, pp 21, 23.

heirs claim it in full property, relying on a deed of August 28, 1533 ¹⁾). By his letter of April 7, Amerbach requested the University to spend the remainder of the money in the spirit of Erasmus ²⁾): still, as that request is not stringent enough, the Rector and University express the wish for a document investing them with the right and duty to apply Erasmus' money towards the help of poor students, in such a way that they could use it in justice as defendants and claimants ³⁾).

Boniface Amerbach did not lose any time, and, as reply, in the presence of the executors, he transferred before a *tabellio* his entire right of disposing of the money entrusted to Goclenius, and not applied to its proper use, in favour of the Rector and those of the University, provided that Erasmus' prescriptions should be followed out; also that, with the rest of the money, rents should be acquired to entertain students, and, before all, those of *Trilingue* College ⁴⁾). The Louvain messenger was despatched at once with that deed, so that, about November 16, Amerbach sent a complementary note to the Rector and those of the University, assuring them that, when drawing up his will, Erasmus had used the powers duly granted, and had complied with all the prescriptions in force in Basle, which are in full accordance with those of the Canon Law. He should have given a copy, and even a translation, of the deed, were it not that Josse van Grimbergen had assured that there was no question about the validity of the will, but about whether the money was the object of a trust or of a gift ⁵⁾).

¹⁾ Allen, x, 2863.

²⁾ Allen, x, p 413, 19-32.

³⁾ *GocCor.*, 69; Allen, x, pp 414-15.

⁴⁾ The document does not seem to be extant; still its meaning and contents are described in Amerbach's letter to Altenanus, Basle, Dec. 2, 1539, in which he declares: cum ii <viz., Academiae Louaniensis moderatores> se hoc ex praescripto meo facturos recepissent, omne ius dispensationis, ob Goclenii cunctationem in me tanquam nuncupatum heredem deuolutum, coram tabellione ac testibus consensu executorum omni meliore modo cessi <atque> in eos transtuli, ea solum lege adiecta, repetitaque, vt relictæ pecuniæ summa in redditus annuos pauperibus aliquot studiosis alendis destinatos collocaretur, collegii trilinguis istic iuuenum inprimis rationem haberi volens: *AmerMS*, 115, v; Allen, x, p 420, 16-23.

⁵⁾ *GocCor.*, 72; Allen, x, p 416.

A fortnight later, on December 2, Amerbach announces to the University that he had given to the notary Grimbergen some receipts of the money sent to Goclenius; through the stress of work, he had then forgotten to tell that they had been found *in scriniis Erasmi* ¹⁾; he adds a memorandum of the documents he had thus dispatched, as well as a passage from his letter to Goclenius of September 1, 1536 ²⁾. He further mentioned that he had received a letter from Altenanus communicating the arguments he intended using in favour of his clients. As a proof of my candour, Amerbach declared, I am sending him documents subverting them and shifting them off 'vt discat se causa inferiorem, et minime litigandum esse' ³⁾.

In fact, on October 28, Altenanus had written to Amerbach insisting on the text of the letter of August 28, 1533 ⁴⁾, and accusing Rescius of having destroyed the proofs that the money in Goclenius' possession was the result of a donation ⁵⁾; Goclenius, he argued, had, in a document, asserted his full right to it ⁶⁾; he even gave a proof of it when he refused contributing to the funds in aid of the Basle girls and students ⁷⁾, as well as when he made a foundation for his own nephews ⁸⁾; he supposed that Erasmus, having found out the inability of disposing of his goods in Brabant by a will on account of being a *nothus*, had preferred making sure of their bestowal by a donation ⁹⁾; in conclusion of those and other

¹⁾ *GocCor.*, 73; Allen, x, p 416.

²⁾ Allen, x, pp 423-24.

³⁾ *GocCor.*, 73; Allen, x, p 417, 15-20.

⁴⁾ *AmerMS*, 109, v; *GoclE*, 34; Allen, x, 2863; and before, p 18.

⁵⁾ Letter of Altenanus : Rotgerus Rescius cum aliquot suis in demortui secreta prorseperat, quæ in bibliotheca Buslidiani collegii cista conseruabantur, produxeratque ex reliquo literarum aceruo *Erasmicas*, summam penes Goclenium, syncerissimum amicum, olim depositam exprimentes, suppressis interim donationis literis, clamitans pecuniam in Goclenii arca inuentam *Erasmi* esse : Allen, x, p 417, 20-26; cp. before, pp 24-25.

⁶⁾ Allen, x, p 418, 34-44; cp. *inf.* p 29.

⁷⁾ Allen, x, p 418, 37-38.

⁸⁾ Allen, x, p 418, 44-52.

⁹⁾ Allen, x, p 418, 59-65. No doubt reference is made to the *Compendium Vitæ Erasmi Roterodami*, of the first days of April 1524, which was sent to Goclenius, with a letter, April 2, 1524 : Allen, i, pp 46, sq, v,

facts referred to, he requested some authentic document to help him to execute the wish of the deceased, whose belongings had been treated with perfidy and improbity, and wished Amerbach to tell him his opinion : 'quid sentias rescribe' ¹).

Altenanus had asked a common friend, Conrad von Heresbach ²), to recommend him to Amerbach ³), and, in consequence of that request, that councillor of the Duke of Cleves wrote to his 'sodalis olim suauissimus, nunc amicus reuerenter observandus' ⁴), the Basle professor, representing the 'sophistæ Louanienses' as 'harpyiæ ipso etiam fisco rapaciores', and contrasting the help which the money would afford to the seven poor brothers, working in their sweat for their numerous children, with the use it would be made of by those who would spend it 'in symposia theologica, his videlicet sacrificiis Erasmi et Goclenii manibus litaturi' ⁵). — That letter, attesting that the *theologi* were considered as the followers and favourers of Erasmus and of the *Trilingue* in 1539, shows the enormous distance covered since 1519, when the divines proved themselves the most implacable foes, the most irreducible adversaries of the Institute ⁶).

Those references to the old opposition against humanism and its greatest promoter, seem to have left Boniface Amerbach quite unimpressed ; he replied, on December 2, to Altenanus that, on account of the distance, he could not investigate himself whether the whole of Erasmus' money

1437. From Goclenius' succession it passed into Holland, where Merula edited it as *Vita Des. Erasmi* : Leyden, 1607 : cp. Ch. XXIII, 1, c.

¹) Altenanus refers in his letter (Allen, x, p 419, 102-112) to several other details about common friends, like Vlatten, and Harst, who is just returning from Spain. He complains about Gaspar Schets, who refuses to repay what Goclenius lent; refers to the latter's books of Melanchthon (119-24), to criticism of Goclenius which Episcopus related to one Nannius, who is said to be appointed in Goclenius' place by the 'theologians' (81-84) — no doubt, meaning Tapper and de Corte.

²) Cp. before, III, 227, sq, 366.

³) Allen, x, p 419, 112-14.

⁴) Heresbach had been Froben's corrector, and his son John Erasmus' tutor : *Heresbach*, 28, sq.

⁵) Allen, x, pp 421-2, 15-17, 23-26, 30-32.

⁶) Cp. before, I, Chs. IV, VI.

had been disposed of, and had, consequently, transferred all his rights, as heir and chief executor, to the Rector and those of Louvain University, advising them to apply it to the use of students, especially those of the *Trilingue*, if the testator's intention had not been made known through Goclenius' declarations or confidences ¹). For he certifies that Erasmus did not transfer his money by a donation, of which there is not one word in his will, nor in his last notes; but only entrusted it to Goclenius, to have it, for the greater part, distributed in Brabant ²); he considers the attestation submitted to prove the donation, as spurious ³); and he himself declares that he cannot communicate any document favourable for Altenanus' view, as there is not one. On the contrary he assures that, except for some legacies, Erasmus insisted that 'ex studiis comparata in studiosos quam maxime collocarentur': to that decision, he, as heir, considers that he has to adhere most scrupulously ⁴).

On that day Amerbach also replied to Heresbach ⁵), regretting his inability to grant anything in this question to the heirs or to Altenanus, as the last wish of any deceased, and especially that of the Great Erasmus, should be fulfilled. The sums mentioned in his will as 'apud Goclenium depositæ et in Brabantia dispensandæ', can certainly not have been the object of a preceding donation. Nor did Goclenius himself, when requested to distribute the money entrusted, disown in the least that trust in his letters, on which account the acknowledgments and receipts found in Erasmus' chests were sent over to him ⁶). In conclusion, Amerbach expresses his most ardent desire that his old friend should be persuaded that he will do nothing but give to every one his due in justice, and take care of his own irreproachable fame ⁷).

¹) Allen, x, pp 420-21, 3-23; *GocCor.*, 74.

²) Cp. Allen, x, pp 420-21, 29-45.

³) Cp. Allen, x, p 420, 34-36, p 423, 27-30, p 418, 35-44 : attestation by witnesses of Goclenius' declaration not to have any money in trust, as he could prove by letters; cp. *sup.* p 27.

⁴) Allen, x, p 421, 40-45; he sent copies and extracts of several deeds, indicated in a Memorandum : Allen, x, p 424.

⁵) Allen, x, pp 422-23 : the letter begins with congratulations for Heresbach's appointment as councillor, and praises for not forgetting old friends.

⁶) Allen, x, p 423, 30, sq.

⁷) *Ibid.*, 45-47.

On the same day Amerbach further despatched a short letter to the Rector and those of the University of Louvain, adding some more information to that which he had given to their messenger, notary van Grimbergen ¹⁾, and mentioning his reply to a letter from Altenanus ²⁾; he further announced the memorandum in which he enumerates the documents he had communicated, and copies a passage of a letter which he had written to Goclenius on the subject on September 1, 1536 ³⁾. Those messages were read out by the Rector in the University meeting of January 22, 1540, and the announcement that the rest of Erasmus' money was to be used in alms and distributions to poor students, especially those of the *Trilingue*, was duly and gratefully accepted ⁴⁾. That solution did not satisfy the heirs, as results from the fact that on June 23, 1540, the Promoter was called before the Court ⁵⁾. His statement of the facts, which meanwhile had been duly inquired into, and maturely investigated, and had led to a fully substantiated appreciation, must have been unobjectionable, and prompted a favourable sentence: at any rate, no further mention is made of a disagreement in the records of the University meetings. Peter van Opmeer, the historian, who started his studies about that time in the *Trilingue* ⁶⁾, notes that nearly two thousand ducats of Erasmus' money were found in Goclenius' succession, and that they were distributed to poor students ⁷⁾, whereas Molanus specifies that about eighty Rhine florins from what was found in Goclenius' possession, were given to each Faculty to be distributed ⁸⁾. No special mention is made of the *Trilingue*, which at the time was most prosperous, and in which the bursars were well provided for; whereas amongst the regular attendants of the lectures, who belonged to the various Faculties, there certainly were some to whom the help was most welcome. That in the records little mention is made of that sentence may be due to the difficulties that Rescius started from October 1539 against the *Trilingue* ⁹⁾, compared

¹⁾ Allen, x, p 416, 3-14.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, 15-19; cp. before, p 28-9.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 23.

⁴⁾ *LibAct VII*, 265-66.

⁵⁾ Matt. Cogge: cp. III, 383; *sup.* p 15; *LibAct VII*, 280.

⁶⁾ Cp. Ch. XXIII, 5.

⁷⁾ Opmeer, I, 476, b.

⁸⁾ Mol., 605.

⁹⁾ Cp. Ch. XXII, 2, 3.

with which, the trouble caused by Goclenius' heirs must have seemed like a noisy squabble of presumptuous boys besides the malicious treachery of a crafty sharper.

4. PHYSICIANS

A. JOHN VAN GORP

Amongst the crowds that attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* during Edelheer's regency, there were three students who afterwards became famous as physicians, although in quite a different fashion. One, **John van Gorp, Goropius**, was born on June 23, 1518, at Hilvarenbeek, from which village, 9 km. S.E. of Tilburg, in the Campine, he took the name **Becanus**. He was trained in Louvain, being classed the third at the promotion to Master of Arts on March 27, 1539, as an inmate of the Porc ¹). He afterwards studied languages, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with Greek and Hebrew, as well as with Latin, attending with great zeal and regularity the lectures of Busleyden College. By 1544 or 1545, he was entrusted with the teaching of philosophy in the Porc ²), and for some time he even thought of entering the Church, since he requested the Faculty of Arts to appoint him to a first vacancy ³).

He, however, soon turned to medicine, and became an assiduous disciple of Gemma Reyneri ⁴), as well for mathematics as for the science of Æsculapius. He was very proficient, and, with a view to perfect himself, he journeyed to Italy, to Spain and to France. He exercised his art, especially in Spain, where he became physician to Queen Eleanor of France, widow of King Francis I († 1547), and to her sister, the late Regent Queen Mary of Hungary ⁵). After their decease, February 18, and October 18, 1558, he returned to the Netherlands, provided with a life-rent, and settled at Antwerp

¹) Joannes Goropius, vulgo Van Gorp, Becanus : *ULPromRs.*, 98.

²) *ULDoc*, iv, 120, sq.

³) *LibNomI*, 358, v : Joannes Gorop de Beka.

⁴) Cp. before, II, 542-65, &c.

⁵) *MarHon.*, 248-75 ; Moeller, 340-44 ; PlantE, II, 27.

as physician. He renewed there the old acquaintance with several erudites and literators, and became closely connected with the exegetist Benito Arias Montanus ¹⁾, and with the printer Christopher Plantin. After the break-down of 1562, he even helped the latter to build up again his business, together with Cornelius and Charles van Bombergen and James Schott ²⁾, which explains his intimacy with the 'Architypographer', whom he occasionally advised for his editions ³⁾.

Philip II wanted to take Gorp into his service, but neither the honour conferred, nor the high wages stated, nor even the royal present sent to induce him, could bring the physician to accept the generous offer. It did not last long even before he neglected and completely abandoned the medical profession to devote all his time and thoughts to the historic and, especially, to the etymologic questions, with which Antony Morillon ⁴⁾ had occupied himself for years ⁵⁾. Gorp had made friends with Maximilian Morillon ⁶⁾, who passed to him his brother's notes, and, amongst them, papers about the old names of streets and places at Antwerp ⁷⁾. The physician felt attracted far more strongly by the linguistic problems than by those of anatomy or pathology, for he did not want to solve them, like the latter, by reality and undeniable facts; indeed, in utter ignorance of the laws of development and of the constant changes of the languages

¹⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV, 4.

²⁾ Cp. MasE, 364 : in October 1563, Plantin re-installed his office.

³⁾ Cp. PigE, 221 ; PlantE, I, 26, 181, III, 3, VI, 248, 302 ; MasE, 364, 386, 402. — Greetings to and from Goropius are regularly mentioned in the correspondence with Stephen Pighius, 1567-69 : PigE, 5, 7, 22, 25, 32, 206, 227, and Andrew Masius, 1562-1571 : MasE, 364, 386, 400, 466, 468, 471 ; cp. PlantE, I, 59-60, III, 14, 83, 88.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 305-12.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 307, 310-11.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 345-50.

⁷⁾ On March 3, 1568, Pighius wrote to Becanus that Maximilian Morillon had learned from Cardinal Granvelle's letter about the printing of his *Origines*, and as he thought that his brother Antony's notes had helped him, he wished that mention should be made of him in the preface; he consequently remarks, rather cynically : 'Laureolam quæ-runt, et quando palpari cupiunt, quid obstat quin morem geras?' PigE, 26 ; Simonis, 98 ; cp. PlantE, I, 228, 250, III, 41.

according to the circumstances of the time and life, he wished to clear up all doubts and difficulties by the mere force of his own sharp and brilliant wit. That wit, which Justus Lips highly admired ¹⁾, and which made him the centre and attraction of a fine group of kindred spirits wherever he came, was most inauspicious for him : it caused him quite to neglect, not only the little there was known then about the laws of sound changes, and about all kinds of influences, but even the most essential investigation ²⁾. He thus explained words noted down thousands of years ago, with those in use in his days ³⁾; and, unfortunately, he considered as truth what he once had conceived ; so that, instead of correcting and rereading even critically what he had written down in his extraordinary facility of composition ⁴⁾, he considered it as an indubitable fact, in so far that he took even the most biting contradiction as a joke, covering whole-hearted assent. He thus not only advanced wrong assertions — like that, which made of Guy Morillon, his friend's father, the first professor of Greek in the *Trilingue* ⁵⁾, — but statements more treacherous

¹⁾ In his letter to Henry Schott, Antwerp Syndic, of December 19, 1599, Lips represented, at length, the ridicule and the astonishing foolishness of Gorp's hypotheses, but adds : ' Virum amaui, & ingenium acre, facile, felix etiam miratus sum : felix, si in aliam rem & materiam vertisset ' : *Epistolarum Centuria III ad Belgas* : xliv (Antwerp, 1605) : 41.

²⁾ Even before the appearance of his book, there seem to have been meetings of friends gathering to discuss the matter, and to make him see the truth : cp. further, p 37.

³⁾ Already Justus Lips, in his letter to Henry Schott, Dec. 19, 1599, points out the astounding changes noticeable in a language after a few centuries, let alone thousands of years : cp. further, pp 37-38.

⁴⁾ On Sept. 28, 1574, Plantin mentioned to A. Le Roy, of the College of Navarre, that Gorp, when writing his works, never used any notes nor rough draughts, and never corrected what had once been penned down : ' Ille... vir doctiss. ingenio promptiss. et memoria incredibili præditus numquam adversariis aut præparationibus vel notis memoriæ juvandæ gratia utebatur ad ea opera, quæ concipiebat edenda... Ubi vero manum calamo adponebat, ille tamquam torrens ex alto et perenni fonte scaturiens continua serie digerebat quicquid ad rem quam susceperat facere videbatur, neque umquam postea rescribebat quæ semel disposuerat : PlantE, iv, 142.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 46-48, 309.

than the worst aberrations of the Middle Ages. Indeed, besides being enounced in a witty and pseudo-scientific way, those wild absurdities are mixed up with judicious remarks, and adjoin rectifications of deep-rooted errors; for he durst deny the historicity of the existence of a generation of giants, in despite of the secular belief and the so-called authentic proofs ¹⁾; and he was one of the first to contest the authority of the vowel-points of the Massorah, opposing the value of old versions, like that of Eleazar ²⁾; and yet, he obstinately upheld his assertion that what Adam and Eve spoke in Paradise, was the Flemish in use in his days in Brabant!

Having finished printing the famous *Themis Dea* by Stephen Pigge ³⁾, in December 1567 ⁴⁾, Plantin started, in

¹⁾ Gorp evidently wanted to proscribe the old legend of Brabo who fought the giant Antigonius that tyrannized the right border of the Scheldt: he cut off his huge hand, and threw it into the river, which gave the name, *Hand-werpen*, to the place: Gabbema, 268-9. — He, as thus, preceded for more than a century the famous English physician and naturalist John Sloane (1660-1753), who denied all authenticity to the proofs then quoted for the historicity of the giants: *DNB*.

²⁾ Gorp pointed out that, when the Version of the Seventy under Eleazar's lead was made, Hebrew was in a way still a living language, and there certainly did not exist that antagonism against the Christians, whose teaching the Rabbins intended to object to by their fixing the sense of a nearly extinct idiom. Gorp's view was held by Louis Cappel, 1585-1658, professor at Saumur (*Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*: Leyden, 1624; comments *ed.* 1689); Francis Masclef, 1662-1728, Amiens divine; and the Oxford professor Humphrey Hody, 1659-1707 (*De Biblitorum Textibus Originalibus*: Oxford, 1705): *DNB*; — against John Buxtorf (*Tractatus de Punctorum Vocalium*: Basle, 1648; *Anticritica*: Basle, 1653).

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 5, c.

⁴⁾ It seems as if Gorp, who had been promised help by the town authorities for his book, had some trouble on account of religious questions, to which three 'pastores' of Antwerp had objected, and of possible political susceptibilities. He therefore applied on December 12, 1567, to Philibert de Bruxelles, van Brussel, a native of Mechlin, Knight, Lord of Heysbroeck, &c, member of the Brabant and the Privy Councils, author of the highly esteemed *De Conditionibus*, 1560, held in great honour for his eloquence, whose wife Jane de Lockengien was an old acquaintance: *BibBelg.*, 767; Hoynck, I, ii, 359, 410, 592; Henne, v, 49, vii, 146, x, 261. Explaining that his aim was merely historical, and that he only referred to the very origin of the town, Gorp requested

January 1568, Gorp's *Origines Antwerpianæ, sive Cimmericorum Becceselana*; he had the volume ready in December following ¹⁾: it comprized nine chapters, or books, preceded by a preface to Philip II, and another to the authorities and the people of Antwerp, as well as by some verses in its praise ²⁾. It had not exhausted the store of essays he had composed on similar subjects, namely the history of the prosperous business metropolis and her people; yet, on account of the difficult times, they were published only eight years after his death by his favourer Lævinus Torrentius ³⁾, as *Opera Joan. Goropii Becani, hactenus in lucem non edita* (Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1580): they contained five more essays, and were dedicated to their mutual friend Arias Montanus from Liège, on July 1, 1578 ⁴⁾.

Those various dissertations on the language and the early history of his people in a witty, brilliant exposition, brought, besides judicial remarks and erudite contributions, — such as the description of Ulphilas' Bible translation, then recently found by Antony Morillon ⁵⁾, — some astoundingly heterodox assertions. Even where he proposes what seems the truth, he states it without actual proof or justification, such as his denial of the existence of giants in his *Gigantomachia*, which does not bring the explanation of the huge monuments, or the large bones, which gave rise to the tradition he

Philibert's protection and interference, so that the book might be printed as soon as possible : Gabbema, 267-72.

¹⁾ PlantE, I, 228, 250, 270, 296, 319, II, 5, 21, 25, III, 13, sq. 35-39, 41, sq. 50, 102; also letters to Masius, Jan. 5, and April 8, 1568; to Charles de Langhe, Febr. 1, 1568, and to Pighius, Dec. 14, 1568 : PigE, 33, 34, 221; MasE, 407, 411.

²⁾ Paquot, III, 30, sq.

³⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 4, A; PlantE, II, 312.

⁴⁾ Paquot, III, 32-36; cp. PlantE, II, 312, IV, 61, 141, sq. 204, 208, 320; VII, 112, 117-18; Hessels, I, 212. — The work was taken in hand in January 1580, and was finished Oct.-Nov. following : PlantE, VI, 128-30, 153-55, 191, 236. One part, *Francica*, was dedicated to King Henry III of France, on August 19, 1580 : PlantE, VI, 182-84.

⁵⁾ Extracts, — amongst others, the text of the 'Our Father', — were inserted into the 'Gotodanica', *Origin. Antw.*, 739, sq. 750 : H. C. v. Gabelenz & J. Loebe, *Ulphilas* : Leipzig, 1843 : xii; cp. before, III, 310. It was one of the subjects for which Maximilian Morillon provided information to Gorp : cp. before, p. 32.

proscribes ¹⁾. In his *Indo-Scytica* his mad opinions culminate by the identification of the Flemish, or Cymric as he calls it, spoken in Brabant in his days, with the language used by Adam in Paradise, and by several generations of his descendants ²⁾. He tries to prove his assertion by a pseudo-etymologic explanation of names, worthy of Isidore of Seville, and by an abundant juggling with history and chronology. In his *Opera* of 1580, that brain-sick opinion, far from being recanted, is shamelessly insisted on : the *Hermathena* asserts that Flemish is older than Hebrew ; that it is the origin of the most ancient names in Greek and Latin mythology or history ; that it existed several centuries before the Moon, since that Satellite of the Earth only came into existence during the Flood, that Reign of the Water and the Ocean, when Noe, who spoke Flemish, had already lived long enough to found all the nations of Arcadia, and had witnessed even the coming down from heaven of the three wonderful Lilies that procured the Royal Arms to the Kings of the Franks ³⁾.

Gorp's extravagant opinions can hardly be ascribed to mere inattention or inconsideration : he had communicated them to his friends, who had duly warned him. Months before the *Becani heterodoxa historia* was published in print, Pighius remarked most cautiously to Masius, that he wondered 'quam sit placitura externis ingeniis ob etymologiarum argumenta' ⁴⁾. When, at last, the book came out, neither Pighius, nor Masius, notwithstanding their friendly connection with Gorp, could refrain from condemning it most severely. 'Tu quidem', Pigge wrote to Masius on March 7, 1569, 'de Becceselanis ex mea prorsus aliorumque sententia ; multos offendunt etiam nimium detortæ etymologiæ non

¹⁾ Gorp's opinion was contradicted by John le Clerc (1657-1736), in his *Quæstiones Sacræ* : Amsterdam, 1685 : Paquot, xvii, 22 ; also by Thomas Fazellus, *Duæ Decades de Rebus Siculis* : Frankfurt, 1579 : cp. Hessels, I, 394, 515-16 ; also P. Camerarius & J. Molle, *The Walking Library* : London, 1621 : 323-27.

²⁾ Paquot, III, 31-32 : he explains Adam as *haat dam*, dam against hatred, viz., of the serpent ; and Eva, as *Eeuw Vat*, the vessel from which the centuries were to issue.

³⁾ Paquot, III, 32-36.

⁴⁾ Letter of January 5, 1568 : PigE, 33 ; cp. SchottE, 25.

paucæ et longissimæ aliquot digressiones' ¹⁾). In his preface to his *Grammatica Linguae Syriacæ*, 1571 ²⁾), Masius mentions that the priority of Hebrew is so unobjectionable 'ut refelli non mereantur qui ingenii ostentandi gratia magis quam pro sua ipsorum existimatione, nescio cui linguae principatum dare audent' ³⁾). From the correspondence of the two great erudites Masius and Arias Montanus, it follows that they arranged some 'symposiacas de origine literarum, earumque inventore disputationes', in Antwerp with Gorp and other friends, which the Cleves councillor related, or intended relating, in the shape of a letter for which Pighius repeatedly asked ⁴⁾). Most likely they were intended to bring Gorp to a saner view of the matter; still his obstinacy seems to have been such, that what they treated as a joke and a jest, was taken by him for actual truth; whereas he considered as merry fun whatever they objected to, and even argued in dead earnest against him. Justus Lips seems to have attended some of those 'symposiacæ disputationes'; for, writing on December 19, 1599, to the Antwerp Syndic Henry Schott ⁵⁾), he refers to them: 'Crebri nobis sermones, atque etiam ioci, de lingua nostra & Becano: qui, vt scis, non antiquam & elegantem solum, sed primogeniam facit, & ceteras ex ea velut matrice educit': he develops in that same letter the most convincing argument against Gorp's opinion: for he completely ignored the continuous changes in form, build, and meaning of all words; Lips exemplifies them by the comparison of the Flemish of those days with the language of Charles the Bald's Strassburg Oath, *Teudisca Lingua*,

¹⁾ MasE, 425. Pigge further mentions that Gorp inserted a long passage of the *Themis* as if claiming priority: Equidem nescio, cur nam voluerit unius etymi caussa totam meam Themis inserere, alio fuco quodam superinducto, quam biennio antequam a me ederetur, viderat, nisi ut inventionis laudem qua posset via eriperet, quam se mihi invidere dicebat, cum primum vidisset. Sed hæc inter nos.

²⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1571-72.

³⁾ Letter of Masius, Zevenaar, March 15, 1570, to Arias Montanus, in the *Apparatus Sacer* of the *Biblia Regia*: MasE, 442: Sermonem hebraicum fuisse eum, cujus communione primos homines inter se junxerat optimus parens Deus.

⁴⁾ Letters of Pighius to Masius, Vienna, June 21, October 18, and November 8, 1572: MasE, 488, 494, 497.

⁵⁾ Lips, *Epist. Cent. III, ad Belgas*: xliv (Antwerp, 1605): 41.

843 ¹⁾, and the nearly contemporary translation of the Psalms in the famous manuscript then belonging to the Liège canon Arnold Wachtendonck ²⁾; he points out the great changes in the few centuries intervening, rightly concluding that for the several thousands of years, similarity in form and meaning cannot possibly be expected; 'nec firmum id telum, quo de Primatu pugnent. Etsi pariationes, aut originationes, quas Becanus adfert, quis sæpe sine indignatiuncula aut risu legat?' ³⁾

Gorp's theory, which his friend Lævinus Torrentius defended to his own confusion in his preface to the *Opera* of 1580 ⁴⁾, may have been advocated by Adrian van Scrieck, 1614 ⁵⁾, and by Mark Zuerius Boxhornius, 1647-48 ⁶⁾; it may have been taken as good evidence by Antony Sanderus, 1654 ⁷⁾, and even been claimed in favour of Swedish by Olaus Rudbeck at the end of the xviith century ⁸⁾: it got severely criticized by one of the foremost scholars of that age, Joseph Justus Scaliger ⁹⁾; it was made into one of Claud de Saumaise's *Quadriga Errorum* ¹⁰⁾, and was already ridiculed in 1612 by Ben Jonson in *The Alchemist* ¹¹⁾.

¹⁾ Lips, *Epist.* &c : xliv : 42, sq; R. Koenig, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte* : Bielefeld, 1906 : I, 20, sq.

²⁾ Lips, *Epist.* &c : xliv : 43, sq : that document is now lost : J. Vercoullie, *De Taal der Vlamingen* (in *Vlaanderen door de Eeuwen heen*) : Ghent, 204-5.

³⁾ Lips, *Epist.* &c : xliv : 62; Lips evidently considered Gorp's *Origines* as a great, but sad, joke : cp. before, p 37.

⁴⁾ Paquot, III, 32-36.

⁵⁾ Scrieckius (1560-1621), Ypres councillor, wrote *Originum Rerumque Celticarum & Belgicarum Libri XXIII* (1614) : Paquot, II, 170-75.

⁶⁾ Boxhoorn (1612-53), Leyden professor, wrote treatises on the goddess *Nehalennia*, 1647-48 : Paquot, I, 416-32, 427-28.

⁷⁾ Sanderus (1586-1664), historian, refers to Gorp in his *Threnodia* : Paquot, XVI, 364-93, 381-382. — J. N. Paquot, in his article on Peter Cobbaert, of Ninove, mentions that that town might have provided a fit etymology for the *Origines* : Paquot, IX, 92.

⁸⁾ Olaus Rudbeck, professor of Uppsala, who died in 1702, claimed the priority amongst languages for Swedish, in *Athlantica, sive Manheim, vera Japheti Posterorum Sedes*, &c : Paquot, III, 32.

⁹⁾ Paquot, II, 97.

¹⁰⁾ Claud de Saumaise (1588-1653), professor of Leyden : Paquot, XV, 445, 356-446.

¹¹⁾ *The Alchemist*, 1612 (Quarto edition : H. de Vocht, *Materials*, xxII, 1950) : ll 750-51 :

Svr. Did Adam write, Sir, in *high Dutch* ? MAM. He did :
Which proues it was the Primitive tongue.

Meanwhile the state of things, which had been getting worse ever since the middle of the sixties, became so embroiled and alarming that, in the beginning of 1572, Gorp thought of removing to Spain ¹⁾ with his wife, Catherine des Cordes, and their two daughters, Isabeau and Catherine ²⁾. He settled, instead, at Liège ³⁾, where he had two great friends, Lævinus Torrentius ⁴⁾, vicar-general of Prince-Bishop Gerard of Groesbeeck ⁵⁾, and the poet Charles de Langhe, Canon of St. Lambert's ⁶⁾. Unfortunately he did not enjoy long the genial company of those hearty well-wishers ⁷⁾, nor the beneficent protection of the Bishop : having been called for to Maastricht to attend the Count of Medina, he was himself laid up there with an illness, from which he died on June 28, 1572 ⁸⁾ ; he was entombed in the Church of the Minorites of that town ⁹⁾.

Although praising Gorp's industry in recalling antiquity, practically all the Trilinguists, led by Masius and Pighius,

¹⁾ Letter of Pighius to Masius, Vienna, 21, 1572 : MasE, 488.

²⁾ Paquot, III, 29 : Catherine des Cordes was the daughter of Jacques des Cordes and of Isabeau Bernuy, or Bernouille ; she was the widow of Jerome Helman, and very rich.

³⁾ PlantE, III, 321 : 8-18 April : the year date 1573 there, is evidently wrong for 1572, as Gorp died on June 28, 1572.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 4, A.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 4, A.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 4, c.

⁷⁾ He found there also a friend in Gaspar van Surck, whom he chose as executor with Torrentius, and whose relative Antony became the husband of his daughter Catherine.

⁸⁾ His decease, together with that of Charles de Langhe, is referred to by Torrentius in his letter to Pighius, April 30, 1574, and, with that of Masius, to de Champagny, Governor of Antwerp, Febr. 12, 1574 : PigE, 167, 234. Cp. PlantE, IV, 26-27, 68 (by which Lips replies to the announcement of G's death, March, 4, 1574), 317.

⁹⁾ Guicc., 85, 132-33 ; SweABelg., 431-32 ; SweMon., 5, 25, 352 ; Opmeer, II, 6, 8 ; VAnd., 404 ; Miræus, 89-90 (favourable to Gorp as Torrentius' friend) ; BibBelg., 508-9 ; SaxOnom., 391, 649 ; Gabbema, 267-72 ; Paquot, III, 27-36 ; PlantE, I, 59, &c ; CollTorr., 77. In some letters between Plantin and Pighius, Febr. 6 and Sept. 5, 1574, Sept. 6, 1575, mention is made of the big stock of books which Gorp had bequeathed to Torrentius, and which the friends helped him to sell : PigE, 81, 95, 120. — VulcE, 501, quotes an account of Plantin, Dec. 16, 1573, amounting to 3 flor., 10 shill.

frankly condemned his erroneous hypotheses and, especially, his obstinate persisting in treating all his fancies as truth. That judgment received its public promulgation in Valerius Andreas' introductory speech to the re-installed Hebrew lecture, March 28, 1612, in which he sketched the history of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾. He blames Gorp's attempt at making the Cimbrian tongue, as he called Flemish, into the original language, pronouncing it *Cimmeriæ tenebræ*; although he appreciates humorous explanations in jest and sport, as a beneficial recreation to serious studies, he severely condemns treating those vagaries as truth: 'At vero jocularia illa', he concludes, 'verborum lenociniis ac fucis, longe petitis vocum etymis adornata, ut certa, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τρίποδος pronunciata velle vulgi insinuare animis, hoc vere est Naturam deludere, et quando ipsa pro se stat Veritas, deridendum se præbere' ²⁾. That unequivocal condemnation of Gorp's theory gives almost an additional value to his praise of Louvain and its University over all the towns and learned institutes which he knew from his own experience. Valerius Andreas quotes it at the end of his *Fasti Academici*: it concludes from a comparison with each *Academia*, 'omnibus inter se comparatis nihil ad Louanij amœnitatem... Nusquam, ita me Phoebus amet, terrarum locus est, qui videatur magis mereri, ut sit harum Musarum domicilium' ³⁾.

B. PETER VAN FOREEST

Another student at the *Trilingue* in Edelheer's time, who became famous as physician, was **Peter van Foreest, Forestus**, one of Nannius' favourite disciples. He was born in 1522 at Alkmaar, in the neighbourhood of which town his father, Jourdan of Foreest, was sheriff of the place Bergen until his death, in 1559 ⁴⁾. The young boy enjoyed his first instruction at Alkmaar, and afterwards at Haarlem under Ophusius ⁵⁾,

¹⁾ Valerius Andreas, *Collegii Trilinguis Buslidiani in Academia Lovaniensi Exordia et Progressus*: Louvain, 1614; NèveMém., 105.

²⁾ VAndEx., 15-16; NèveMém., 263.

³⁾ VAnd., 404.

⁴⁾ Paquot, XII, 76; Gelder, 71, sq, 120; Hofdijk, I, 44, sq, 107, 307, II, 45.

⁵⁾ He mentions that master in the preface to his *Observationes*, 1602.

before he repaired to Louvain, where he arrived about 1539. In his indecision about the choice of a career, his master Nannius advised him not to become a lawyer, as his parents wanted, but rather to turn to medicine. The young man studied indeed several years under Jeremias Thrivervus ¹⁾, and others, before going to Italy; there he promoted doctor in medicine in Bologna on November 29, 1543, and afterwards was an eager hearer of Vesale in Padua ²⁾. For a time he worked in Rome in the hospital *di S. Maria della Consolazione* under his countryman Gisbert Horstius, of Amsterdam ³⁾, whilst studying botany with his friend Valerius Cordus, who died there in 1544 ⁴⁾.

Peter Forestus afterwards stayed in Paris, where he lived on friendly terms with the King's physician, the Florentine Vidus Vidius ⁵⁾, and with James Dubois Sylvius, professor of the Royal College ⁶⁾: to that student of Galenus' simples, he provided, thanks to his great experience in botany ⁷⁾, several plants which he had found in Italy. On his advice he practised his art at Pithiviers, near Orleans, in Beauce, from where, after a year, in 1546, he was recalled home by his father. He settled in his native town, until, in 1558, his help was requested at Delft in a dire epidemic: he worked so well there, that he was offered the office of town-physician, with a considerable pension. He accepted and devoted several years to a most careful, self-sacrificing attendance of his patients. He thus gained an extensive knowledge about the roots and signs of diseases, and their appropriate treatment. Far from reserving his experience to his own advantage, he imparted most generously the fruit of his work and researches to the benefit of humanity, placing it at the disposal of all his colleagues in various essays, some of which were published at once, others were gathered into an admirable collection of *Observationum & Curationum Medicinalium ac Chirurgicalium, sive Medicina Theoretica & Practica*, of which the entire series was edited as *Opera Omnia*, 1602-1611, and

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 542, 532, sq.

²⁾ Cp. III, 323-33, 328.

⁴⁾ Cp. Paquot, XII, 78, XIV, 249.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 326, sq.

³⁾ Cp. Paquot, XII, 77, 302-4.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 326.

⁷⁾ *Clusius*, II, 206.

again in 1619 ¹⁾. That store of beneficent advice forms an admirable contrast, both in spirit and in thoroughness, with the books of his fellow-student Goropius; in so far that it procured him in his lifetime the name of 'The Dutch Hippocrates'.

At the foundation of Leyden University, he was entrusted with part of the lectures on medicine, and at the opening, on February 8, 1575, he inaugurated them by an oration: the excellence of the art and science of Æsculapius was thus praised by the most glorious of his adepts in Holland ²⁾. Still he did not abandon Delft, where he, since 1573, had placed his experience at the service of Prince William of Orange in the old St. Agatha-Convent; with C. Busennius, he proceeded there to the post-mortem examination on the tragic July 10, 1584, and submitted the report to the States General ³⁾.

As time advanced, Peter van Foreest resigned his office ⁴⁾, and returned to Alkmaar in 1595, where his brothers James and John exercised the same art, at least the former, for the second had become bailiff of the town, whereas the youngest brother, Nanning, was an able member of the High Council of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland from 1582 to his death in 1592. Peter had married Eva van Teylingen, but their two children died very young. After some well-earned rest from his labours, he expired there on March 10, 1597, and was entombed in the principal church of the town under this epitaph:

EVICTVS FATO CVBAT HAC SVB MOLE FORESTVS :
HIPPOCRATES BATAVIS SI FVIT, ILLE FVIT ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Frankfurt, 1602-11, and 1619: Paquot, XII, 80-82.

²⁾ Paquot, XVIII, 143-4, recording the biographies and portraits of the professors by John Orlers (Leyden, 1614): *Illustrium Hollandiæ & Westfrisiæ Ordinum Alma Academia Leydensis*: 109, sq.

³⁾ Riemsdijk, 25-27; Gelder, 72.

⁴⁾ Peter generously helped younger colleagues, such as Henry a Bra, whose essay on a new illness he published with his own *Observationes* in 1595: Paquot, IX, 89; also Thomas Fyens, Fienus, of Antwerp, who studied some time under him, until, by 1590, he went to Italy, returning by 1593 to this country; by November, he became Doctor and Professor in Louvain: Paquot, IV, 213; VAnd., 237; *TurnLov.*, I, 9, 11.

⁵⁾ Opmeer, II, 178, b, 180, b; *BibBelg.*, 738-39; Paquot, XII, 75-82; *Meursii Athenæ Batavæ*, 97-101; BW; *Bulletin de la Soc. Méd. de Gand*, 1903: 112-14; Gelder, 71-73, 120; *Clusius*, II, 206.

C. DANIEL VAN VLIERDEN

During Edelheer's regency the lectures of the *Trilingue* were attended by a third — at least, — medical student, **Daniel van Vlierden**, a native of Brussels, son of Baltasar van Vlierden, of Oirschot, L. V. J., and Ida van der Tommen. His father had studied forty years earlier, and had even been classed the first at the promotion to Master of Arts in 1498, as inmate of the Falcon ¹⁾; he had then applied to jurisprudence, and, whilst preparing for the degree of licentiate in both laws, he taught philosophy in his Pedagogy until he became advocate to, and, on account of his excellence, member of, the Council ²⁾ of Brabant ³⁾. Unfortunately he did not see the beginning of his son's studies in Louvain, as he died on February 6, 1528 ⁴⁾. Daniel, the eldest of several brothers, matriculated on February 28, 1536, also as an inmate of the Falcon ⁵⁾, and was classed the 26th at the promotion to Master of Arts on April 9, 1538 ⁶⁾. After having attended the lessons of theology for a time, he turned to medicine, and, under the lead of Thriverus and Gemma ⁷⁾, he made rapid progress, which he greatly helped by his studies in the *Trilingue*.

By 1542 he went to Italy where, in Bologna, he continued his training, and promoted Doctor in 1543. He published his *Conclusiones Medicæ, Bononiæ disputatæ*, in that same year in Bologna ⁸⁾, where his brother Peter had also started studies, and had become a member of the *Natio Germanica* in 1542 ⁹⁾. Daniel wrote a treatise there, which he had printed

¹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 65.

²⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 392.

³⁾ Henne, v, 253.

⁴⁾ He was buried in front of the chapel of the '*Chevauchers*', dedicated to the Name Jesus, in St. Gudula's, Brussels, where his wife, who had preceded him on December 11, 1517, had already been laid to rest. Very near the same grave were entombed her brother, John van der Tommen, who died on Sept. 12, 1524, and his widow Lisbeth Offhuys, deceased on March 18 (before Easter, 1531), 1532, who probably had taken care of the children of her sister-in-law : *BruxBas.*, ii, 112-13.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 84, v.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 95.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 532-42, 542-65.

⁸⁾ Bologna, 1543 : Paquot, xvii, 343.

⁹⁾ Knod, 601 : '1542. a nobili d. Petro de Vlierden dimidium coronatum'; cp. further, p 44.

in the following year in Basle, by Jerome Froben, under the title : *Epistola non minus Theologica, quam Medica, ad Gabrielem fratrem* ¹⁾; *declarans Medicum non solum corpori, verum etiam animæ suppetias dare* ²⁾. That little book, which he finished in Bologna on December 10, 1543, was approved of for printing on that same day by Frater Leander, Dominican and inquisitor ³⁾; it refers to his promotion as Doctor, and mentions a letter and two *opuscula* which he had received from his former professor Jeremy Thriverus, and had sent, on perusing them, to his great friend Andrew Turinus Pisciensis, who then was physician to Paul III, after having been that of Clement VII and of the French King ⁴⁾.

The spirit of that treatise, which did as much honour to his training as the language and style in which it is written, most probably helped him to the position of physician to Queen Mary of Hungary on his return to this country. He married Anna de Hullegarde, who bore him a daughter, as well as a son, John, who afterwards became canon. Unfortunately no particulars seem to have been preserved about his career and its end, which may have come before Queen Mary's departure for Spain ⁵⁾.

Baltasar van Vlierden had left several sons ⁶⁾, who, judging from the outstanding places they occupied, had enjoyed an excellent training in Louvain and, most probably, also at the *Trilingue*. One of them, Gabriel, Licentiate in Divinity, to whom Daniel addressed his *Epistola* in 1544, was a *magnum ornamentum* of the Chapter of St. Bavo's, Ghent, where he

¹⁾ Cp. further below, and p 45.

²⁾ Basle, J. Froben, 1544 : Paquot, xvii, 343.

³⁾ The manuscript copy submitted to the inquisitor, and bearing his approval and signature, has been found by the author of this *History*; it is written in a magnificent hand; it takes up eleven folio pages, with the title at the top of the twelfth; if not written by the author, it has evidently been corrected by him.

⁴⁾ Andrew Turinus, or Thurinus, wrote and published several medical treatises : cp. Trit., 431.

⁵⁾ Cp. *SweABelg.*, 205; *BibBelg.*, 173; Hoynck, i, ii, 392; *BruxHist.*, iii, 658; Henne, v, 58; *SweMon.*, 23.

⁶⁾ There was also a daughter, who does not seem to have been in good health, as the account of St.-Peter's Hospital, Brussels, for 1520-21, shows that 3 £, 8 s was paid for her food during one year : Henne, v, 253. Cp. Hellin, ii, 263, 268.

was canon, and had even been elected *cantor* in 1546, which dignity he resigned as it was contested ¹⁾. He died on December 2, 1566, having made a foundation for three scholarships in the Falcon and in Holy Ghost College in Louvain ²⁾. Peter, who had studied in Bologna, became Private Secretary to Mary of Hungary ³⁾; Giles was an advocate, George, dean of Briel, and Adolph, receiver of the Imperial Domains ⁴⁾; John was secretary of the Privy Council and Warden of the Brabant Charters, and died in 1575 ⁵⁾. As to Baltasar, Antwerp councillor, who suffered imprisonment in the troublous times, and died on May 16, 1591, leaving a line of descendants ⁶⁾, as well as his brother Henry, deceased as cavalry captain in Hungary, they may have been nephews ⁷⁾.

5. STUDENTS

A. CANONIST

About that time the nephew of the professor of Canon Law, Michael **Drieux** ⁸⁾, Remi, son of his brother Remi, and Catherine Fenaerts, born in 1519 at Merckeghem, near Cassel, attended the lessons of the *Trilingue*. He had been placed the 15th at his promotion to Master of Arts on April 9, 1538 ⁹⁾,

¹⁾ He had promoted M.A. in 1530, being classed the twelfth : *ULProm-Lv.*, 11. Cp. Hellin, I, 143; Hoyneck, I, ii, 392, 835; *FlandIll.*, I, 24.

²⁾ VAnd., 266, 292; FUL, (1380), 1627, 1684, 1686 : the foundation was enriched by Thierry de Planen on Nov. 2, 1567; cp. Mol., 624-25, 633; *ULDoc.*, III, 40-41.

³⁾ Knod, 601; Butkens, *Trophées du Brabant, Suppl.* I, 190.

⁴⁾ Paquot, xvii, 344; *BibBelg.*, 173; *BruxHist.*, I, 575.

⁵⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 102, ii, 835; ViglEB, 28; he is probably different from the famous goldsmith and engraver 'John van Vlierden van Nymme-ghen' : Henne, v, 98-99.

⁶⁾ *SweMon.*, 120, where his wife, Catherine van Delft, is mentioned and his death is dated April 16, 1593; Guicc., 81; *AntwHist.*, v, 191, viii, 236. — His son Francis, born at Antwerp, in 1546, entered the Abbey of Parc in 1572, and became Abbot in 1583; he died on May 3, 1601 : *Parc*, 229, sq, 44, 56, 62, 81. — Cp. VAnd., 216; Paquot, xiv, 319; Hellin, II, 232, 263; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 136, II, 328, 336; *MalInscr.*, 428.

⁷⁾ *SweMon.*, 120.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, II, 421, sq.

⁹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 95.

and he had started the study of laws, in which branch he became licentiate in 1542. He was appointed professor of the Institutes on June 13, 1544 ¹⁾, and so proficient was his acquaintance with jurisprudence that, in 1557, he was called to Mechlin Great Council as Master of Requests and Ecclesiastical Councillor²⁾. He was nominated Provost of Our Lady's, at Bruges, in 1558 ³⁾, and, in 1561, Bishop of Leeuwarden. Since the state of Friesland hardly allowed of his residence there, he did not take possession of his seat, and was transferred, in 1568, to that of Bruges, succeeding to Peter de Corte ⁴⁾. He wisely and prudently administered his diocese : he tried to revive in it the real Christian spirit, and greatly contributed to that by the foundation of the Seminary, in the spring of 1571, as well as by the example he gave of courage and endurance during the years of his captivity at Ghent and Termonde by the revolutionary party, Oct. 28, 1577 to Aug. 1581, and three years of exile that followed. He died on May 12, 1594, and was buried in his cathedral, by the side of Count Louis of Nevers ⁵⁾. He very generously endowed the College founded in Louvain by his uncle Michael ⁶⁾.

B. LUDI MAGISTRI

The importance which, at that period, the knowledge of languages and literature took for some students throughout

¹⁾ He consequently became canon of St. Peter's ; in 1549 he was appointed Dean of St. James', which he remained until his leave for Mechlin : *Mol.*, 145, 158.

²⁾ He occupied the third ecclesiastical seat from 1557 (succeeding to Philip de l'Espinoy) until 1569 : *Hoyneck*, i, ii, 487 ; — on Nov. 1, 1568, he was expecting to leave the Council.

³⁾ Having enjoyed that provostry since 1558, he resigned it in 1584 ; in 1564, he obtained the 4th chaplaincy of that church ; it was soon exchanged for the 9th canonry, which he possessed from July 16, 1566 to 1585 : *BrugInscr.*, II, xi, xv, 240, 293.

⁴⁾ *Cp.* II, 83-4, 256, III, 131-35, 574-75 ; *GranClaess.*, 29, 35, 37.

⁵⁾ *VAnd.*, 158, 312, 380 ; *Vern.*, 130, 229, 351 ; *Hoyneck*, i, i, 171, ii, 487, 494 ; *Drieux, pass.* ; *Schrevel*, i, 291-98, 381-83, 869-919, &c, ii, 141-212, &c ; *BrugSDon.*, 26-31 ; *HEpL*, 39 ; *SonRyth.*, 53, 60, 68-9 ; *FlandIll.*, II, 48-49 ; *BelgChron.*, 519-20 ; *BrugErVir.*, 43, 36, 60, 69-70.

⁶⁾ *FUL*, 2935, 3038, 3055-57.

their lives, suggests that they zealously attended the lessons of the *Trilingue*. Such was **John Lambach**, Buecker, Böker, or Bücker, also called Schevastes, the son of Reinold, born about 1516 at Dortmund, Tremoniensis. He had his first training at Münster and Emmerich, after which he came to Louvain, where he stayed three years; he then made a visit to Paris and Orleans, and studied about 1540 in Cologne; he there may have followed the lessons of John Oldendorp ¹⁾ and may have made the acquaintance of Peter Ramus in Paris ²⁾. He did not, however, choose the career of jurispudent, but was appointed curate in 1543 at Dortmund. In his zeal for study, he founded there the *Archi-Gymnasium*, which he directed during several years and developed to a high degree of perfection: not only Latin and Greek were taught there, but also Hebrew, and the school was intended to render the stay at a university superfluous. He died in 1582 ³⁾.

From 1553, Lambach was helped by the two brothers Cop as 'conrectors': they were two of the seven sons of a Stromberg agricultural man ⁴⁾: **Bernard**, born in 1525, and **John**; they were taught at Münster, and then repaired to Louvain, where they, no doubt, attended the lectures of Busleyden

¹⁾ John Oldendorp, born in 1480 at Hamburg, studied in Cologne, Bologna and in Greifswald, where he promoted D.V.J. in 1518. He taught jurisprudence in Rostock and Lübeck. From 1538, he lectured in Cologne on the invitation of the Council at Herman von Wied's suggestion, but was revoked by the town authorities as 'Bucerist' in 1543. He afterwards read Civil Law in Marburg with great success, until his death, June 3, 1567: *ADB*; Stintzing I, 311-38, &c; *WiedVarr.*, I, 88-92, 159-62, 172; Keussen, 599, 8; Bianco, I, 416-7, 768-9; *UniKöln*, 463; *UniMarb.*, 19-20, 26; *MatriMarb.*, 117, 279, sq.

²⁾ Peter de la Ramée, Ramus, 1515-1571, was causing about 1540 a great upheaval in Paris University by his contention that whatever Aristotle had advanced, is false, as it takes away all freedom of the intellect. Still, by 1543, he had started teaching regularly philosophy and eloquence in the College of Presles, whereas afterwards he took up jurisprudence: cp. *NBG*; Lefranc, 206-24, &c; (A. Ribeiro,) A. de Gouvea (his great adversary), *Em Prol de Aristóteles*: Lisbon, 1940; Stintzing, I, 144-50, &c; Opmeer, II, 10; Lomeier, 173.

³⁾ Döring, *Joh. Lambach und das Gymnasium in Dortmund 1543-1582*: Berlin, 1875: 34-5, 122; Kuckhoff, 38, sq; *UniKöln*, 201; Keussen, III, p 114 (1928).

⁴⁾ *HuMünst.*, 111; *MünstBib.*, 20-21: the other brothers, or at least some of them, may also have been students of Louvain and the *Trilingue*.

College about 1539. By 1540, they also spent some time in Cologne, and probably studied law. They then worked as teachers at the 'Ludgeri' school of Münster. By 1553, Bernard was appointed 'Conrector' at the Dortmund School, and he remained there until 1559, when he accepted the direction of the School at Lemgo. In 1566 he left for Marburg, where he taught Greek, and, having promoted Doctor Juris in 1567, became professor of laws in 1568; he died on December 12, 1581, from the pest, and his excellence was expressed in the chronogram :

COPIVS HASSIACA FATO CONCESSIT IN VRBE

MAIOR QVO NVLLVS SOPHIE PENETRALE TENEBAT ¹⁾).

His brother John, who had been busy teaching at Paderborn, as well as at Münster, replaced him in 1559 as 'conrector' at Dortmund, at which school he worked until his death in 1605. Bernard Cop, or Copius, published a *Judicium de Controversiis Logicarum Artium tollendis*, 1588, as well as an *Oratio de Studio Juris recte Instituendo*, 1588, besides an edition of Cicero's *Officia*, and several handbooks with tables for his lessons of Dialectics, Rhetoric, Logic and Grammar; he even occasionally wrote poems ²⁾).

C. CHURCHMEN

Whilst by those and other students, the *Trilingue* spread an efficient example and most beneficent teaching far beyond the country's bounds ³⁾, it also greatly contributed to develop the minds and hearts of those, who, within the Netherlands, were called upon by their rank and their development to take a leading part amongst their fellow-creatures. So were, no doubt, the brothers **Claud, John and Paul de Carondelet** ⁴⁾).

¹⁾ *HuMünst.*, 201; *MünstBib.*, 20, espec. 21.

²⁾ *MünstFestschr.*, 27-28; Döring, *Joh. Lambach*: Berlin, 1875: 36, 70, 71, 112, 113; *MünstBib.*, 20-21; *MatriMarb.*, 34, 274.

³⁾ Cp. Kuckhoff, 47-50.

⁴⁾ John and Paul de Carondelet matriculated in May 1535: 'juravit pro eis Joann. de Mechlinia ferrici, in jure': *LibIntIV*, 77, r. Amongst the four sons of Claud de Carondelet, the eldest being Claud, the second, John, Lord of Solre, Arvang, &c, was married to Anna de la Hamaïde, and left some children; the third, 'Jean de Carondelet, époux de... de Bailleul', may be identical with the 'Paul' mentioned in the matriculation register; the fourth is Ferry, Lord of Potelles, &c: *Brug&Fr.*, III, 442.

They were the sons of Claud de Carondelet, Lord of Solre, Arvang and Potelles ¹⁾, and of Jacqueline de Blondel-Joigny-de Pamele. Their father, councillor and ambassador, had died on May 31, 1518, but their mighty uncle, John, Archbishop of Palermo, President of the Council of State and of the Privy Council, took great care of their training ²⁾. Whereas John and Paul, who matriculated in May 1535, started the study of laws, Claud seems to have prepared himself to enter the Church. He, for certain, was most eager in attending the lectures in the *Trilingue*, in so far that his professor Nannius dedicated to him, on November 13, 1550 ³⁾, his edition of *Consulti Chirii Fortunatiani Rhetoricorum Libri tres* ⁴⁾. His uncle had him appointed in 1543 as his coadjutor in the Provostry of St. Donatian's, Bruges, a dignity with which the office of perpetual Chancellor of Flanders was connected; he succeeded him on February 18, 1544 ⁵⁾. On January 30, 1544, he had been appointed Privy Councillor, and, amongst other preferments, he secured the place of Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Besançon, of St. Peter's, Lille, and, on June 22, 1535, of St. Saviour's, Harlebeke. He attended Charles V's abdication, Oct. 25, 1555. He died at Bruges, Aug. 11, 1564, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Donatian's dedicated to St. Charles Borromeus. He was the last provost of that Church, as that dignity was incorporated at his decease with the bishopric ⁶⁾.

One of Nannius' students, **Rombaut Reymaers**, Rimarius, of Mechlin, illustrated himself as canon in his native town. He had matriculated as *dives Standonicus* on August 31,

¹⁾ Claud de Carondelet, born at Dôle, 1467, was Lord of Solre, Arvang, and Potelles: he was councillor, and was sent as ambassador to England in 1506; he died on May 31, 1518, and was buried in the Abbey of Thure, with his wife Jacqueline de Blondel-Joigny-de Pamele, who died on Sept. 16, 1558: *Brug&Fr.*, III, 440; *BrabNobl.*, 492.

²⁾ John de Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo, and Provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges, died at Mechlin, February 7, 1544, at the age of seventy-five: *Brug&Fr.*, III, 441; *BrugSDon.*, 77-78; *Cran.*, 56, c; *Brug-Inscr.*, I, 42-43.

³⁾ Polet, 311-12.

⁴⁾ Louvain, Martinus Rotarius... typis Reineri Velpij, Sept. 1550: Polet, 168-71.

⁵⁾ *BrugSDon.*, 78-79.

⁶⁾ *BrugInscr.*, I, 172-73, 117; Hoyneck, I, i, 181; *ConPri.*, I, 64, II, 1; *ConPriT*, 21, 68; *Brug&Fr.*, III, 442; *Cran.*, 83, e; Schrevel, II, 73, sq.

1536 ¹⁾, and promoted Master of Arts on March 27, 1539, being classed the 35th ²⁾; he then studied theology, and became licentiate. He probably was a relative, if not a brother, of Augustine Reymaers, one of the favourite students of Barlandus ³⁾, who, at his premature decease, inserted a composition of his in the *Dialogi*, 1526 ⁴⁾, and worked out the notes he took in his lectures on Terence, into his edition of 1530 ⁵⁾. Rombaut Reymaers became canon in the church of his patron-saint; he died on June 4, 1577, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Antony, to which he bequeathed a Burial of Our Lord in alabaster ⁶⁾. By his will of December 21, 1576, he had founded a scholarship in Holy Ghost College by means of rents on the customs of Zeeland ⁷⁾.

6. COLLEGE LIFE

A. AFFLUENCE OF HEARERS

With the new President, and Nannius replacing Goclenius, the *Trilingue* continued its regular work, and the students flocked to the lectures as they had been doing since a long time. In fact, in the last years, their numbers had grown so large that they alarmed several members of the University. If they had not had the courage to raise their voices as long as the most popular and the highly influential Goclenius was protecting the Institute with the prestige of his genius and the omnipotence of his kind heart, they did not wait long bringing out indirect complaints after he had been laid to rest in St. Peter's. When, on Saturday, February 15, 1539, at the

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 89, r.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 99.

³⁾ Daxhelet, 18, 178, 188.

⁴⁾ *Dialogi XLII per Hadrianum Barlandum... Item Augustini Reymarj Mechliniensis, Dialogus unus, de Ludo Chartarum*: Antwerp, M. Hillen, 1526: Daxhelet, 159, sq, 163, 188.

⁵⁾ *P. Terentii Sex Comoediæ*: Louvain, R. Rescius, October 1530: Daxhelet, 77, sq, 322.

⁶⁾ Cp. his will of Dec. 21, 1576, in FUL, 1696; *Mallist.*, I, 55; Laenen, II, 245; *MallInscr.*, 38, a: the fine carving was lost already by the end of the xvith century: only the shutter with the funeral inscription has been preserved.

⁷⁾ FUL, 1696; VAnd., 293; *ULDoc.*, III, 43.

University meeting, the Rector made an urgent appeal to the Faculties for the voluntary contribution to be offered to Charles V, the Arts were generous enough to pay more than double of what the other four Faculties together collected ¹⁾. Still, they made their generosity dependent on the condition that no students should be admitted to be matriculated unless they should promise to attend the Schools of Arts, and be examined by some of the *Legentes* of the Faculty, about their being actually *idonei*, able to enter the University. They pleaded as motive of that measure that a great number of *discoli* were found in the *Studium Generale*, who did not belong to any Faculty, but frequented only the lectures of the *Trilingue*, without being qualified : 'collegium Trilingue minime qualificati frequentantes' ²⁾. As could be expected, the promise was given ; there does not seem to be any sign, however, that it was followed out ; still the move is, to all evidence, an unequivocal proof of the incessantly growing number of the hearers in the highly prosperous *Trilingue*.

B. INMATES

Three of the inmates who were at the *Trilingue* at Goclenius' decease, remained during Edelheer's presidency : the eldest of them was Peter Suys, who had entered the College under van der Hoeven ³⁾ ; the second was James Susius, of Zierikzee, the future Lord of Grisenoord, the great numismatist ⁴⁾ ; and, finally, Arnold de Merode ⁵⁾. To them was added on April 24, 1539, when he arrived at the Institute, Tilman Oomen, who remained during Edelheer's administration, but who is not mentioned in any of the records of van der Borch that have been preserved ⁶⁾, nor in any of the contemporary documents either ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Whereas the Faculty of Theology contributed 15 *Rh fl*, the two Laws, 20, and the Medicine 10, the Arts offered 100 *Rh fl*.

²⁾ *LibActVI*, 198, v.

³⁾ *AccEdel.*, 4 ; *AccGocl.*, 3^{bis}, r ; cp. III, 226-27, 454.

⁴⁾ *AccEdel.*, 4 ; *AccGocl.*, 3^{bis}, r ; cp. III, 454-55.

⁵⁾ *AccEdel.*, 4 ; cp. III, 455-56.

⁶⁾ *AccEdel.*, 4.

⁷⁾ A Tielmannus Oem, of Dordrecht, is mentioned as Dean of St. Peter's, Utrecht, from 1340 to 1368 ; he was the son of John Oem, Lord of Barendrecht, 'prætor' and receiver general of South Holland : Hoyneck, III, ii, 239.

It was perhaps on account of that momentary scarcity of boarders that hospitality could be granted to an old friend of the College, Alard of Amsterdam, who probably spent some time in Louvain in 1538, dedicating on the first of September his *Opera Agricolæ* to Conrad Goclenius from the *Trilingue* ¹⁾, as well as his *Eptome Primi Libri de Inventione Dialectica Rodolphi Agricolæ* ²⁾ to Arnold Sasbout, of The Hague, son of Josse, the Holland Councillor, who had studied in the College, and had also entered the Council of Holland ³⁾.

C. DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT

The presidency of James Edelheer, unfortunately, came to an untimely end on June 22, 1539, not five months after his appointment : he died unexpectedly when walking in the College garden after the midday meal ; he was laid to rest in St. Peter's, in the family vault of the chapel dedicated to St. Albert ⁴⁾, and his name was added to the tombstone ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. I, 316-20, 490-93, III, 610-11 ; *Cran.*, 96, *b-f*.

²⁾ The book was printed in 1539, in Paris, by Christian Wechel ; the dedicatory letter is on *f* A 2, *r* ; besides the *Eptome*, it contains Alard's poem in *puteos Abrahæ ad Erasmum Roterodamum cum primum vertisset nouum Testamentum*, with a letter of Cornelius Crocus : E 3, *r*, *sq* ; on F 8, *r*, it has two epitaphs in *Meynardum Mannium Vormiensem optimum abbatem apud Hæcmundam abbatiam* († 1526 : cp. *MonHL*, 71, *sq*), as well as a poem in *Copiam Erasmi* : G 2, *r*. Cp. III, 610, *sq*.

³⁾ Cp. II, 199-200, III, 234-36, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 2-4.

⁵⁾ On the tombstone, as described in *DivRL*, 65, the date of his decease is marked as May 26, 1539, which happened to be Whitmonday ; it is indicated in *VAnd.*, 278, as Whitsunday, 1538 ; in *NèveMém.*, 389, and *ULDoc.*, iv, 498, as Whitmonday, May 26, 1539. That date must be a mistake of the copyist of the inscription, which, probably, had soon got quite worn out. The evident proof is the account rendered for his administration, which goes from January 26 to June 22, without any mention of a prolongation of the administration by the executors ; indeed the account is rendered in the name of 'wylen Heeren ende meester Jacobs edelheer jn zijnen leuene licenciaet jnde Rechten ende president der seluer collegien Ende dit vanden geheelen tyde zynder administratien van den zeluen (*AccEdel.*, 2, *r*) : it would be rather hard to make a man, who died on May 26, responsible for the administration of a College up to June 22. A further proof is provided

The executors of his will were his former fellow-student, the medical doctor John de Winckele ¹⁾, and his own brother Jerome, town secretary of Louvain, who had replaced him from June 1535 as steward and accountant of St. Yves' College²⁾; they rendered the account for the administration of the *Trilingue* from January 26, to June 22, 1539, on December 18 of that same year to the 'provisores', Ruard Tapper and Peter de Corte, in presence of his successor Nicolas van der Borch and of the three professors ³⁾. Most probably James Edelheer had left all his possessions to his brother and his family ⁴⁾; the latter's foundation, in 1545, of a scholarship in St. Yves, ratified by his will of December 28, 1545 ⁵⁾, may have been as a fulfilment of James's wishes, as several of the rents on which the foundation was based, had originally belonged to him ⁶⁾.

by the wages deduced for him as president: 'Item voir den sallaris vanden presidenten vanden voirs. wijlen meesteren Jacoppe voirschreuen tsjaers lx Rgs nae Rate vanden tijde van dess. Rekeninge als beginnende xxvj Januarij a° xxxix stil. leod. xxvij Rgs: *AccEdel.*, 16, r: the 21 weeks and 1 day, at 1 Rf 3 st, make up 24 Rf and 6 or 7 st, probably rounded off to 25 Rf; the two remaining florins are, no doubt, the repayment of a similar sum which Edelheer had given to James van Ghistele, of Nivelles, for his endeavours to get the 'rent of Fauquez' cashed, and which is not entered in the account: *AccEdel.*, 17, v; cp. III, 581-82.

¹⁾ Cp. I, 441-43, 585, sq; III, 381. Edelheer had probably been Winckele's fellow-student whilst the latter studied jurisprudence soon after 1506, — for that he was only 25 in 1539, as is stipulated in *NèveMém.*, 389, is contradicted by facts, as results from what has been said about his career: cp. before, I, 442, sq, 569, 572, 585, sq, III, 381.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 3-7.

³⁾ *AccEdel.*, 2, r, 19, r; the account closed with a favourable balance of 1028 Rh fl and a few stivers.

⁴⁾ In a deed of 1540 is stated that Jerome Edelheer is the heir of James, J.V.L., his brother, and thus has a right to a rent he invested in 1530 on a house and its dependency at 'Hout-Heverlee': FUL, 1942.

⁵⁾ Besides a rent invested in 1381 by John Edelheer (cp. Mol., 708-9) on a house in 'Vineali Strata' in Louvain, and another, in 1455, by William Edelheer on a property at Thildonck, and a house in New Street, Louvain, there were in the fund of the foundation three rents, acquired by James Edelheer: one, in 1530, on a property at 'Hout-Heverle', one in 1531, on lands at Moriensart, and a third, in 1536, on a house at Antwerp: FUL, 1942, 1985, 1887.

⁶⁾ FUL, 1942; VAnd., 297; *ULDoc.*, III, 119.

CHAPTER XXII

PRESIDENCY OF NICOLAS VAN DER BORCH

I. MANAGEMENT

1. THE NEW PRESIDENT

A. FAMILY & TRAINING

Edelheer's premature decease probably disappointed so much the more the 'provisores' as they expected a long and apt management from a man not likely to be tempted away from his native town. That same consideration may have had some bearing on the choice of his successor, Nicolas van der Borch, one of their students, who had attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾; yet, he was to be one more proof that

'The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men
'Gang aft a-gley...'

That Nicolas van der Borch, or Verborch, Verburg or Verburch, *a Castro*, belonged to one of the old Louvain *familie Sti. Petri*, whose members had often filled public offices in their native town ²⁾. He was born in 1503 or 1504, and was a son of Nicolas ver Borch, or van der Borch, beadle of the

¹⁾ Cp. III, 257, &c.

²⁾ The family belonged to the group of the van den Calster's, one of the seven patrician '*tribus*'; a Louis van den Borch was a lessee of the Duke of Brabant in 1339; a Gerard was mayor in 1419, a John in 1463 and 1477, another in 1519 and 1535, a third in 1553; a Giles, Lord of Moisque, Moesick, vice-mayor in 1532; an Augustine, J.V.L., mayor in 1559, in which year he became a Brabant Councillor; they and other relatives were repeatedly aldermen, councillors or deans of the Guilds in Louvain: Mol., 696; *LouvTrib.*, 20, 44, 46, 59, 62, 63, 65, 107; DivRL, 49, 76, 91, 107-108; *LouvBoon*, 207, 278, 294, 317. The Coat of Arms of the family is given in DivRL, Pl 4, and in *LouvBoon*, Pls 51, 55, 57.

Faculty of Arts ¹⁾, and Catherine van der Straeten ²⁾). He studied philosophy in the Falcon, and, after having promoted Master of Arts, and started attending the lectures of Divinity, he was entrusted with the teaching of philosophy in his Pedagogy ³⁾; on June 1, 1533, he was elected procurator of the Brabant nation, on June 1, 1536, receiver, and on June 1, 1537, dean of the Faculty of Arts ⁴⁾. On June 4, 1527, he promoted Bachelor in Divinity, *in Biblia*, and on February 3, 1534, Licentiate in that science ⁵⁾. He evidently had given proofs of his ability and, no doubt, had gained the esteem of his professors Tapper and de Corte. They appointed him as successor to Edelheer a few days after the latter's decease, probably as he was since long acquainted with the School. He had enjoyed the friendship of the presidents John Stercke and Nicolas Wary, and at the latter's untimely death, he had been his executor ⁶⁾: he was, moreover, fully convinced that no real study of law or medicine, nor especially of divinity, was possible without a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek and, in many cases, also of Hebrew.

B. HIS DOCUMENTS

When, on December 18, 1539, the two executors of James Edelheer's will rendered their account for his five months' management, 'meester claeys vander burch als president' was present, as already mentioned, with his three professors; ⁷⁾

¹⁾ The mother of a Castro's father was a Nausnydere, as resulted from a stained-glass window in the *ambitus* of the Carthusian Monastery, where the crest of Nicolas, with those of his parents, was represented: *ULDoc.*, iv, 498.

²⁾ Nicolas van der Borch had a brother, Jerome, born about 1515, and another, John, born about 1518; the latter became Canon in St. Peter's, and afterwards of St. John's, Mechlin; he made his will in Louvain on Sept. 17, 1558, after the deed of sharing the parental estate in 1554: *ULDoc.*, iv, 498. A third brother, James, helped Nicolas in the administration of his diocese: cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 6.

³⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 394, 498.

⁴⁾ *LibNomI*, (June) 1533-37.

⁵⁾ de Jongh, *54, *62: *in Biblia*, means that he had been ordered to read on two books of the Bible to the candidate-bachelors: de Jongh, 68.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 374; *AccMarvIII*, 1, sq.

⁷⁾ *AccEdel.*, 2, r, 19, r; cp. before, p 53.

he is further recorded as 'Nicolaus de Castro præsidens in trilingui' in the *Index* of the *Acta* of the *Artes* for a rent of twelve Rh. florins which the Faculty owed to him ¹⁾. Whereas for the three first presidents of the College, at least one of their accounts is preserved, no other document of van der Borch's regency seems to have survived, except the two *manuale's* of his expenditure. One of them starts on December 21, 1539, and extends to the same date of 1541 ²⁾; it is in van der Borch's hand, and comprizes ten chapters for rents, provisions, catering, and other forms of outlay, in each of which the items were apparently noted down as they occurred. Those entries are certainly not exhaustive, for they do not record payments which necessarily were effected : such as the wages due to Andrew van Gennep; they may have been noted down on leaves that were cut out afterwards, or, more probably, indicated by the receipts on slips of paper, now lost, similar to those which are still inserted in the *Manuale* ³⁾, mentioning sums of money paid to Henry Clouwen, brewer of *den Rooden Leeuw* ⁴⁾, for beer, and to Peter van den Broeck, for butter, amongst several others.

The second *Manuale*, started on December 21, 1541, contains chapters like the first, with entries up to August 23, 1544 ⁵⁾. The book was apparently ransacked for paper, so that chapters VIII, IX and X are now gone. In that account book, all entries for payments due to Andrew van Gennep or to van der Borch himself, are missing; even those to Nannius are wanting after January 1542 ⁶⁾, which corroborates the suggestion that the *Manuale's* were merely note-books for reminders of all outlay that was not substantiated by a receipt.

¹⁾ *ActArtInd.*, 42, reproducing *ActArtVII*, 146, v and 156, v : *Facultas debet mgro Nicolao de Castro reditum 12 fl. Rhen.*

²⁾ *ManBorchI*, 1 : *Dboeck vanden vuytgeuen gedaen ter causen vander Collegien van busleijden by handen van M. Nicolaes van der borch zedert den xxj^{en} dach van december Anno xv C xxxix voer Kersmesse voirts totten jare van xij den xxj^{ten} decembris excluys.*

³⁾ *ManBorchI*, on ff 22, 26, also 48, 56.

⁴⁾ That house in Castle Street, adjoining the Pedagogy of the Castle, who bought it in 1751, is still extant : cp. *LouwBoon*, 389, a ; *FUL*, 847, 873, 1510, 3224.

⁵⁾ *ManBorchII*, 13, 26, r, 33, r.

⁶⁾ *ManBorchII*, 34, r : January 28, 1542 : salary of a half year finishing 'in Januario xli stilo braban.'

C. COLLEGE LIFE

Although irregular and incomplete, those entries are most interesting as they offer glimpses of the College life in those days. They mention, for each year, a series of little treats given to inmates on various occasions ¹⁾: such are the two measures of wine granted, according to the old custom, to the bursars, and one to the servants, on St. Martin's Eve ²⁾, as well as on the night before New Year's Day ³⁾, and on the evening of Epiphany ⁴⁾. On Dec. 21, 1540, the 'bishop' of St. Peter's with the choir-boys came to sing at the College, and got his dole ⁵⁾; so did, on the first day of the New Year, the town musicians and other singers ⁶⁾. On January 26, 1540, the '*licenciandi*' in divinity, and on June 15 the '*doctorandi*', who came to invite the President and the professors to the function of their promotion, were treated to a measure of wine ⁷⁾. On the eve of Lent ⁸⁾, and again on Maundy Thursday ⁹⁾, the bursars

¹⁾ They were mentioned for the regency of Stercke : II, 71-74.

²⁾ *ManBorchI*, 52, r : Item op Ste. martensauont voer ij potten wijns gegeuen den borsiers ende eenen pot voer die marten v st. j bl, iii t.

³⁾ Item op jaersavont voer den wijn van den borsieren ende coeckene ts. gegeven iijj st, vj t : *ManBorchI*, 50, r.

⁴⁾ Item op den drieconinck auont voer den wijn bij de borsieren ende jude coeckene gedroncken ts. vj st ix t : *ManBorchI*, 50, r.

⁵⁾ Item xxj^a decembris gegeuen den biscop van Ste peeters nae ouder gewoonten iijj st : *ManBorchI*, 50, r : the custom has not yet died out in Louvain for boys to carry, on a barrow on their shoulders, a younger fellow dressed up as a bishop.

⁶⁾ Item opden ij Januarij gegeuen den sangers die het nieuw jaer gesongen hebben ende den stadtpijpers nae ouder gewoonten ts. iij st. : *ManBorchI*, 50, r.

⁷⁾ Item opden xxvj^{en} dach van Januarijs gesconcken den Licencian-den jn godtheyt als sy bidden quamen jnder collegien eenen pot wijns van ij st. xxix t. : *ManBorchI*, 50, v. Item opden < xv^e dach van Junio > gesconcken licenciaten als die bidden quamen ad magisterium et aulam doctoralem een ghelte Rinswijns van iijj st vj t : *ManBorchI*, 51, r : — the latter, no doubt, were the Cornelius Erbornen, of Antwerp, and the Portuguese Christopher Vieira, of St. Thomas, both of them Dominicans, who promoted doctors in divinity on July 20, 1540 : VAnd., 110.

⁸⁾ Item opden vastelauont voer den wijn vanden borsieren ende boden jnder coeckene gegeuen nae ouder gewoonten tz vj st : *ManBorchI*, 50, v.

⁹⁾ Item opden wittendonderdach den xxvj^{en} martij < 1540 > voer den wyn vanden borsieren ende dienstboden gegeuen tz iij st, j ort v t. : *ManBorchI*, 51, r.

and the servants were treated to wine according to the old usage. Greater festivities were held at the annual fair of Louvain, which that year started on Sunday, September 5, <1540>: wine was then offered by the College not only on the chief table, but on that of the bursars and to the servants as well¹⁾. On one of the following festive days, which in Vessem's time used to be taken up by the hearing of the College accounts²⁾, the *Trilingue* was honoured by the presence of Adrian Joseph³⁾, canon of Antwerp, the last of the executors of the Founder's Will; he was duly entertained on what probably was his last visit to the Institute he had helped to organize⁴⁾. A few days later, on September 14, Councillor Nicolas de Busleyden, son of Giles, and Jerome's nephew⁵⁾, came to the College with some of his friends, and found there a most hearty welcome⁶⁾.

The entries in van der Borch's *Manuale* also mention the Requiem Masses celebrated each term for the Founder's soul, probably by the President, who was a priest; on such days wax candles were provided for the Chapel, and a little extra was added to the ordinary fare⁷⁾. For the draping of the altar in black during those services, a piece of cloth was bought in May 1542⁸⁾, and for the prayers and the singing, the mass

¹⁾ Item opder kermessen van louene voer den wyn als doen gedroncken zoe in die groote Tafelle als van den borsieren ende jnder coeckene by den boden na ouder gewoenten gegeuen xxix st ix t : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

²⁾ Cp. II, 364, III, 378-79.

³⁾ Cp. I, 50, sq, &c, III, 580, sq.

⁴⁾ Item voer den wijn buijten den voers. tijt. bij her Adrianen Joseps canonick van Antwerpen gedroncken gegeuen tz v st. vj t. : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 126-28 : the President had applied to him for some difficulties about the Rents of 'Facquez' : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

⁶⁾ Item op den xiiijen september als heer ende meester Claes van busleyden raitsheer met zeker zijner vrienden adt int collegie gegeuen voerden wyn ende henlieden deel tz iiij; st : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

⁷⁾ Item ija martij <1542> es gehouden het jaergetijde ende gegeuen totten wasse v st, totter portien xij st ende den celebranten xvij st. ft tsn xxxv st. — Item op den naestlesten dach van mey <1542> &c : *ManBorchII*, 34, r.

⁸⁾ Item gecocht v3 ellen zwert duffeler om daermede te becleeden den outaer ten tijde van jaergetijden de elle tot v st. ft xxvij; st : *ManBorchII*, 34, r.

was copied out in September 1540 ¹⁾, and once more in May 1542, with the *commendationes mortuorum*, in a very large size, probably for the choir ²⁾ : those copies were made by the canons of the Val-Saint-Martin Priory, who were rightly famous for manuscript work of that kind ³⁾.

Other entries mention the strong big oaken chest in which the deeds were locked safely ⁴⁾, as well as the furniture of the dining hall, where the Founder's coat of arms over the side-board was touched up, and the frame of the old picture, restored, in the summer of 1540, by 'meester Jannen die schilder jnden wierinck' ⁵⁾. In April of that same year three windows in the lecture hall, — probably the cellar windows which, according to Josse van der Hoeven's account, opened into that room ⁶⁾, — had been walled up ⁷⁾, and the slate roof

¹⁾ Item xxij September <1540> voer het scryuen vander missen van requiem gegeuen viij st : *ManBorchI*, 27, v.

²⁾ Item xx^a mensis maij dedi procuratori martinensium pro scribenda missa et commendationibus mortuorum in papijro amplissimæ formæ fct. xij st : *ManBorchII*, 34, r.

³⁾ The monks of St. Martin's Priory, or Val-St.-Martin, in Louvain, were very zealous in their transcriptions : the Cartulary of that Priory, *BrArEc.*, iv, 292 (15076), contains notes about copies of manuscripts made in that convent in 1459 : ff 41, v, 42, r, 46, v. Two centuries later, their collection contained Manuscripts by Garet, John de Coster and Martin Lips : *BibBelgMan.*, II, 218, 219, 220 (: *Gallolatina instituendae Pubi Accommodata*, by M. Lips), as well as the works of Abbot Riche-rius, of Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, and of Robert de Lacu : *BibBelgMan.*, II, 223.

⁴⁾ *ManBorchI*, 51, v.

⁵⁾ *ManBorchI*, 30, r : Item ix^a Augusti <1540> gegeuen meester Jannen die schilder jnden wierinck voer dat hy die wapenen bouen het tritsoir gestoffert heeft ende die lysten vanden ouden tafereel gerepareert gegeuen tsamen xjs st. — No doubt the painter referred to here was the well-known John van Rillaer (*LouvEven*, 277, 430; *KunstLeuv.*, 31-33), who had already been working for the *Trilingue* under John Stercke's presidency : cp. II, 54-56, I, 338; he was then probably also the host of 'in den Wierinck' (cp. *LouvArch.*, 4676), as he was not yet appointed as 'painter of the town', which he was from 1547 unto his death, 1568, when, judging from the houses he then possessed in Louvain (cp. *LouvBoon*, 323, 348, 356, 369), he must have been most prosperous.

⁶⁾ *AccHoevI*, 42, v; cp. III, 14.

⁷⁾ *ManBorchI*, 30, r : Item den xv april <1540> hebbe doen vermaken den heert vander coken/drye vinsters inder scholen doen wuytnemen ende stoppen met careelen...

over the principal entrance gate in Ship Street had been duly repaired ¹⁾. One entry mentions the small vineyard, besides the garden, since a proper dresser was paid to prune and bind up the vines ²⁾.

As could be expected, the properties and the various rents of the College occasioned some unavoidable difficulties to van der Borch, as they had done to his predecessors. The old quarrel between the College and the neighbour, owner of the inn 'De Handt', cropped up again for the boundary line near the fives court ³⁾ : a new wall was being built, to which the widow of Peter van de Putte and her son Peter, as well as a second neighbour, John de Cramer, objected. The quarrel was settled on November 4, 1541, through the interference of the town 'paelmeester' Pieter van Kessele ⁴⁾. The barn of the Ormendael estate was competely rebuilt after its ruinous condition had been duly examined by Tapper and de Corte in the spring of 1540 ⁵⁾, and a house, near the entrance gate there, was thoroughly repaired ⁶⁾.

Another source of trouble was a rent of eight florins, which the College had acquired on September 30, 1536, from James Daems, being mortgaged on his house in Shrine Street. For several years that rent had not been paid, and President van der Borch was obliged to proceed against the defaulter : eviction was decided upon, and as the house was offered for sale, it was bought, on April 14, 1540, for the account of the

¹⁾ *ManBorchI*, 30, r : aen den scaellendecker... voer een halff dachuere gevrocht aen het scaellendack boven die poirte aen die Scepstrate.

²⁾ Jtem opden xxvj^{en} dach vander selven maendt <March 1540> gegeuen Joosen den hofman voer vijff daghen die hy daer jnne gevrocht heeft... Jtem zijnen knecht... Jtem den wijngaerder voer het snijden ende binden vanden wijngaert gegeuen tz. ijs st. (about one day's work) : *ManBorchI*, 50, v.

³⁾ Cp. II, 54, 231, sq, 238, III, 14, 377.

⁴⁾ *ManBorchI*, 30, r ; *Inv.*, 6, r, v.

⁵⁾ Costen gedaen tot ormendale aen die nieuwe schuere a^o 1540 : *ManBorchI*, 34, v, sq. — Jtem opden naestlesten dach van april gegeuen voer die huere van twee peerden daermede mijnheeren die provisoirs gereden hebben opder collegien hoeue tot ormendale om aldaer te visiteren die woeninghen ende tordineren waermen die niew schuere setten soude, &c : *ManBorchI*, 51, r.

⁶⁾ *ManBorchI*, 33, sq.

College ¹⁾). In the following months the President not only paid the overdue rents, but even reimbursed the capital invested on 'den nieuwen huysse' in favour of the Abbot of Parc, of St. Martin's Priory, Louvain, of the Red Convent in the Forest of Soignes, of the Chaplains of St. Peter's, and of several private families, so as to liberate the property from all charges ²⁾). In June the house was broken down, and a new was planned and built, much nicer than before ³⁾) : the three professors contributed to it by paying for three windows with an inscription in a roundel in stained glass ⁴⁾). The boundary wall between that house and a neighbouring property caused a contestation on account of an arrangement about the limits and the eaves, agreed upon on July 29, 1522, by the former owner, John Custodis, and the proprietor of the adjacent building, the celebrated jurispudent Peter l'Apostole, member of the Great Council of Mechlin ⁵⁾) : that arrangement was examined, and adapted to the new circumstances, which, on November 16 and 17, were formally accepted by the heirs of Peter l'Apostole and the President ⁶⁾).

Another difficulty was caused by the payment of the rent of 'Fauquez', mortgaged on the tithes and taxes of Clabecq, Oisquercq and Samme, as the gatherers of the part of those

¹⁾ *Inv.*, 11, r : the deed of purchase was authenticated by the Louvain aldermen on July 29, 1540 ; *ManBorchI*, 47, v, sq, 51, r.

²⁾ *ManBorchI*, 50 r - 51 v, 55 r ; *Inv.*, 11, v, 11^{bis}, r.

³⁾ Costen gedaen aen het nieu huys jn die scrijnstrate a^o 1540 : *ManBorchI*, 37, sq.

⁴⁾ *ManBorchI*, 28, r : Item op den xxvij Julij <1540> gerekent met Gheerden den gelaesmaker ende hebbe hem gegeuen Ter causen van drie nieu gelasen gesedt Inder coeken vanden nieuwen huysse ende gegeuen by mgro. Reschio, mgro. Andrea baleno ende mgro. Petro Nannio groot synde viij voeten ende june hebbende een rondeel met scryft, voer elck gelas xxij st tsamen iij Rgs. vi st — mgr. peeter heeft die xxij st afgecort ende meester Rutgher.

⁵⁾ Peter l'Apostole, *Apostolius*, of Tournai, studied in Louvain and promoted *doctor utriusque juris* on October 15, 1492 ; he was appointed professor of laws in that year, and taught there until 1502, when he resigned to accept the place of councillor in Mechlin Great Council. He had married Marie de la Garde, of Bruges, and died on April 20, 1532, leaving several children and the memory of his excellence as man and jurispudent : *Cran.*, 30, pr, 261, 45 ; *Busl.*, 311-2, &c.

⁶⁾ *Inv.*, 11, r, v ; *ManBorchI*, 52, r, v.

taxes due to the College, James Drua and Philip Vulpart, experienced no end of opposition. In 1540, the President had to bring in a lawsuit for the dues of Clabecq ¹⁾; most fortunately he appealed to Nicolas de Busleyden, the Founder's nephew, who, as Councillor, whole-heartedly helped him, and even procured a satisfactory solution to the tedious question. On his visit to Brussels, on August 23, 1540, van der Borch was introduced, and warmly recommended, to one of Nicolas' colleagues in the Brabant Council, Thibaut Coutriau, Lord of Clabecq, with whom he arranged the matter; on that same occasion, he even went to see Philip Clutinck, at Oisquercq, so as to secure, at least as far as was possible, the regular working of the rent charge ²⁾.

2. RESCIUS' CLAIMS

A. LAWSUIT AGAINST THE HEIRS

No doubt that and similar lawsuits which the President had to prosecute ³⁾, were irksome to him; yet none was as irksome as the one brought in against the *Trilingue* by the Greek professor. Prompted by impecuniosity and envy ⁴⁾, Rescius had concealed the chest with Goclenius' money and precious

¹⁾ *ManBorchI*, 47, r, sq, 52, r; cp. II, 227, III, 581-82; and *sup.* p 53.

²⁾ Item opden xxiijen dach van Augusto <1540> es regens Collegij gereyst nae bruessele om te confereren met meester nicolaes van busleyden ende meester Tibault coutriau heer van glabbeke ende raijtsheer van den raide van brabant op zeker questien ende costen gedaen jegen die beedesetters van glabbeke ende het collegie ter causen van eender Rinten geheeten die Rinte van facquez/Ende voirts es de selue geweest tot oistkercke om te spreken met Joncker Philipsen cluting die de voers. rente ghelt ende betaelt/In welcke reyse hij met zynen dienen geuaceert heeft jnt gaen ende comen tz drye daghen... : *ManBorchI*, 52, r.

³⁾ In 1540, van der Borch had to prosecute, besides the action for the 'rent of Fauquez' (cp. before, p 53), a lawsuit against the heirs of Paul Mechelmans, Brussels secretary, — on whose estate at Vilvorde and the neighbourhood, a rent had been mortgaged on February 19, 1525 : *Inv.*, 22 r; cp. II, 228; also another against Matthew van Duffel, steward of the Abbot of Parc, for a rent due for the 'niew huys' of James Daems : cp. before, p 60; and, finally, one against a John Geriman : *ManBorchI*, 47, sq, 50, r, 51, r.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 585, sq.

objects soon after the burial, declaring that it contained sums belonging to the College, to which, as the last of the original professors, he pretended to have a right ¹⁾. Since that concealing had turned out to his confusion, he abandoned, at least for a time, all claims, but searched for arguments or considerations to substantiate them in the various documents of the College to which he, for a short while, had easy access. The Founder's Will stipulated that all the inmates of the Institute were to pay 'vnam libram grossorum' in return for the help and the instruction they derived from the life in common with the professors, who were to share that money in equal parts ²⁾; moreover, it prescribed that the gifts and presents offered by prelates or noble students for the public lessons to one professor, should be divided amongst the three ³⁾; also, that besides their *hursa*, their right to board and lodging, the Greek and the Hebrew teacher were to be paid twelve Flemish pounds, or 72 *Rh. fl.*; whereas the Latin professor was only to have six pounds, or 36 Rhine florins ⁴⁾. Of course, Rescius knew very well that those stipulations had been altered under the pressure of unforeseen circumstances, but he knew, too, that those who had been in the secret of the administration, were all dead and gone. He probably therefore ventured a claim for a share of the wealth found in Goclenius' rooms: he did not challenge the College, not even after Edelheer had been appointed in his place ⁵⁾, but the heirs and their procurator Altenanus ⁶⁾, who had sufficiently shown that the inner economy of the *Trilingue*, as also Goclenius' standing during the twenty years of his professorate, was a closed book for them. In August 1539, he brought in a lawsuit against them before the Rector Ghisbert Loyden ⁷⁾, declaring that he was entitled to a share of the wealth of his deceased colleague; he claimed, first, his part of the presents and of the retribution which Goclenius had received from rich boarders and students, as, according to Busleyden's Will, they were to be divided equally; he further stated that he, as professor of Greek, was paid less than was stipulated in the Will, whereas Goclenius was paid far more than was due: he therefore contended that his wages

¹⁾ Cp. III, 590, *sq.*

²⁾ *Test.*, 47; cp. III, 587, 589, II, 106-8.

³⁾ *Test.*, 15, 16.

⁴⁾ *Test.*, 17-19.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 592.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 591.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 16.

had been diminished to augment those of his colleague, and he consequently claimed to be indemnified for that loss from the very money gathered by the deceased. From Altenanus' letter to Amerbach of October 28, 1539 ¹⁾, it is clear that he and the heirs considered Rescius as their worst, or certainly their first, adversary, as he had contested their right to the money that had originally belonged to Erasmus : not merely because he had concealed the chest with the hoard, which might have been prompted by his pretended zeal for the welfare of the College ; but because he declared that the money had been in Goclenius' keeping merely as a trust ²⁾. Rescius assured that Erasmus' money was, for certain, not given to Goclenius personally, but rather as a kind of encouragement and reward for all the artisans of the welfare of the *Trilingue*, — like the 'aliquid' the Founder mentions in his Will as possibly going to be offered by 'Prælati aut nobiles lectiones publicas visitantes'; those 'dona et munera extraordinaria', he expressly stated, 'ipsis tribus præceptoribus esse communia, et eis per æquales diuidi portiones' ³⁾. Was it not natural that Erasmus, who had often obtained an increase of salary for the three professors ⁴⁾, and had always tried hard to interest some generous donor in their difficult and disinterested work ⁵⁾, should himself have given the good example, and divided amongst them some of the wealth he had got through similar studies ? Since Erasmus' real friends urged that the money he had given in trust, should be used according to his directions, Rescius, no doubt, took it for granted that he had a right to a considerable part of the wealth of the man who used to call him his son ⁶⁾. If not expressed in the demand he brought in against the heirs, he certainly must have voiced that claim in his conversations, and he may have implied it even when he started legal proceedings for a share in the students' gifts and an indemnity for the reduction in his

¹⁾ *GocCor.*, 70, 20-26 : Rotgerus Rescius... in demortui secreta proreperat... clamitans pecuniam in Goclenii arca inuentam Erasmi esse.

²⁾ *AmerMS*, 111, r ; cp. before, pp 17, sq, 20-24.

³⁾ *Test.*, 15, 16.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 102-9, 241-45, 322-3, 348 ; Allen, iv, 1221, 19-21.

⁵⁾ Thus he tried to make Erard de la Marck bestow some of his money on them : cp. II, 79, 613, 636.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 588.

wages, which he asked the Rector, as Judge, to have secured for him from the money under Michael Drieux' keeping, and from the books and the furniture still under arrest in the *Trilingue* ¹⁾).

That lawsuit was started in the Rector's Court during the administration of Gisbert Loyden ²⁾, who was succeeded, on August 31, 1539, by Jerome du Blioul, J.V.D., Gabriel Mudæus' friend and protector ³⁾. Most probably it was only filed in during the last days of Loyden's rectorate, and on account of the most suspicious character of the suit, by which a colleague was made responsible for a so-called injustice, unnoticed or, for certain, borne in silence during twenty years, no hurry was made, especially since the more important question, the ownership of 'Erasmus' money, was still to be solved ⁴⁾. Suits of that kind were prosecuted in those days, not by verbal discussion before Court, but by *scripturæ*, by written *libelli* reduced in *articuli*: the plaintiff submitted the first 'libellum' or 'scriptura', with its considerations and proofs; the Court, after examining it, passed it on to the defendant, stipulating the time in which he was to reply to it, article by article; in answer to which, the complaining party drew up a *duplica*, and afterwards a *triplica*, a *quadruplica*, each of which was similarly examined by the Court and transmitted for reply to the adversary ⁵⁾. It stands to reason that, if the Rector and his Court wanted to gain time, and slow off a

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 12: In quæ bona in collegio per dominum Rectorem iam arrestata, Rescius dicens et asserens sibi jus ob munera que sibi soli Conrardus reseruauerat, cum ex testamento omnia donaria et munera tribus professoribus donata debebant illis esse communia, atque ob stipendium (vt dicebat) sibi diminutum et Conrardo auctum et indebite solutum, actionem et litem instituit coram Dno. Gisberto looden tunc Rectore contra altenanum heredum Goclenij procuratorem...

²⁾ Cp. before, p 16.

³⁾ Cp. II, 214.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 17, sq, 20-24; in his letter to Amerbach, *GocCor.*, 70, Altenanus does not mention Rescius' suits.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Ordinationes Curiarum Rectoris et... Conservatoris Privilegiorum Almæ Vniuersitatis Lovaniensis*: Brussels, April 18, 1617 (in a booklet printed in Louvain, by Peter Pangartius): §§ VIII, XIX-XXXII); Mol., 982, sq; *Processus in Universitate Lovaniensi instituendus: Moderationes... super modum procedendi in Causis coram Dno. Conservatore Alme Univ. Stud. Gen. Lovan. agitandis...*: FUL, 5641.

distasteful or disagreeable action, they had every opportunity offered by that mode of prosecuting : they had only to keep up the 'scriptura' under examination before passing it to the opponent. It is more than likely that they did so in this case, which, not only was intended to make the heirs responsible for what they had not done, but also to lay the blame of dishonesty on a man of such excellent fame as Goclenius and on the management of the *Trilingue* during the twenty years of its existence. That would explain the total absence of allusions to that lawsuit in the letter which John Altenanus, the procurator of the heirs, wrote to Amerbach, Oct. 28, 1539 ¹⁾, in which Rescius is represented as contending that the money in Goclenius' room was that of Erasmus, and as having suppressed the documents attesting that it had been given in full ownership, but not the receipts of the sums. If he had had any acquaintance with the claim which Rescius had brought in against the heirs and himself, Altenanus would have mentioned it without any doubt, as it did not confine itself to the money of Erasmus, but almost to the whole amount of goods and valuables left by Goclenius at his death.

In fact, when Altenanus wrote that letter, Rescius had already changed his tactics. When, by the end of August, the fiscal procurator had been put in the wrong by the Brabant Council in his action against the heirs, and when, consequently, there was no further need to keep the goods under arrest, the University authorities decided, on August 30, 1539 ²⁾, not to let them go out of their hands before the question of the ownership of what was called 'Erasmus' money', was satisfactorily solved. That allowed them to examine all the papers and documents in his room, as already mentioned before ³⁾; with the assistance of one of the best lawyers of the time, Louis de Schore, commissioned by the Regent, Queen Mary of Hungary, they sifted the whole matter, and concluded, in favour of the 'trust', and against the 'donation' ⁴⁾. The amount of the money that had not been distributed as yet according to Erasmus' directions, was found out, whereas,

¹⁾ AmerMS, 111, r-112, v ; cp. before pp 27, sq.

²⁾ LibActVII, 256, 258 ; cp. before, pp 20, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 24, sq.

⁴⁾ LibActVII, 259 ; cp. before, pp 20, 24.

meanwhile, the University was entrusted by the general executor of Erasmus' will with the office of fulfilling the charge which had only been partly realized; consequently that money was secured, and a special messenger was sent to Basle to request Amerbach's advice on the best way to put it to use ¹⁾. There was no further necessity to keep the valuables that certainly belonged to Goclenius; Altenanus was allowed to remove them from the College room, which thus became available to his successor, or to any well paying boarder ²⁾.

B. PROCESSUS ARBITRALIS

The removal of Goclenius' books and belongings from the *Trilingue* exasperated Rescius, as thus was lost all hold on the heirs for the payment of what he thought was due to him. He felt highly incensed with the *provisores* who had given the permission, and he threatened to make the College responsible for what he thus was likely to lose. In his disappointment he converted his lawsuit against the heirs and their procurators into an action against the *Trilingue*. He handed to the 'provisores' a *libellus supplicationum*, requesting them urgently to pay him a large sum of money, which, he said, the *Trilingue* owed him ³⁾. Having been appointed only very recently, Curtius and Tapper ignored all about the affairs of the College that had so unexpectedly been entrusted to their care ⁴⁾; moreover, as has been pointed out before, all those who had been familiar with the founding, the arranging, and even the managing of the Institute, were dead and gone: it thus seemed as if they were at Rescius' mercy ⁵⁾.

Fortunately the defenders of the Institute found in the College chest of documents, the '*arca munimentorum collegij*', the various registers and accounts which had been kept with great care from the very beginning: they examined them so as to know whether Rescius could, truly and legitimately,

¹⁾ *LibAct VII*, 260, 264; cp. before, pp 24, sq.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 12: <procurator> heredum Goclenij... importune sollicitando obtinuit a dominis prouisoribus vt prædictum arrestum relaxaretur, quo facto ille mox vniuersam supellectilem Conrardi ex collegio trilingui abstulit...

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 12-13.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 573, 579, 589.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 63, sq.

claim anything from the *Trilingue* for the twenty-one years he had been teaching; for, in their earnest desire of doing what was right, they wished to pay him what was due. Those books and documents, however, all proved manifestly that the Institute 'did not owe an obol, nor even a mite' to Rescius ¹⁾. Indeed, the yearly accounts by the President, checked by the Executors of Busleyden's Will, showed, in their handwriting, by the side of many an entry, the marginal note: 'Satisfactum est mgro. Rutgero Rescio vt patet per quitanciam' ²⁾. Consequently, the authorities concluded that, since Rescius had been satisfied with each yearly payment, the College did not owe him anything, and they advised him of it. That reply, instead of appeasing Rescius, rather provoked him to a regular contest; he requested the *provisores* to put the question to arbitration, which was granted. Arbiters were consequently appointed, and the *processus arbitralis* started on October 6, 1539 ³⁾. The debate at once was shifted from the payment or non-payment of the wages agreed upon, to the change brought about concerning the Flemish pound, that hobby of Rescius ⁴⁾, which, according to Busleyden's Will, had to be paid by the inmates to their professors. That measure had been abolished, to be true; but Rescius com-

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 13: ne obulum quidem aut minutum vnum deberi a Collegio...

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 13. Such notes are found in *Rek.*, 91, r-93, r, and on *AccEdel.*, 16, r, added probably by the leader of the group. For on audit days, more than one copy of the account heard were provided for those who attended, although one only was marked with marginal notes, attesting that, in each case, the receipt was duly submitted, and found to tally with the entries in the account; that minute testing was not noted down by the other auditors, although they had the right and even the duty to check every item. Of course the copy used by the President, or whosoever rendered the account, has none of those marginal notes: such are *AccMarçI* and *II*, *AccHoevI* and *II* and *AccGoel*. Amongst the accounts that are still preserved in the Brussels Archives there are several 'doubles': thus FUL, 1451, has two copies of van der Hoeven's first account, Dec. 1, 1529 to Dec. 1, 1530; one, the first, has 53 leaves, the other, the fourth in the volume, has 72, as it gives a detailed list of kitchen expenses, which are summarized in the shorter copy. Other volumes of accounts have similar 'doubles': FUL, 1452, for 1622-25; 1454 and 1460, for 1664-67, 1670-74 and 1679-83.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 13.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 63, and *inf.* pp 71, sq, 75, sq.

plained to the *provisores* before starting the arbitration, that the alteration had been favourable only to Goclenius ; for it allowed each professor to keep for himself what was offered to him ; that way the one who taught Latin was particularly advantaged, as he had far more hearers, and far more opportunities for private lessons than his colleagues ; in fact, instead of one pound a year, he already received four, six and even eight, from each of the well-to-do College inmates ¹⁾, not to mention any others.

Rescius, moreover, asked for an indemnity for his room in the Institute, to which he had a right, whereas he did not occupy it ; so that one and, even at times, two boarders had lived in it to the advantage of the College ²⁾. Documents were submitted on both sides to the arbitrators, who, however, had no occasion to decide in the matter, as the action was stopped by mutual agreement of the parties before any sentence was given ³⁾. No doubt the *provisores* felt their marked inferiority, as they were mere strangers, whereas their opponent was intimately acquainted with the history of the *Trilingue*. On the other hand, Rescius must have realized more and more his immense advantage over them for things which cannot be learned by a cursory glance at the marginal notes in the old accounts ; he evidently recognized the golden opportunity thus offered to make up for his years of struggle against want and poverty.

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 42 : Rescius, ante litem vllam per <eum> contra collegium inceptam in hac sua supplicatione Dominis prouisoribus porrecta, que quidem inter cetera hec de verbo ad verbum continet : Clausula testamenti de libra flandrica supra commemorate precium mense soluenda a singulis conuictoribus collegij sine causa etiam et commodo collegij mutata est atque in ea mutatione soli magistro Conrardo gratificatum est, quia ipse non tantum una libra sed iiij. vj et aliquando octo a singulis collegij conuictoribus accepit.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 47-48 : quod Rescius dictum cubiculum postquam ob ductam vxorem e collegio emigrauerit cum clauē sua non intrauit et exiuit, sed per conuictores semper occupatum fuit, ipsemet fatetur in suo arbitrali processu aduersus collegium articulo xxv. his verbis : Prout de facto in locum Rescij, non solum vnus sed plures suscepti sunt et in ipso cubiculo dicti Rescij collocati... (submitted by the College, at the session of Nov. 14, 1547).

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 13 : a quo arbitrali processu de consensu vtriusque partis ante sententiam discessum est.

In fact, he had every right to expect in the newly appointed *provisores* a complete lack of acquaintance with the conditions in which the *Trilingue* had been working for so many years. His proposal of applying to an arbitrage appears to have been only a move in his plan, intended to sound his adversaries, so as to find out exactly to what point their ignorance and unfamiliarity with the inner life of the Institute reached ; for on that depended the extent of probability, of certainly even, of making into money the opportunity that had thus come within his grasp. Nor was the Greek professor remiss in turning into good account his superiority, which the *provisores* had acknowledged by coming to terms for what he knew very well was little less than a swindle and an imposition. Hardly two months had passed, when, on December 12, 1539, he brought in before the Rector a lawsuit against the *Trilingue*, which was not only a flagrant blemish on his character, but a piece of glaring ingratitude towards the Institute that had called him away from Martens' cases : indeed, his demand implied its utter ruin ¹⁾.

C. THE *ACTIO PRINCIPALIS* LODGED

On that December 12, Rescius submitted to the Rector a *libellus supplicationum*, enunciating several articles, in conclusion of which he claimed for the twenty-one years and four months that he had been teaching in the *Trilingue*, a sum of money surpassing two hundred Flemish pounds, — twelve hundred Rhine florins, — which he wished and wanted to be paid to him by the *provisores* and the President ²⁾.

To specify and explicate his claim, Rescius declared, first, that according to Busleyden's Will, he was to have been paid xij Flemish pounds ³⁾, whereas, for thirteen years, he had only received eight, so that there remained to be discharged

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 48 : fuit... dictus arbitralis processus per Rescium contra collegium susceptus antequam ille judicialiter incepit litigare coram Rectore Judice ordinario adversus collegium. Nam arbitralis processus ceptus fuit octobris vj anni xxxix. Judicialis vero coram Rectore decembris xij anni eiusdem aduersus collegium per Rescium institutus fuit.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 13 ; *StudAtt.*, 1 & 2.

³⁾ *Test.*, 17.

as arrears thirteen times four Flemish pounds, making a total of fifty-two, equivalent to 312 Rhine florins ¹⁾).

Secondly, he claimed an indemnity for the board in the College which he had abandoned since 1525 when he married; that board was valued in the *Trilingue* at six Flemish pounds every year ²⁾, and, from May 5, 1534, the executors had granted him an indemnity of four pounds instead of six ³⁾. Consequently, he concluded that the College was indebted to him on that head for the amount of sixty-five Flemish pounds — or for 390 Rhine florins ⁴⁾. Thirdly Rescius once more claimed his 'hobby', the pound Flemish: he, moreover, wanted an exact and detailed account about the twelve inmates, who, according to the Founder's Will were allowed in the College ⁵⁾: it had to serve to calculate the amount of the pounds paid by all inmates, except the bursars, which had to be divided amongst the three professors ⁶⁾; although the students paid it, as he said, he had never received his share. Finally, as the fourth claim, he argued that Busleyden had stated that the profit realized on those twelve additional inmates was to go for one half to the College, whilst the other was to be divided equally between the president and the three professors ⁷⁾.

The amount which Rescius demanded for these two articles, and the exact total for the other, could only be determined

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 13; *StudAtt.*, 3.

²⁾ *Test.*, 23: Quorum trium præceptorum mensæ portio... instituetur sex librarum...

³⁾ *Cp.* III, 123-24.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 13-14. The yearly indemnity for the board being 6 Flemish pounds, the equivalent for the 14 years and a half, from 1525 to 1539, would have amounted to 87 pounds; from May 1534 to Nov. 1539, he had received 4 pounds per year, or, for the 5 years and 6 months, 22 pounds: so there remained due 87 - 22 = 65 pounds. — In the *StudAtt.*, 4, the amount indicated is 63 pounds: probably on account of the more exact reckoning of the time, — the date of Rescius' marriage and his leaving the College for his wife's house, — the amount fixed first at 65 was brought down to 63.

⁵⁾ *Test.*, 44-45: the Will allowed eight *commensales* at the president's table, and four at that of the bursars.

⁶⁾ *Test.*, 47; *cp. sup. pp.* 63, 68.

⁷⁾ *Test.*, 41: <Præsidents> in emolumentis ex commensalibus prouenientibus cum tribus Præceptoribus æqualiter participabit.

by means of the accounts which he requested ; it was, to say the least, most exorbitant, especially for what regards the last claims. Indeed, in the supposition that only eight supernumerary boarders resided in the *Trilingue*, — in which most of the time there was no more room available, — and only one pound Flemish was realized as profit per inmate, it would make, for the twenty-one years and four months, a sum of nearly 78 Flemish pounds, or 468 *Rh fl*, which was due to Rescius ¹⁾. The total amount of Rescius' claims, 195 Flemish pounds, or 1170 *Rh fl*, looks enormous : it exceeds by far the total expenses of the College in some of its best years ²⁾, and would, if it had actually to be paid, entail the loss of some of its most needful rents, which it would take years of toil and hardship to recuperate.

The announcement of that exorbitant claim may have struck the recently appointed *provisores* and the President with consternation ; yet it found them worthy defenders of the right and welfare of the College. They continued investigating its documents and studying the history of its foundation, of which they had only a superficial idea, and, although being theologians, they aptly defended the Institution against the cruel onslaught of the 'great humanist' Rescius, whose cupidity threatened for many years its very existence.

In their research they were helped by John Glaviman ³⁾,

¹⁾ The money paid for the advantage of the professors' conversation would amount to $21 \frac{1}{4} \times 8 = 170$ Flem. pounds, of which a third, $56 \frac{2}{3}$, was due to Rescius ; of the supposed profit realized, 170 Flem. pounds, he was to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of the half, or $\frac{1}{8}$: $21 \frac{1}{4}$, which makes together $77 \frac{11}{12}$ Flem. pounds.

²⁾ For 1529-30, van der Hoeven had an amount of 1054 *Rh fl* for the expenses, against 1232 *Rh fl* of receipts ; for 1533-34, the total receipts came up to 3252 *Rh fl* against 2846 *Rh fl* of expenses, because about 1800 *Rh fl* worth of rents had been paid back, and been invested again, so that the real figures for that year were 1452 against 1046 ; Goclenius' account for the year between Sept. 10, 1537 and Sept. 10, 1538, shows 1709 *Rh fl* of receipts and merely 692 *Rh fl* of expenditure.

³⁾ John Glaviman, of Gestel, had been elected unanimously as promoter of the Faculty of Arts about 1518, notwithstanding the protestation of John Macket, the Syndic ; still that post was soon abolished. He was procurator of the Brabant nation on February 1 and September 30, 1524, September 30, 1525, February 1, 1530, and June 1 1536 ; he was

the assessor of the Conservator of the Privileges ¹⁾; they also secured the services of one of the best jurisprudents of Louvain, Michael Drieux, chief professor of Canon Law ²⁾, who accepted to act as juridical councillor and barrister ³⁾, and they took as their procurator the notary John van Hove ⁴⁾, an old friend of the College, and an intimate of its first patrons John Stercke of Meerbeke and Bartholomew van Vessem ⁵⁾. The action started formally on January 22, 1540, when the *provisores* declared to contest Rescius' claim, and advised the University Notary Giles Martini ⁶⁾ of their decision to have the matter disputed and defended in the Rector's Court by all the means that were at their disposal ⁷⁾.

elected receiver on June 23, 1528, and dean on June 1, 1525, and on February 1, 1536. On September 14, 1523, he was appointed with John Stercke, John Paludanus and Roland de Castel to draw up regulations for the Nominations,—all of which shows that he was a man of importance, who, no doubt, was acquainted with the history of the first years of the *Trilingue*. He was then studying law, and had promoted J.V.L. when, in 1533, he was appointed assessor in the Court of the *Conservator Privilegiorum*: VAnd., 73; *ULDoc.*, 1, 547; *LibNomI*, 6, v - 10, v, &c; also before, I, 451, II, 93.

¹⁾ *ManBorchI*, 47, r : Item op den xxjen dach der seluen maent <December, prob. 1540> gegeuen meester Jannen glauiman ter causen van zeker moyete ende arbeyt die hij jnde voers. saken <van meester Rutgert> gehadt heeft by ordinantie van den voers. prouisoirs xxv st.

²⁾ Cp. II, 421-22, III, 481-82.

³⁾ *ManBorchI*, 47, r : Item opden xxiijen der seluen maent <December, prob. 1540> gegeuen mijnen heeren meester Machielen Driutio aduocaet van zijnen dienst ende arbeyt gedaen jnder scriftueren dienende totter voers. saken by ordinantie als voer iij Rgs.

⁴⁾ *ManBorchI*, 47, r : Jnden jersten opden xxviijen dach van december <prob. 1540> gegeuen Jannen van houe den procureur vanden collegien/voir zynen dienst ende termynen tot dijen dach toe vanden collegien wegen gehouden jnder saken van meester Rutgert by ordinantie van den prouisoirs iij Rgs.

⁵⁾ John van Hove drew up the deeds of November 30, 1529 and of March 31, 1530, by which van Vessem declared that all the lands and estates he had purchased were the property of the College: *Inv.*, 24, r, v; with John Stercke he had been invited to a dinner and an afternoon's treat in the last week of March 1530 by van Vessem, who was then the guest of the *Trilingue*: *AccHoevI*, 50, v. ⁶⁾ VAnd., 52: cp. III, 582.

⁷⁾ *ManBorchI*, 47, r : Item opden xxij dach in Januario <1540> als het proces tusschen myne heeren die prouisoirs ende meester Rutgeerden gecontesteert ende jngesteken es gegeuen Notario vniuersitatis iij st.

3. RESCIUS' ACTIONS

A. THE DEFENCE

The legal process thus started caused extensive 'scriftueren', *replica*, *duplica*, *triplica*, and *quadruplica*, to be drawn up, handed over and answered; unfortunately all those documents have perished, along with the records of the Rectorial Civil Court ¹⁾: in fact, the whole history of this lamentable suit would have been ignored, but for the surviving of one of the last of those legal pleas, the *Motivum Juris in Causa Rutgeri Rescii... contra Prouisores et Presidem Collegij <Trilinguis>*, dating from the latter days of October or the first of November 1547, which, naturally, recalls several of the documents that were submitted by either party at earlier stages of the suit. The entries referring to the action in van der Borch's '*Manuale*' are very discreet, mentioning merely the 'matter pending between master 'Rutgeert rescio' and the 'provisores collegii' ²⁾; they are not very numerous either; for it seems that both Peter de Corte and Ruard Tapper were most generous towards their ward, the *Trilingue*: not only did they impart to its defence all their energy and influence, but even their own means: they defrayed many of the expenses in their illimited devotion to the welfare of the Institute entrusted to their care.

The first *libellus* which they had to submit, was a reply to a writing which Rescius had been requested to draw up to substantiate his claims, and to hand in on January 16, 1540. He declared in it that, in 1518, he had been appointed by the entire University ³⁾ at the conditions specified in Busleyden's Will, namely against a salary of 12 Flemish pounds a year for a series of ten consecutive years, and that the same wages

¹⁾ The oldest records of lawsuits in civil affairs in the Rector's Court date from 1615: FUL, 5570, 5540.

²⁾ *ManBorchI*, 47, r, 49, v.

³⁾ That assertion is called 'plane impertinens et calumniosum' in *MotJuris*, 51; yet it was repeated, and contradicted again in 1542: cp. further, p 79.

had been continued to him for three more years ¹⁾. He further stated that the (repeatedly referred to) extra pound Flemish to be paid by each of the twelve inmates for the professors, had been actually paid during 21 years and four months ²⁾, although he had not received his share, which he now was claiming. Finally he also contended that he had a right to the board in the College, which, since long, had not been given to him ³⁾.

The *provisores* replied that the 12 pounds Flemish stipulated as wages by the Founder's Will were dependent on the condition that the professor of Greek and the one of Hebrew were eminent men, excelling in their branch, and coming from afar or from another university ⁴⁾; as Rescius did not fulfil that condition, he had no claim to those wages, even if the Will had been actually executed ⁵⁾. But that Will, as a fact, was not executed: the Institution, as the Founder had planned it, had not actually existed for one brief second; it was to have been grafted on the already existing St. Donatian's College, or on that of Arras: yet, by the refusal of the *provisores* of the former to accept the new institute within its walls ⁶⁾, Busleyden's School thus foundered before it was established. Still, as the executors of the Will were invested with full powers to alter it without having to account for those alterations to anybody alive ⁷⁾, they decided on a complete change of the original plan, by making a self-sufficing, independent college. As the new scheme implied the purchase of a site, the building and furnishing of an edifice, the appointment of a president, and many more indispensable elements, none of which had been foreseen in the endowment ⁸⁾, the executors were naturally compelled to cut down all expenses. One of them was the salary proposed to the

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 33, 51: that statement was shown to be in flagrant contradiction with the very claim of December 12, 1539, which it was supposed to substantiate; indeed Rescius complained that he was paid only 8 pounds Flemish during the first thirteen years, on which account he claimed a compensation: cp. before, p 70.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 41-42; cp. before, pp 63, 68, 71.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 49.

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 47, 293, sq, II, 323.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 15; *Test.*, 17, 18, 22.

⁶⁾ *Test.*, 1, 25, 26, &c.

⁷⁾ *Test.*, 83, 84; *MotJuris*, 15, 16, 27.

⁸⁾ *MotJuris*, 16, 17, 23, 26, 27.

professors, who neither actually came from abroad, nor from another university, as the testator had explicitly requested ; Rescius himself was an example of that questionable qualification, as he took lessons afterwards from James Ceratinus ¹⁾ ; consequently, when 8 pounds Flemish instead of twelve were offered, besides board and lodging, he readily accepted, and so did his Hebrew colleague Campensis ²⁾). As a fact, the three professors had worked without a sign of complaint until 1522, when proposals were made to Goclenius of much more lucrative employments, in so far that, in order to secure his services, his wages were raised to 9 pounds Flemish by the *Mutationes* of February 6, 1522. To prevent all discontent, the salary of his two colleagues was then also advanced from 8 to 9 pounds Flemish ³⁾ ; on the other hand, the right to any further profit from students or inmates was explicitly denied to the professors, and, especially, that to the pound mentioned by the Will, which the executors had abolished from the very beginning, so that it had never been paid ⁴⁾).

In his reply handed in on February 6, 1540, Rescius denied that he ever accepted the alterations of 1522, and declared that he had only been paid at the rate of 8 pounds Flemish. The *Provisores* had not then a decisive document to prove Rescius' insincerity : they had searched in vain for '*apochas siue quitancias*', the receipts of the payments to him, as well as for the original of the *Mutationes* of 1522, which naturally must have been signed by the President and the professors as well as by the Executors. As mentioned before, Rescius had had access as vice-president, to the College records ; and when Vessem's chest with documents arrived, he made a locksmith break it open, and provide another key ⁵⁾). The *Provisores* accused him of having purloined from those

¹⁾ Cp. *MotJuris*, 17, 24, and the letter of Erasmus to Giles de Busleyden joined to the *Motivum* : cp. I, 246-50 ; and further, Ch. XXIV, 2.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 62.

³⁾ *Mut.*, 2 ; *MotJuris*, 18, 19.

⁴⁾ *Mut.*, 2, 7 (neither the president nor the professors have any right to ask for that pound). — In *Mut.*, 1, it is especially stated that presents given to one professor, have not to be divided : *gaudeat quisque suo munere* : cp. *MotJuris*, 18, 19, 41, 42, 44.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 21 ; cp. III, 587, 589, *sq.*

records whatever might plead against him, and asserted that witnesses had declared that, on that occasion, he had taken away the Founder's Will and the *Moderationes*, and all other papers which it was his advantage to get rid of ¹⁾. Notwithstanding the destruction of what would have been apodictic proofs against him, there were the College accounts, checked by the Executors, which attested that, from 1522, he had been paid a yearly salary of nine pounds Flemish : which was an evident proof that he knew and accepted the alterations of 1522 ²⁾).

If, in the beginning, the *Provisores* had been in sympathy with Rescius, wishing him to receive what was due, they soon must have found out his unreliability, and experienced the painful difficulty caused by the controversy. For they had to contend against a man, who, although knowing thoroughly the history and conditions of the *Trilingue* from the very beginning, was evidently availing himself of their ignorance to twist deceitfully things and facts to his own profit ; they soon experienced that he had no consideration for truth, nor even for primary logic, as his assertions were very often proved contradictory. They therefore looked everywhere for information, and by good luck they found two or three receipts of Rescius amongst the papers of a late executor at Mechlin, no doubt van Vessem : in one of them he testified that, as wages for the Greek lectures, he had received in 1523 nine pounds Flemish ³⁾. Similarly they found a copy of the alterations of 1522, which they, in due time, submitted to the judge ⁴⁾).

In his obstinacy in denying his acceptance of the *Mutationes* of 1522, Rescius rejoined that, since May 1534, he had received yearly 12 pounds Flemish, of which four served as an indemnity for his board and lodging, and concluded that his

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 21 : per testes constat et depositum est Rescium eodem tempore quo erat a provisoribus constitutus vice-presidens... testamentum et moderationes et alia que illi libuit sustulisse.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 19-22.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 21.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 67, sq : *De mutationibus et moderationibus circa fundationem collegij per executores factis* : Copia ex Registro Jodoci quondam van der Hoeuen : a copy is joined to the *Motivum Juris*, as annex under the letter f : cp. before II, 103-7.

salary was only eight pounds. It was answered that all the accounts reckon nine pounds for his salary, and that he himself, in a document which he had submitted to the arbitrators, had owned to be paid at that rate, since he complained that, for several years, the College allowed him three pounds only to make up for the board and the lodging which he did not partake of ¹⁾).

That was, indeed, the truth : for when Josse van der Hoeven mentioned that indemnity for the first time in his account, for the period extending from December 1, 1533 to the same date in 1534, he noted that : the same master Rutgert was promised and granted on May 5 a° 1534 by masters Bartholomew van Vessem and Adrian Joseph, in presence of Master John van Meerbeke and of the president, yearly xvij *Rh. fl.* for the board and the lodging which he does not and shall not partake of in the College ²⁾). To be true, those advantages were estimated otherwise at 6 pounds Flemish (or 36 *Rh. fl.*), being considered as part of the professors' payment for helping bursars and inmates by their talk and conversation ; Rescius, not fulfilling that part of the work he was bound to, had no ground to complain ; what was paid to him, was mere generosity, for, living in the College was, in a way, considered as part of his duty to the boarders. Moreover, it was duly pointed out to him that, although the Will stipulated higher wages and better terms ³⁾, circumstances had made it impossible to carry out the original plan ; and the Executors had made it clear that they did not engage any one according to the conditions of the Will, but to the terms they had made themselves ; they were proposed clearly to the candidates, who were free to accept or refuse them, and could, besides, resign at any time ⁴⁾).

Yet, instead of resigning, or even of expressing any disap-

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 21.

²⁾ *Jtem want den seluen meester Rutgert quinta maij a° xxxiiij toege-seijt ende gegunt waren bij meesteren berthelmeeuse van vessem ende adriane Joseph ten bijsijn meester Jans van meerbeke ende des presidents tsiaers xvij Rgs voer den montcost die hij jnde collegie niet en heeft noch hebben en sal noch tgebruyck vander cameran... : for the period May 5 to December 1, 1534, were paid x3 *Rh fl* : *AccHoevII*, 34, v.*

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 22-26, 27.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 27-28.

proval with the state of things, Rescius had worked on, as it appears, in complete satisfaction, until all the original professors, presidents and executors, — Goclenius and Campensis, Stercke and van der Hoeven, Erasmus and van Vessem — had died and gone, and until he had the opportunity of inspecting and, moreover, ransacking, both the College documents and Vessem's chest, destroying all papers which might harm his unavowable designs ¹⁾).

To all these considerations Rescius could give no other reply except his assertion on oath that he had been appointed according to the stipulations of Busleyden's Will ²⁾). In answer to that incredible statement, it was repeatedly urged that it was inconceivable that Rescius by himself should have been appointed according to that hypothetical, non-existing order, when no other of his colleagues had been. For that would not only cause a continual disagreement amongst them ³⁾, but would lay on the executors and the administrators, esteemed for their prudence and uprightness, the blame of injustice towards Rescius in withholding the wages which the Founder had stipulated ⁴⁾).

In a 'writing' submitted to the Rector in his Court on March 19, 1540, Rescius expressed the wish to be allowed to inspect the books and the accounts of the College from 1520 to 1539. His opponents were not slow in showing that he himself had found out the mistake he had made when he claimed an indemnity for the famous yearly pound to be paid by the inmates, and also for the board, over a period of 21 years and four months, namely from September 1, 1518 to December 1539 : indeed, from September 1518 to the 18th of October 1520, there could be neither College life, nor inmates, since the building was not finished ⁵⁾).

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 28, 34 ; cp. before, III, 587, *sq.*

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 29.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 30.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 30, 31.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 44 : it was mentioned in the *actio principalis*, March 19, 1540 ; cp. II, 60, *sq.*, and before, p 75.

B. RESCIUS' INSTANCE

Meanwhile the lawsuit dragged on through twenty-nine terms ¹⁾ before, finally, the Rector Charles Goswinus, Goossens²⁾, pronounced an 'interlocutorium', a provisional decree, on August 23, 1541³⁾, which seems to have been unfavourable to Rescius : for, on the first of September the proceedings were resumed ⁴⁾.

Nearly ten months later the action had apparently not moved on any further; owing, no doubt, to Rescius' obstinacy ; for he could not take an apodictic reply as such : when unable to continue the argument, he switched the controversy on another point, although it had been answered convincingly and apodictically long before.

Thus in a reply, a *Replica*, handed to the Rector on Friday, June 23, 1542, he declared that he had been appointed by the whole University according to the Founder's Will, and that he never claimed the wages stipulated in it, as he had neither seen, nor known of it before Goclenius' decease ⁵⁾ ; it was

¹⁾ *ManBorchI*, 49 v. Item viij^a Augusti <1541> gegeven meester Jannen Symoins voer der weden meester gielis martinj notarij vniuersitatis <sup. pp 23, 73 ; III, 389 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 328> Ter causen van xxix termijnen jnder saken hangende voer den Rectoir tusschen meester Rutgeert rescio ende die prouisoirs der collegien xxix st.

²⁾ Charles Goswinus, Goossens, of Bruges, nephew of Peter de Corte, matriculated as rich student of the Lily on Aug. 29, 1523 ; he promoted Master of Arts on March 19, 1528, being classed the 17th, and Doctor of Medicine in May 1539. He was appointed professor of medicine on Jan. 29, 1536, and was elected Rector on the last day of February of 1542, 1547, and 1567. He had to resign his professorship in 1556 on account of his marriage with Florence, or Fortuna, sBruynen, but continued exercising his art in Louvain until his death, August 24, 1574. He had assisted his uncle in his illness, and was one of the executors of his will : *VAnd.*, 42-44, 233, 222, 232, 235 ; *Cran.*, 109, a ; *ULDoc.*, I, 266-9.

³⁾ *ManBorchI*, 49, v : Item xxij^a Augusti heeft dñs. Rector <cp. *ULDoc.*, I, 266> gepronuncieert een Interlocutorie jegens meester Rutgero reschio ende gegeven notario <William de Cauerson : cp. *VAnd.*, 52> iiij st.

⁴⁾ *ManBorchI*, 49, v : Item prima septembris pro 3^{lis} literis solui ij st. — possibly meaning the *triplica*.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 31-33, 51-52. Rescius had already brought out that argument on January 16, 1540 ; he repeated it in the 4th and 25th paragraphs of this *replica*. Cp. p 74.

only then that he found out that his and the Hebrew professor's wages had been cut down just to raise those of the President and of the Latin colleague to one hundred 'Carolines' ¹⁾). The *Provisores* contested his appointment by the University, pointing out that he had taught 27 months before he asked for the first time, on the last days of November 1520, for the *supplicatio*, that primordial and yearly requirement to which all the professors have to submit ²⁾). They also reminded him that his pretended ignorance of the Will is not only incredible, considering his sharpness on money and gain ³⁾, but even contradicted by another *replica*, in which he assures that he had always complained of, and protested against, the rate at which he was paid, — which he could not have done if he ignored the conditions stipulated in the Will ⁴⁾). Even before the day on which, as he says, he first saw it, he had absconded the chest with the money and the valuables of the deceased, pretexting that the Founder's Will gave him a right and a claim to a share in Goclenius' hoard ⁵⁾). It was moreover a well known fact that Rescius, long before 1539, had an extract of the Will, as also Goclenius and Balenus had : consequently, when he declared on oath he had never seen it, he surely prevaricated, taking 'will' merely for the original autograph ⁶⁾).

Rescius' *replica* of June 23, 1542, once more referred to the famous extra pound Flemish due by every inmate. For though not living any longer in the College, he asserted his right to that remuneration on account of ready help given to students, especially by his lectures on Sundays and feastdays, which he still continued. It was not difficult for his contradictors to point out that he had only started those lessons since he became a printer, and that just only to ensure a sale to the texts

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 53, sq : in processu coram Dno. Rectore Replica xv exhibita veneris xxij Junij anno xlij dicit et asserit quod auxerint presidis et professoris latinij salarium siue stipendium vsque ad summam circiter centum florenos Caroli.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 32 ; cp. I, 455, 470, sq.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 32-33.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 33, 51 : Dicit etiam quod semper questus sit et protestatus de sua solutione vt patet ex articulo. xxij. per actorem exhibito veneris xxij Junij anno xv c xlij.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 51-52 ; cp. III, 589-90.

⁶⁾ *MotJuris*, 52.

of his own office ¹⁾. He had tried to insinuate to those who had to judge his case, that even after 1525, when he went to live with his wife, he still belonged to the College, having kept the keys, not only of his room over the Chapel, but even of the College, where he could go in and out whenever it pleased him. That statement was flatly denied, since his room had been given by the Presidents to one, or even two boarders from 1525 to 1539, whereas, not once, Rescius had as much as opened its door, or that of the Institute ²⁾. Nor were the *Provisores* remiss in bringing home to him on that occasion, that he had shirked his duty towards inmates and bursars, and lost all claim on the elusive extra pound, which, to be true, the Founder had prescribed, but which the Executors had abolished before the College started ³⁾.

The reproach went fully home : for Rescius got more and more entangled in contradictions between the claiming of a reward and the acknowledgment of the things he had to perform to deserve it. On one hand he insisted on being paid for his teaching in the autonomous college started by the Executors at the rate prescribed by the Founder for the lessons in St. Donatian's ⁴⁾; whereas, on the other, he declared ⁵⁾ that he was not bound to attend the quarterly memorial services for Jerome de Busleyden, as they were neither celebrated in St. Donatian's, nor in Arras College, as mentioned in the Will, but in the Chapel of the *Trilingue*. A similar contradiction is found in Rescius' obstinate refusal to acknowledge the right and power granted to the Executors for all changes they should find fit to introduce into the dispositions taken by the Founder, without having to account for it to anybody in the world, and yet that right is unequivocally expressed in the Will ⁶⁾, — which, for the matter of his salary, he wanted to invest with paramount authority. He tried to invalidate their right by applying to them the restriction 'salua semper, quanto proximius fieri poterit, mea intentione' ⁷⁾; but his opponents aptly pointed out that the proviso quoted does

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 45-46.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 47-8.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 68-69.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 46.

⁵⁾ In his *replica* of Friday, August 25, 1542, second paragraph : *MotJuris*, 46.

⁶⁾ *Test.*, 83, 84 ; *MotJuris*, 15-16.

⁷⁾ *MotJuris*, 16.

not apply to the Executors, but to the *provisores* of the new Institute ¹⁾, — although even that stipulation is evidently no more than some directive advice, imparted at the same time as the full powers to those men whom the Founder expected to secure the realizing and stabilizing of his scheme.

After several months of haggling, the lawsuit was finally brought to a close by the Rector's sentence; although its wording is not preserved, yet it is clear that it disappointed Rescius. That results from the tone and the argumentation of the *Motivum Juris* of 1547: unto the very last stage of the dispute, it refutes calmly all the claims which Rescius had brought forward from the very first beginning of the conflict, without attacking, or even as much as blaming, any verdict pronounced, or criticizing any judge's views or opinions: it certainly gives the impression of men defending the bare truth, and knowing that they are doing so. Although not one single line indicates whether the preceding sentences were in favour of, or against, the College, yet the arguing of the *Provisores* is so sound, and the proofs on which they rely are so apodictical, that it does not seem possible to admit Rescius' claims. The first onset had probably bewildered them, ignorant as they were of the inner economy of the *Trilingue*, and deprived of most conclusive documents: yet they gathered information and evidence as the lawsuit proceeded: if the case had been known to them in 1539 as it was in 1547, the decision would not have been withheld for so many weary years.

C. SECONDARY ACTION & APPEAL

No doubt, the conscientiousness of being the only person fully acquainted with the circumstances of the case, egged Rescius on in his struggle against the College, instead of letting things rest at the interlocutory decree, and at the sentence that closed the first instance. Instead, he threw in an appeal for his claim of the profits and of the salary indicated in Busleyden's Will ²⁾. He did not feel very hopeful, though, about that principal action, as the *Provisores* fitly

¹⁾ *Test.*, 74.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 43.

argued that what he asked, had been stipulated for a hypothetical college, different in many points from that which *de facto* was established. He therefore started a secondary action before the Rector's Court by which he urged the *Trilingue* to apply the prescriptions of the Will by granting him board and lodging, like to his colleagues; moreover he requested that the famous extra pound Flemish, specified in the Testament, should be exacted from then on from the inmates, and divided amongst the three professors. On November 19, 1543, the University Notary, William van Caverson ¹⁾, handed to the College authorities, in the name of Jerome du Blioul, Rector ²⁾, the *scheda supplicationis et requisitionis*, submitted by Rescius, of which the text may be reconstituted from the lengthy quotations in the *Motivum Juris* :

Ego, Rutgerus Rescius, professor grecus trilinguis collegij, verus, legitimus et indubitatus heres Dñi fundatoris eiusdem collegij, coram notario et testibus ad hoc vocatis et rogatis, postulo a vobis Dñis prouisoribus, siue curatoribus collegij predicti, vt curetis mihi tanquam primo professori greco, et inter alios professores collegas meos in profitendi munere antiquissimo, dari et exhiberi

¹⁾ William van Caverson, or Cavertson, belonged to a family that had provided a canon to St. Peter's, Peter (1524 : Mol., 150), and mayors to the town : Giles, 1479, and Judocus, possibly his father, 1507, 1512, 1514, 1516, 1518 : Mol., 380-81 ; LouvBoon, 214, 215. William was appointed University notary in 1541, succeeding to Giles Martini. He died on June 29, 1551, and was buried in St. Peter's. He left a son, Gerard, who, in 1552, was the first at the promotion in Arts; in time he became president of Winckel College, 1561-1564, professor of laws, 1562, and D.V.J., on September 28, 1565. He married Mary, daughter of the mayor Augustine Vrancx, and died suddenly on October 14, 1595, being buried in St. Quintinus'; his son William was councillor in 1590, pensionary and secretary of Louvain in 1599 : LouvBoon, 279, 368 (their house was in Provost Street, opposite 'Prémonstreit College', next to that of Aug. Vrancx), 376, 400 ; VAnd., 44, 155-6, 196, 198, 244, 300, 364 ; Vern., 150, 97-98, 298 ; Mol., 552, 702 ; DivRL, 57 ; ULPromRs., 170. The Peter van Caverson, who died in 1564 as mayor of Louvain : LouvBoon, 216 ; Mol., 383, may have been William's son as well. Cp. VAnd., 52 ; ULDoc., I, 328, III, 145.

²⁾ Cp. II, 214, III, 612 : under his first Rectorate Rescius had started his first action : cp. ULDoc., I, 266 ; and before, pp 20, 24-6, 30, 65.

victum siue portionem mense ceteris meis collegis communem. Ac congruum aliquod cubiculum ex ijs que ab initio collegij foundationis semper a professoribus inhabitata fuerunt ¹⁾).

Postulo etiam a vobis vt presidenti iniungatis et mandetis quo exigit lb. fland. a singulis conuictoribus siue commensalibus non bursarijs collegij, iuxta dñi fundatoris testamenti tenorem, quarum librarum sic collectarum et commodorum siue emolumentorum ex conuictoribus, volo esse particeps iuxta Dñi fundatoris testamentum, offerens me ad omnia et ad singula munera obeunda et facienda paratum, prout hactenus semper paratus fui, que collegæ mei obeunt, et que dñi fundatoris vltima voluntas a me fieri desiderauit ²⁾).

Ad hec omnia et singula predicta postulo vestram responsionem æquam et bonam dari, vt ex ea cognoscere possim quid mihi deinceps faciendum erit, et, precipue, vt respondeatis an velitis mihi concedere et tradere cubiculum postulatam. — ³⁾

That *Scheda* strangely contradicted *Rescius'* earlier assertions that the *Trilingue* had actually collected the extra pounds Flemish all the time, without sharing them amongst the professors ⁴⁾; it, moreover, suggests that the Greek professor had come to the conclusion that, if he had not received from the College what he thought to have been entitled to, he had himself been remiss in many duties required from him by Busleyden's Will, which he was so anxious to invoke. The fact that, after eighteen years of married life, he declared himself ready to leave his home and start again living at the College, indicates, moreover, that he was in great straits; it is not likely that, at his lifetime, he should have requested to become once more a boarder, after having been for so long the *paterfamilias* of a large household, just for the sake of being irksome to his opponents. To be true, he was not of a friendly disposition, and quarrels were most frequent in his life: he was involved at the time not only in lawsuits against the *Trilingue*, but in one against his own sister; also

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 48-49.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 43.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 48.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 68, 8q, 82.

in one against 'suos latomos' ¹⁾, in another against his partner Bartholomew de Grave, and in many more ²⁾. Still it seems as if his project to go and live at the College, was rather the result of his chronic impecuniosity, which, as has been mentioned before, is betrayed by the loans and the instalments of the wages he had to request from the very President against whom he was proceeding in justice ³⁾. Most probably his printing concern did not prove as profitable as he had hoped, and the growing charge of his household made him more covetous than he had been before, when his avarice exasperated Erasmus and alarmed his bosom friend Clenardus ⁴⁾.

If he had expected to reach a satisfactory result by his accessory lawsuit, he must have been deeply disappointed. It was not likely that the *Provisores*, who had had such trouble with him for so many months, should upset the whole management of the Institute, which had proved most successful and prosperous for so many years, just to try a hypothetical scheme, which, two decads before, had been judged impracticable. Nor did that secondary action get on any quicker than the first : nineteen months after it began, on June 19, 1545, it was still undecided.

Meanwhile the principal action, at the request of Rescius had been examined by the academical tribunal of Appeal, the Court of the Five Judges, each one chosen by, and representing, one of the five Faculties ⁵⁾. They passed their

¹⁾ Apparently the professor of divinity James Latomus and his nephew of the same name, who were on friendly terms with Nicolas Clenard, Rescius' great friend, and with the Professor of Greek as well, at least up to then : cp. *ClenCor.*, II, 57-72.

²⁾ Preterea constat eundem Rescium contra propriam suam sororem, item contra suos latomos, contra etiam M. bartholomeum grauium et contra alios non admodum paucos in iudicio graviter contendisse : *MotJuris*, 40.

³⁾ Cp. before, III, 586 ; *ManBorchI*, 27 ; *ManBorchII*, 34, r, v : the last reference dates from July 20, 1543, and refers to a payment of 6 Rh fl. and three preceding similar advances, by President van der Borch.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp. 24, sq, 62, sq ; II, 626, sq, III, 109, sq, 118-30, 585, sq.

⁵⁾ The delegate judges were chosen by each of the Faculties every year ; the members appointed by the Faculties of Laws led the instruction and prepared the sentence ; those of the Medicine and the Arts

sentence on June 23, 1544 ¹⁾, and, once more, Rescius was put in the wrong, notwithstanding the crafty, deceitful way in which he answered the request to testify, by an oath in full Court, his assertion that he had never seen Busleyden's Will before Goclenius' decease. He swore that he had never had had a *plenariam testamenti inspectionem*, evidently deluding the good faith of the Judges, who did not want to know whether he had seen the original document in its entirety, but whether he had any actual knowledge of the part or parts that referred to him, to his work and to his standing toward the College, — which the defenders of the *Trilingue* bitterly reproached him with afterwards ²⁾).

Thus that miserable lawsuit, most irksome to the *Provisores* and the President, and most disagreeable to his two colleagues, was dragging on through several years. No doubt, it was the more loathsome since it deprived the eldest professor, the witness of the origin of the Institute, of all claim on gratitude and admiration for the work of so many years ; it even ruined his study and teaching by a paramount interest in the lawsuit, whereas his continuous outrages to the spirit of straightforward truth, that groundwork of Humanism and of Real Science, must have been disastrous to his authority and renown. In order to satisfy a disorderly rapacity, he jeopardized perhaps the existence, certainly the welfare, of the *Trilingue* : yet brought only damage and dishonour on himself. For he reaped no profit at all from his ungrateful attempt, and, instead of actually harming the Institute, whose ruin would have resulted from the success of his schemes, he gave to it a new cause of admirable glory, providing the most unequivocal proof of its brilliant vitality

acted as advisers and as jury, and the one of the Faculty of Divinity pronounced the sentence : Vern., 70 ; Mol., 898 ; FUL, 6196-6202 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 361-369.

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 43.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 52 : Rescius ante sententiam latam a Judicibus Appellationum requisitus et jurare coactus, caute, astute, et subdole iuravit se ante mortem Conrardi numquam habuisse plenariam inspectionem testamenti : si enim numquam vidisset aut habuisset quicquam de testamento fundatoris, ipse vt verisimile est iurasset simpliciter et absolute se numquam vidisse aut habuisse testamentum ipsius fundatoris. &c. Cp. before, pp 70, sq.

by continuing and even widening its activity, notwithstanding the treacherous assault : — in so far that the latter, *post factum*, seemed hardly more than a child's kicking at a giant's bulk.

4. NANNIUS' WORK

A. PROJECTED LEAVE FOR ITALY

Although far less besetting than Rescius' tedious lawsuit, other perturbations troubled the clock-work life of study and lectures in the *Trilingue* during van der Borch's presidency, whereas the fifteen preceding years had brought hardly anything of that kind, except an occasional epidemic, such as the sweating sickness of 1529 ¹⁾, or the disease, to which Nannius referred on August 22, 1538 ²⁾. Quite a different kind of disturbance was caused in the first months of 1542 by a group of adepts of the Reformation, who were active in Louvain, and provoked some quarrels and tumults : students were suspected to be amongst them, and to have attacked priests and friars, as well as manifested against the laws of the Prince ³⁾. In the following year, when several executions took place, they found a eulogist in a Spanish student Francis de Enzinas ⁴⁾ : he afterwards proved a disciple of Melancthon, who seems to have had some adherents in the Brabant University, as results from the events that befell the Latin Professor, in the spring of 1542.

Amongst his audience, Nannius had had, for some time, James de Fieschi, Bishop of Savona and Noli, with Nicolas, his brother, and had become their friend ⁵⁾. When, in the latter months of 1541, James Fieschi prepared to return to his native country Italy, he invited the Louvain professor with the promise of ample wages as his literary adviser and secretary. Nannius was not willing, at first, to undertake that long journey in his premature old age ; he was, moreover, bound to maintain some relatives relying entirely on

¹⁾ *LouvBoon*, 79 ; *Torfs*, I, 70-72.

²⁾ *OlaE*, 620 ; cp. III, 530.

³⁾ *LibActVI*, 229.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 2 : de Jongh, 263.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 1, B.

his help, as he explained to the Bishop in the dedicatory letter to his *Orationes tres : In Georgica. In Oratorem. In T. Liuium* ¹⁾, dated November 27, 1541 ²⁾, three speeches which had served as introduction to his lectures on those works and their authors, Virgil, Cicero and Titus Livius, thus giving him the opportunity of praising Agriculture, Eloquence and History. He may also have been dissuaded from accepting the offer on account of the hearty friendship that linked him at the time with two great favourers of the *Trilingue*, Guy Morillon ³⁾ and Damian a Goes ⁴⁾ : not only did they share his interest in his great authors, but also his walks, such as those to the 'Philosophers' Well', a babbling source in a dreamlike covert of Heverlee Wood, to which he alludes in the *Orationes Tres* ⁵⁾. At the end of November, he declined the offer, but did not mention it in dedicating the *Fvnebris Oratio habita pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio* ⁶⁾, dated Jan. 1, 1542, to James Fieschi ⁷⁾; possibly that dedication, following the one of the *Orationes Tres* on the heels, was intended as a gentle reminder that a little insisting might make him change his mind. He did eventually change it, for in his dedicatory letter to the translation of *Tres Homiliæ D. Ioannis Chrysostomi* ⁸⁾, dated on March 1, 1542, from Antwerp, where the book was printed, to John de Weze, bishop of Constance ⁹⁾, he mentions that he is ready to start for Italy, where he hopes to rejoin his nephew Henry up ten Haitzhovel ¹⁰⁾. In all probability Nannius highly enjoyed to be considered worthy of serving as Latin scholar in a country that was nearly two centuries ahead of ours in the Renaissance movement, and, fully realizing all the benefit he might reap from a stay among the store of literature and erudition hoarded up in that peninsula, made the most of

¹⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius : December 1541 : Polet, 52-57.

²⁾ Polet, 269-72.

³⁾ Cp. III, 44-50.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 50-71, 555, sq, 606-8.

⁵⁾ *Orationes Tres*, B 4, r, v : cp. III, 62.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, 1542 ; in the dedicatory letter, Nannius mentions that the *Oratio* had been preserved by Guy Morillon : Polet, 50-51.

⁷⁾ Polet, 274-75.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, Matthew Crommius, 1542 : Polet, 103-104.

⁹⁾ Cp. III, 283, 286.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 1 ; Polet, 275-77.

his oncoming journey in his talks to his friends and in his lectures ¹⁾. He had probably been advised of the day when his fellow-travellers were to call on him when passing by Louvain on their way to the Rhine ; or he may have been waiting for the necessary funds which had been promised to him to start the journey : at any rate, he stopped his lectures, at least for a time, until after some anxious waiting, he got the certainty that the beautiful scheme had fallen through.

He felt very sad at what he took as a piece of Italian perfidy, and was not the only one to be disappointed ; for the news of his intended departure had roused up the hopes of several would-be successors. In his letter to his friend Andrew Masius ²⁾, March 23, 1542, Louis Gens ³⁾ named four : William Lupus, Wolffs, an intimate friend of Nannius, who, he thought, had returned from a <lower> Latin School to teach *humanas literas* in the Porc ⁴⁾ ; also their common friend James de Cruucke, Cruuckius, of Messines ⁵⁾ ; the third was a physician, Justus Velsius, Welsens, of The Hague, ‘ *vir græce et latine probe eruditus et mire facundus, acutus philosophus et mathematicus item bonus, qui abhinc menses*

¹⁾ Andrew Masius had heard the news in Vienna, and had inquired about it when writing to his friend Louis Gens, who replied on March 23, 1542 : MasE, 14.

²⁾ Cp. III, 282-89, 427, *sq.*, 494.

³⁾ Cp. III, 258-60.

⁴⁾ Gulielmus Lupus, qui in Porco humanas literas proficitur, amicus et familiaris Nannio, qui abhinc biennio ex triviali, ni fallor, schola, cui multos annos præfuit, Lovanium rediit : i. e., William Wolffs, of Gossoncourt, who studied in Louvain, and promoted Bachelor in Divinity. After having directed a lower *Ludus* for several years, he returned to Louvain, where he taught Latin and literature in the Porc from 1540, and philosophy, from 1541. He succeeded Arnold Ghinck as professor of Rhetoric on June 28, 1549, and was famous as orator. He was elected dean of the Faculty of Arts in June 1549, and February 1561, and died in 1580. On June 3, 1540, he sent a letter to Abbot George Sarens, of St. Trond, from the Porc, praising him for having taken into his service Gerard Morinck, to whose *Vita Sancti Trudonis* &c (Louvain, S. Zassenus, June 1540) he contributed some verses dedicated to the Abbot : VAnd., 247, 403 ; Vern., 125 ; AcArExc., 129, 189 ; BibBelg., 327 ; UL-Doc., iv, 120 ; MonHL, 491, 493.

⁵⁾ Ambiviv Jacobus Cruginus <evidently a misreading of Crucquius> Messinius noster, quem tibi nihil necesse est describere, nosti enim satis ; — a few lines further, Gens announces : Cruginus publice apud Augustinenses legit humanas liter[a]s : MasE, 15 ; cp. III, 481-88.

aliquot ex Antwerpia huc concessit et publice professus est aliquamdiu' ¹⁾). The fourth was, it seems, a 'Recus, Brugen-sis' ²⁾). Those candidates, no doubt, were disappointed as well, when Nannius decided on taking up again his lessons, which he announced by means of an advice *ad valvas* of St. Peter's church, for they had expected a change in the staff of the *Trilingue*. Yet neither supply, nor successor had been appointed by the only competent authority, the *Provisores* ³⁾; and if the version which makes Nannius actually go to Italy, is certainly wrong ⁴⁾, that according to which Velsius took his place for some time in the *Trilingue* is equally unwarranted ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. further, p 93, and Ch. XXIII, 2. — Gens adds that he describes him more at large and more carefully, as his friend wants to be informed about all those who enjoy the fame of erudition : MasE, 15; without any doubt he was a stranger to Masius.

²⁾ Inter candidatos, si diis placet, etiam Recus Brugensis fuisse dicitur : MasE, 15.

³⁾ If a *locum tenens* or a successor had to be appointed, the *Provisores* would certainly not have chosen the 'freebooter' Velsius, but the far more sedate William Wolffs, who was Nannius' *amicus* and *familiaris*, and who enjoyed a good renown as orator and teacher : cp. before, p 90.

⁴⁾ That is, however, accepted by NèveMém., 151; yet, it is impossible : for Nannius, who was in the Netherlands on March 1, 1542, date of the dedication of the *Tres Homiliæ*, could not have journeyed to Italy, and come back before March 13 or 15, when, as is shown further (*inf.*, p 92), he resumed his teaching; Gens announced it to Masius, on March 23, 1542, as a fact that had happened some days before already : MasE, 14-15; Folet, 276; and before, p 90.

⁵⁾ The fact that Velsius lectured in Nannius' place, as mentioned by Paquot, ix, 437-38; NèveMém., 151; Folet, 23, is evidently a mistake attributable to Valerius Andreas' wrong information that, on March 7, 1542, he started explaining Cicero's *Quæstiones Academicæ*, edited by himself, dedicated to James Fieschi, and printed by S. Zassenus for the occasion. Of that edition no mention is made anywhere; nor could it have been produced in so short a time, especially since it would never have been dedicated to Fieschi after March 15, when, by disappointing Nannius, he had spoilt the author's chance of becoming his successor. V. Andreas apparently mixes up this event with what happened in 1544, when Velsius actually lectured in public, and was ordered to stop by the University at the request of the Arts : cp. *inf.*, p 93, and Ch. XXIII, 2. Most decisive is the testimony of Gens (MasE, 14-15), who, an interested man on the spot, gives, on March 23, 1542, plenty of details about the whole incident, — practically all that is known; — yet, he

Unfortunately the event provided an occasion for ill-willers of the Latin professor to vent their malicious pleasure at his discomfiture. He had neither the calm, nor the prepossessing character and manners of Goclenius, and his rather excitable and rash talking may have increased the amount of discontent which his punctilious and omniscient haughtiness, though common amongst teachers, naturally aroused, especially since his very nomination had not been welcomed from all quarters. Louis Gens, moreover, confided to Masius that the chief reason of the discontent was that Nannius had highly offended some Germans by criticizing, or at least contemning, their great favourite Philip Melanchthon in a private conversation; they availed themselves of the opportunity to show an animosity which had, up to then, been concealed ¹⁾. They wrote satirical poems on the matter, and put them up, no doubt, where the announcement of the resumption of Nannius' lectures was pinned up. Those squibs may have been, at the least, encouraged by Velsius, who became openly sympathetic to the German Reformers a few months later; they may have been part of the expression of his disappointment. They naturally roused the indignation of Nannius' admirers, who, at once, answered them. When the Latin professor took up again his lectures, he started by an oration in which he cleared himself of the suspicion of having despised Melanchthon, who, unquestionably, he said, was a great pedagogue and an excellent erudite; he also explained how he had been compelled to abandon the Italian journey ²⁾, and in answer to the lampoons, he quoted the judgment of learned men about himself: he therefore read out a letter which Andrew Masius, the great linguist, then at work at Speyer, as Bishop de Weze's secretary, had written on the 8th of that

does *not* mention that Velsius had actually lectured in the *Trilingue*, nor even that Nannius was absent from Louvain for any considerable time: he merely refers to the *intermissum profitendi munus*, which applies quite as well to two or three days, and even to one only, as to a month or several weeks.

¹⁾ Hujus mali prima origo ex eo nata est quod Nannius olim in familiaris colloquio Melanchthonem perstrinxisse dicitur aut parum magnifice de eo sensisse, quæ res Germanos plerosque Philippi discipulos graviter offendit: MasE, 14-15.

²⁾ MasE, 15: purgavit se... de necessitate mutati consilii.

very month ¹⁾). That letter, 'pridie aut eodem die accep-
t[æ]' ²⁾, has not survived, no more than the wording of that
speech, pronounced about the 15th of March, which may
have been the *Oratio Purgatoria*, which Paquot already
mentions as having been lost ³⁾ since the days of Valerius
Andreas ⁴⁾. For some time the matter rankled in Nannius'
mind after that speech : on March 28, 1542, he wrote to his
friend Cornelius Musius, the famous Latin poet ⁵⁾, — to whom,
on February 13, 1550, he dedicated *Duarum Sanctissimarum
Martyrum Agathæ et Lucie Dialogismi* ⁶⁾, and for whom he
composed his *De Claris Corneliis* ⁷⁾, — asking him for a
judgment and an opinion about himself ; for, so Peter van
Opmeer ⁸⁾ declares, the physician Justus Velsius, of The
Hague, was then greatly perplexing him and burdening him
with calumnies ⁹⁾. Part of Nannius' letter is reproduced in
Peter van Opmeer's *Historia Martyrum Batavicorum* ¹⁰⁾ : it
illustrates the professor's trouble at the time, and makes it
highly improbable, if not impossible, that he should have
asked Velsius to replace him. It runs as follows :

Eft hic quidam fefquiplus Thrafo ¹¹⁾, qui cum meæ pro-
fessionis inhiabat, frustratus omni spe, quia hic maneo,
quofdam subornavit indoctiffimos nebulones, qui aliquot
Epigrammata in me fcripferunt, eo ferme argumento,
quafi ob iufticiam ab Epifcopo ¹²⁾ hic derelictus effem.
Quæfo aut carmine aliquo aut Epiftola refcribas, quid de
meis opufculis fentias. Nefcis quantopere optem tuum

¹⁾ MasE, 15 : it was sent, with a letter for Gens, to Nannius' colleague Andrew Balenus.

²⁾ Nannius had received it probably between March 13 and 15, as it was quite easy to reach Louvain from Speyer in five days.

³⁾ Paquot, xiv, 77-78 : *Oratio purgatoria* : beginning *Cum jam accinctus eram...*

⁴⁾ *BibBelg.*, 751 : in the oration Nannius dwelled largely on Erasmus' style.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 196-202, 482, 515, III, 402-3.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Peter Phalesius, 1550 : Polet, 47-49, 310.

⁷⁾ Polet, 186-87.

⁸⁾ Peter van Opmeer (cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 5) became Nannius' student about 1543.

⁹⁾ *BatavMart.*, 74 : cum negotium sibi facesserat, multisque oneraret calumniis Iustus Velsius Haganus Medicus.

¹⁰⁾ *BatavMart.*, 74.

¹¹⁾ Justus Velsius.

¹²⁾ James Fieschi.

Eulogium, vt hominis & doctissimi & charissimi ¹⁾. Idem etiam petam a viro insigniter erudito Petro Menfio, si tabellarius mihi tempus permiserit. Quod si eius ²⁾ iniquitate exclusus fuerim, quæso illi meam voluntatem significes. Quicquid scripseritis, curabo imprimi. Quamobrem a vestra Eruditione peto scripta digna vestris ingeniis. Id tamen diffimulate quod quicquam a vobis petierim. Scribite quæso libere & ingenue, censuramque nostri peragite, non ex amore, sed vero iudicio. Bene vale, vir eruditissime & digne, qui a Musis Musæus appelleris.

Whether Cornelius Musius and their common friend Peter Mens ³⁾ complied with Nannius' request, is difficult to make out; at any rate, the loss of the letters obtained in such a childish fashion, cannot be taken as a proof of their never having existed. For they may have been printed at the expense of the Latin professor, — in a way, like that of Dodonæus, of October 1, 1550, about Greek Chronology ⁴⁾, — not for the general sale, but for distribution amongst the

¹⁾ Evidently to defeat slander.

²⁾ viz., tabellarii.

³⁾ Peter Mens was, by 1520, *Scholæ Antuerpianæ Scholasticus*, for in that quality he wrote a letter *ad Lectorem* which is added, with other matter, to *Rodens Plauti Comædia... metro numerisque restituta*, necnon & scholijs a Nicolao Buschiducensi, graphice illustrata : Antwerp, M. Hillen, about 1520 : *Nijkron.*, II, 3744. The letter begins with the words : Si tibi Romanæ placeat facundia linguæ... — The names of the authors of the other letters and poems : Cornelius Grapheus (cp. I, 438), Levinus Linius, hypodidasculus (III, 417-19), Adrianus Lucas, hypodidasculus (I, 205), and 'Nicolas Buschiducensis, moderator & Gymnasiarcha... Scholæ Antuerpianæ' (viz., van Broeckhoven : II, 350) indicate teachers, whereas Mens was *Scholasticus*, the canon appointed to take care of the School. He may have accepted a prebend in Holland, at, or near, Delft, as Musius could easily approach him. He may have been a relative of the erudite poet William Mennens, of Antwerp (1525-1608), which would explain how, in 1566, he edited the posthumous poems of Adrian of Schoreel, who lived at Schoorl, near Alkmaar, or at Utrecht, whose acquaintance he may have made through Peter, possibly his uncle. William's son, Francis (1582-1635), wrote a book about the military orders : *BibBelg.*, 233, 329 ; *SweABelg.*, 246, 313 ; *SweMon.*, 20 ; Kuiper, 44, sq, 52, sq. Still the name Mens may have been the proper form : it was still used at Antwerp in the following centuries ; *Antw-Hist.*, VI, 245, 251, 259, 266, 286, 322, VIII, 117, 170-72 ; *AntwAnn.*, II, 385 (possibly miswritten as : Petrus Arens).

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 343-45.

friends, and amongst all those who attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*; those, namely, who had read, or at least heard of, the satirical poems, and in whose eyes Nannius wanted to appear as victoriously revenged.

B. THE DEFENCE OF LOUVAIN

From then on, Nannius continued his work and his studies quite regularly. He explained the first book of Lucretius' *De Natura Rerum*, and ended it just before the beginning of the summer holidays marked by the arrival of Martin van Rossem's army ¹⁾, which, through the weeks of continuous watch and of unrest, made all study impossible ²⁾. Most fortunately it ended by the deliverance of Louvain from the horrors of a siege and a sack, through the valiant audacity of the Students, in which those of the *Trilingue* took a most generous share. At the end of the vacations, in the first days of October, Nannius intended explaining Lucretius' second book, and read as introduction a *Somnium*, in which he relates how his wish to get some information about that text, was granted, since he was taken up to the Elysium, and led by Pegasus to the island Cyclopædia; he there meets the poet, who talks to him about his verses, which Virgil partly copied and imitated, and gives him, as message to his hearers, the advice to be as zealous at their study as they were at the assault of the enemy before Louvain; for he threatens them with dire punishments if they should not manage with due care to understand his second book. Nannius is then deposited by Pegasus on Louvain Fish-Market, at the back-gate of the College ³⁾.

Notwithstanding the brilliant and fanciful introduction, the audience wished to read a text which was more in keep-

¹⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 625-43.

²⁾ *VAnd.*, 360-61; *LouvBoon*, 81-82; *LouvEven*, 59-60; *GemFrisius*, 412; *Polet*, 58-61.

³⁾ That introduction was afterwards edited from Nannius' manuscript by Erycius Puteanus, in 1611, as: *Petri Nannii Somnium alterum* (cp. for the first, Ch. XXIV, 5) *In lib. II Lucretii Præfatio. Habita, Lovanii, in Collegio Trilingui*: Louvain, Philip van Dormael, 1611: cp. *Polet*, 61, 64-68.

ing with the warlike atmosphere in which they were then still living. To comply with their request, Nannius resolved to explain Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia*, and pronounced, as introduction, the eulogy of the recent feat of arms by the students : *Oratio de Obsidione Louaniensi* ¹⁾, which he followed up with a dissertation on Cicero's text ²⁾.

C. HIS PROFESSORATE

For his lectures of the academic year starting on the first of October 1544, Nannius had chosen the fourth book of the *Æneis*; in September he had had it printed with the variants and with conjectures for the imperfect verse-lines ³⁾. As he had noticed that the Greek quotations in his commentary were not always exactly understood or taken down, he added some lines from Homer, Euripides, Apollonius Rhodius and other Greek models of Virgil, which he translated in Latin verses. Instead of being placed as *glossæ* in the margin, these notes became *Spicilegia*; they were enriched by quotations from Ovid and Valerius Flaccus, who imitated Virgil; further, by a comparison between the love of Dido and Æneas, and that of Medea and Jason; and, above all, by corrections of older commentators, from Maurus Servius Honoratus ⁴⁾ to

¹⁾ That *Oratio* was printed in September 1543, by Serv. Zassenus, together with a *Dialogus de Milite Peregrino*; both were dedicated to the English ambassador Nicolas Wotton, in whose company he was in Louvain (cp. further, § 6), when he heard of the debate between Louis of Flanders, Lord of Praet, returning from an embassy in England, Philip de Croy, Duke of Aerschot, one of the captains in the war against Gelderland, and Louis de Schore, which the English Orators at Mary of Hungary's Court, Sir Edward Carne, and Stephen Vaughan, mentioned in their report of July 3, 1541 : *LPH8*, xvi, 962. Nannius was told all about that discussion, and may even have been present at an after-math : cp. Polet, 59-60, 279-80, and further, pp 112, sq.

²⁾ That introductory dissertation is probably the manuscript, now no doubt lost, which was entitled : *Enarrationes in Manilianam Ciceronis, seu Orationem pro Lege Manilia*, recorded by Paquot, xiv, 78.

³⁾ The book has as title : *Deuterologiæ sive Spicilegia Petri Nannii Alcmariani in Quartum Librum Æneidos Virgillii* : Louvain, R. Rescius, September 1544 : Paquot, xiv, 69 ; Polet, 134-39.

⁴⁾ Maurus Servius Honoratus, born c355, was a famous Virgilian commentator of the latter half of the fourth century : Sandys, i, 231-32, &c.

Cristoforo Landino ¹⁾; it gives a personal note to this edition, providing a most interesting example of the way in which Nannius treated his texts in his lectures, and made them all serve to the intellectual, moral and literary development of his hearers. Before starting the interpretation of the *Æneis*, Nannius delivered an *Oratio de Amore* ²⁾, in which he described, not only the two sons of Venus, Anteros and Cupido, but especially the three representations of Venus herself, the simple Venus *anaduomene*; the ideal Venus, daughter of Dion; and the wild Astarte; against the latter's maleficence, he insistently warned his students in most realistic pictures of the excesses and their result: thus providing an explanation of the representations of love in Antiquity, and yet earnestly warning his auditors against all dangers into a serious assumption of life and its eternal problems ³⁾.

Besides that work, which was as part of his profession, Nannius also wrote five fictive soliloquies, showing the history and the characters of Lucretia, Suzanna, Judith, Agnes and Camma, in imitation of the Senecan tragedies, in which the personages encourage and excite themselves to the action in small psychological dramas. They appeared in 1541, as *Dialogismi Heroinarum* ⁴⁾, dedicated to Doña Mencia de Mendoza, Marchioness of Zenete ⁵⁾; they were, at once, reprinted in Paris ⁶⁾, where a French translation, by John Millet, was published in 1550 ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Cristoforo Landino (1424-1504), a member of the Academy of Florence, was known as annotator of Dante, Virgil and Horace, and as imitator of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations in the *Disputationum Camaldulensium Libri Quatuor*: Sandys, II, 81-82, &c; Symonds, 338-41.

²⁾ The manuscript, mentioned in Paquot, XIV, 78, as having been in the possession of Bonaventura Vulcanius, is still preserved amongst the papers of that professor in Leyden Library, MS 98 F; it is entitled *Oratio Nannij quam habuit de Amore auspicaturus Librum Quartum Æneidos*. It has been recently edited in Polet, 196-209.

³⁾ Polet, 68-70.

⁴⁾ Louvain, Barth. Gravius: Paquot, XIV, 65.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 24, 43, 101-2, 461; Polet, 268-69.

⁶⁾ Ch. Wechel, 1541: Polet, 42-47; they seem as the forerunners of the *Imaginary Conversations* of Walter Savage Landor and of Robert Browning's poems.

⁷⁾ Paquot, XIV, 65: *Cinq Dialogismes, ou Délibérations de cinq Nobles Dames*.

Although Nannius was most successful in those rhetorical compositions, and considered them as his most original work, he did not neglect anything which could develop his taste and ability : he made several translations from the Greek and edited them. Thus he published, in 1541, *Athenagoræ, Atheniensis Philosophi... de Mortuorum Resurrectione* ¹⁾, which is the *editio princeps* for the Greek text ; in 1542, *Tres Homiliæ D. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, from an unedited manuscript received from Rome ²⁾, and *Demosthenis de Immunitate adversus Leptinem Oratio* ³⁾ ; in Nov. 1544, *Aliqvot Epistolæ Synesii & Apollonii* ⁴⁾. It did not prevent him from composing two speeches by which he welcomed Charles V on his visit to Louvain on September 26 and 27, 1543, one in the name of the town, the other in the name of the students ; although mere occasional literature, they drew on him the attention of two personages in the Emperor's suite, Nicolas Wotton and Edmond Bonner ⁵⁾ ; they were published in October of the same year ⁶⁾. Nor was he remiss in recommending the *Hispania* of his friend Damian a Goes by a letter of November 1541 ⁷⁾ : in 1539, he had effusively praised his *De Rebus citra Gangem in India gestis* by an *elegiacum* ⁸⁾, and welcomed his son Emmanuel into the world by a charming *Genethliacon* ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Louvain, Barth. Gravius : Paquot, xiv, 65-66 ; Polet, 101-103.

²⁾ Antwerp, Matthew Crommius : Polet, 103-104.

³⁾ Louvain, Barth. Gravius : Paquot, xiv, 67 ; Polet, 104-107.

⁴⁾ Louvain, Serv. Zassenus : Paquot, xiv, 68 ; Polet, 107-110.

⁵⁾ Cp. further, pp 112, sq.

⁶⁾ *Orationes Dcæ Gratulatoriæ de felici Cæsaris Caroli Quinti in Brabantiam Aduentu*, autore Petro Nannio Alcmariano : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, October 1543. — It also contains the *Oratio* which Nannius composed — but did not pronounce — on Charles V's arrival in Brabant in 1540, which had been published as *Gratvlatio de Adventu Imperatoris Carolis eius nominis Quinti* per Petrum Nannium Alcmarianum apud Louanienses in Collegio trilingui Buslidiano Latinum Professore : Louvain, R. Rescius, February 1540. — Cp. Paquot, xiv, 64, 67 ; Polet, 49-50, 280-81.

⁷⁾ GoesO, T 2, r-T 3, r ; Polet, 274 ; Paquot, xiv, 66 (in *Hispania* : Louvain, 1542).

⁸⁾ GoesO, S 5, v-S 6, v ; Polet, 83-85.

⁹⁾ GoesO, m 3, v-m 4, v ; Polet, 85-86 ; Paquot, xiv, 66-67.

5. THE OTHER PROFESSORS

A. RESCIUS AND HIS PRINTING

Although greatly hampered by his lawsuits, Rescius continued his activity as professor, and especially as printer of such Greek texts as he could read and comment upon in his lectures. In March 1539, he brought out what then passed for Homer's work, the *BATRAXOMYOMAXIA*, *Ranarum et Murum Pugna* ¹⁾, as well as Lucian's *Marini Dialogi* ²⁾; in May 1539, *Joannis Chrysostomi homilia, Quod nemo leditur nisi a seipso* ³⁾, and in July 1539, Lucian's *Mortuorum Dialogi* ⁴⁾. Besides those Greek texts he printed, in June of the following year, 1540, Nannius' translation of Plutarch's *Catonis et Phocionis Vitæ* ⁵⁾; in May 1539, he issued *M. T. Ciceronis ad Marcum Brutum Orator* ⁶⁾. He further published, in October of that same year, *Rhetorica Ioannis Cæsarii in septem libros siue tractatus digesta* ⁷⁾; in March 1540, Gerardus Mercator Rupelmundanus' *Literarum Latinarum, quas Italicas, cursoriasque vocât, scribendarum Ratio* ⁸⁾, and on February 1, 1539, *De Numerorum Variis Notis*, by F. R. P. ⁹⁾, which was dedicated to Robert, Lord of Aigremont, the younger, Count of la Marck and 'Arenberch' ¹⁰⁾, by a letter dated on January 1, 1539, and recommended by eighteen verses of Peter Nannius ¹¹⁾. He also printed Damian a Goes' *Commentarii Rerum gestarum in India... a Lusita-*

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 1104.

²⁾ NijKron., I, 1387.

³⁾ NijKron., II, 2629: the month is indicated as 'Men. Ma.': — for March, Rescius used the abbreviation *Mart.* or *Mar.*

⁴⁾ NijKron., II, 3424.

⁵⁾ NijKron., I, 1744; Polet, 99-101.

⁶⁾ NijKron., II, 2666.

⁷⁾ NijKron., I, 513.

⁸⁾ NijKron., II, 3525, I, 1515; cp. *sup.*, II, 567.

⁹⁾ NijKron., II, 3669: F. R. P. could hardly mean, as is suggested there, Felix Rex Polyphemus: Konings was no teacher, and, in 1539, he was Duke Albert of Prussia's librarian at Königsberg, which makes his stay in Louvain as good as impossible: cp. *ErColTran.*, xi, sq; FG, 406-7; Tschackert, I, 231, 314, III, 356; Allen, VIII, 2130, *pr.* The editor was probably a young Master of Arts originary from Liège diocese, who had experienced Robert Count de la Marck's bounty, and perhaps was in his son's service.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, p 12.

¹¹⁾ Cp. before, p 12.

nis, September 1539 ¹⁾, and his *Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum*, September 1540 ²⁾; Nannius' *Gratvlatio de Adventu Caroli V... apud Louanienses*, February 1540 ³⁾; as well as John Driedo's *De Libertate Christiana Liber*, September 1540, for Bartholomew Gravius ⁴⁾.

In 1541, Rescius brought out three books by Nannius: the Greek text of Athenagoras' *De Mortuorum Resurrectione*, with the Latin translation, issued by Bart. Gravius ⁵⁾; the *Dialogismi Heroinarum*, also under Gravius' name ⁶⁾; and the *Orationes Tres: ex officina Rutgeri Rescij An. M. D. XLI. Men. Decemb. 7)*. In 1542, he published for his associate Gravius a translation of Demosthenes' *De Immunitate adversus Leptinem Oratio* ⁸⁾; he also printed in August of that year, Livinus Ammonius' *Tractatus in Parabolam Servatoris Nostri de Filio Minore Natu* ⁹⁾; and in the same year, Damianus a Goes' *Hispania* ¹⁰⁾, as well as Alard of Amsterdam's *Oratio in Nuptias Jacobi Valeolæti*, July 1542 ¹¹⁾, and his *Sylvulæ Novæ Concionum Pœnitentialium*, a series of sermons, forming part of a collection of which the remainder could not be printed, as the workmen of the office had left to enlist in the Emperor's army against Francis I and his ally, the Duke of Gelderland ¹²⁾.

B. BALENUS' ILLNESS

Of the activity of the Hebrew professor, the evidence is far less abundant, although his study, and his teaching was said to be as intense and as able as that of his colleagues. Unfortunately, in the last days of 1543, he fell ill, and suffered for weeks from a brain-fever, which made him afraid of light and talk, and caused him to see spectres and horrid sights. He could not take up his lectures after Christ-

¹⁾ NijKron., I, 678; cp. III, 62, and before, p 11; *CatSel.*, 1412 (a present from Adam Carolus to Beatus Rhenanus).

²⁾ NijKron., I, 679; cp. III, 63; *CatSel.*, 1413 (offered by Goes to Rhenanus). ³⁾ NijKron., I, 1586; cp. before, p 98; Polet, 49.

⁴⁾ NijKron., I, 743.

⁵⁾ Polet, 101-103; Paquot, XIV, 65.

⁶⁾ Polet, 43-47; Paquot, XIV, 65.

⁷⁾ Polet, 52-57; *CatSel.*, 1915; Paquot, XIV, 65.

⁸⁾ Polet, 104-107; Paquot, XIV, 67.

⁹⁾ *CatSel.*, 1699; Paquot, XV, 17.

¹⁰⁾ *CatSel.*, 1414; cp. III, 65.

¹¹⁾ *CatSel.*, 558; Paquot, XI, 413.

¹²⁾ Paquot, XI, 414.

mas, and his state was such that his friends were afraid that he might even attempt his life ¹⁾. As on March 25, 1544, no improvement had set in, Nannius wrote, by two ways, a letter to Andrew Masius, to inform him that if Balenus did not get better, the place of Hebrew professor would have to be considered as vacant, in which case the *provisores* contemplated offering to him the succession ²⁾. By July 1, 1544, the state of the patient did not allow yet of any decision: although he often went out, he was still shy of day and society, and fancied seeing ghosts and bugbears. Yet he clung to life, and when asked by the *provisores* to resume his teaching, he promised to do his best as soon as ever the sound days should come back.

As, by then, his body, and even his mind, gave every hope on a speedy recovery, it was thought better not to make matters worse by appointing a successor, or even a supply; meanwhile Nannius expressed the pleasure felt at Masius' promise to be ready for help in case of need ³⁾. Finally, about September 1544, the Latin professor announced to his friend that Balenus had taken up teaching again, feeling much better, although not quite freed from the effects of his illness ⁴⁾. In later letters or documents, no mention is made of any relapse, and the ordinary work was, no doubt, resumed after the break, which had been noticed only by the few Hebraists.

C. BENEFICENT INFLUENCE

Busleyden's Institute, meanwhile, continued to exercise an immense influence on the Netherlands and the neighbouring countries in those days when learning found a constantly growing interest amongst the leading classes of society. It was because the College answered the want thus created in a

¹⁾ On July 1, 1544, Nannius, however, announced to Masius that he was 'avidissimus vitæ': MasE, 19.

²⁾ MasE, 18.

³⁾ MasE, 18-19: he greatly praises Masius' ability, and wished to have him appointed as professor.

⁴⁾ MasE, 19: Nannius adds: Illum <Balenum> oravi ut ad te scriberet, noluit, non animi malignitate, nam multum te amat, sed solita sua pigritia, qua nulli hominum scribit.

most appropriate way that students resorted there from far and near in ever growing numbers. It differed from what was to become the *Collège de France*, which appealed only to a small set of hard-working scholars, who were to spend their lives amongst books ¹⁾ : they may be the glory of the school that formed them, but they were only feeble means towards its expansion, towards the spreading abroad of its teaching and its ideals, as they themselves were humble workers, whose merits often wanted years of study and centuries of distance to be fully appreciated. Such scholars were also formed in Louvain ; but besides them, other young men were intellectually developed for other purposes than the preparation to the work in higher Faculties, or a deliberate deepening and widening of the matters they had been taught up to then : — for the adaptation, namely, of mind and thought and language to a society that was advancing rapidly in culture and in civilization, in which wit and erudition, ideal and esthetic enjoyment, and the charm of affable manners and entertainment were taking the place of brutal force and scurrility. They turned to the *Trilingue* for an initiation, at least, in the humanizing studies, which was so generously offered by the suggestive power of Goclenius or by Nannius' brilliancy. A thorough study of Latin and its literature, — exposed lucidly and attractively, — was not beyond their aptitude, and it proved a mighty factor in their intellectual and moral development ; exceptionally it even became an incentive to deeper and intenser culture, as it did for a James Suys ²⁾, for Guy and Mark Laurin ³⁾ ; in all cases it turned them into enlightened protectors of the New Movement in those days when the enemies were still in a position to make life unbearable for its promoters.

6. EFFICIENT TEACHING

A. THE EXAMPLE FOLLOWED

The example given by the earnestly zealous and hard-working professors of the *Trilingue* was not lost on their colleagues of the Faculty of Arts, — thus contradicting the

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 84, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. III, 454.

³⁾ Cp. Ch. XXIII, 5.

old saw, that the darkest place is at the foot of the candlestick. In the Pedagogies a great interest had been awakened in the study and teaching of Latin, although it was generally due to the enthusiastic zeal of a Dorp or a Barlandus. The influence of Busleyden College made that zeal into a regular element of the intellectual life. That was the case for the Lily, in which Peter de Corte, as Regent, introduced a systematic teaching, even of Greek, with John van den Cruyce, Crucius, as first reader, starting on January 1, 1528 ¹⁾. In that Pedagogy the studies of languages were most flourishing: for, in the thirties, it could boast the enthusiastic group of which Andrew Masius ²⁾ seems to have been the chief inspirer, and to which belonged both 'legentes' and students: as well John de Bruyckere ³⁾ as Louis Gens, Christian Cellarius, Kellenaer, and their companions ⁴⁾.

The other Pedagogies did not stay behind: in the Porc, where Adrian Barlandus had been active, the spirit of study was kept alive by readers whom he had had as colleagues, and by the lectures, which were especially required for the younger students of Standonck House, joined to the Pedagogy, where full instruction had to be systematically arranged ⁵⁾. Great praise was given there to John l'Estainier, Stainier, **Stannifex**, of Gosselies, who, born about 1494, was most successful in his studies: he was classed the first at the promotion of 1512 amongst 157 competitors ⁶⁾. He was one of Barlandus' pupils, and soon became his colleague, being entrusted with the teaching, first of languages, later on, of philosophy, in which he was so proficient that he was appointed 'tentator et examinador' for those who wished to promote in the *Artes*: his name is the first on the first list, — dated 1528, — that has been preserved ⁷⁾. The Faculty even

¹⁾ *LatCont.*, 392-93; *Ent.*, 16; *Allen*, vii, 1932, 123-29; *Cran.*, 257, a-b, 8-12; and before, II, 84, sq. The name *Gutius* found in *ULPromRs.*, 71 (*ULPromLv.*, 7), and consequently in *ULDoc.*, iv, 246, is probably due to a misreading of *Cr*, taken (with the small curve, below, to the right of the big curl) for *G*: McKerrow, 349-50, and *RES*, iii, 32, 34.

²⁾ *Cp.* III, 282-90, 427-28.

³⁾ *Cp.* III, 257, sq.

⁴⁾ *Cp.* III, 258-61, 291-96, 412.

⁵⁾ *Cp.* *FUL*, 2026-27, 1003-5; *ULDoc.*, iv, 79-84.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 69.

⁷⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 76.

entrusted him with the composition of a commentary on Aristotle's *Logica*, for which 400 Rhine florins were paid to him in 1533, and which was re-issued and revised in 1545 by Michael de Bay : that is the genesis of the *Commentarii Louanienses in Organum Aristotelicum*, which treatise, not bearing the author's name, was for long years in use in the Faculty ¹⁾. Stainier had also studied theology, promoting licentiate soon after 1520. When Nicolas Beken's ten years of presidency in Houterlee College were at an end, in the first days of July 1531 ²⁾, he was elected his successor ; unfortunately he did not finish the decad : he died on November 1, 1536, after about four years and a half of regency, which implies that he started in the first weeks of 1532 ³⁾.

If the study of languages had not been practised much in the Castle, the authorities took care to engage able masters formed elsewhere : one of them was the great linguist Augustine Hunnæus, trained at the Porc and the *Trilingue*, who was appointed teacher of Latin in 1545 ⁴⁾ ; a few months before, a 'legens' of that pedagogy, John Reyneri, of Weert, had been even appointed President of Busleyden College ⁵⁾, which was not without a most wholesome influence on the oldest of the Pedagogies.

Nor did the Falcon stay behind : according to some manuscript notes added to extracts from the *Acta* of the *Artes* ⁶⁾, Magister Martinus Rosius explained there, about 1540, the *Epitome Flori et Grammaticam Clenardi* in his lessons ; a 'Magister Franciscus Curtius', who, on Sundays and feast-days, expounded to all the students, with the help of Arnold Plommen, a bachelor of theology, the Epistles and the Gospels, also taught there Latin syntax, using de Spouter's manual, and commented upon Cicero's letters and Ovid's *Tristes* ; there, too, a 'Magister Benedictus Rosius' read, in

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 566 ; *Mol.*, 600.

²⁾ *MonHL*, 412, 419.

³⁾ *Vern*, 307 ; *VAnd.*, 244-45 ; *PF*, 246 ; *Paquot*, xviii, 264-65 ; *ULDoc.*, iii, 184, iv, 116.

⁴⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 32-33 ; cp. further, Ch. XXIII, 3, A.

⁵⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 32 ; cp. further, Chs. XXIV, XXV.

⁶⁾ Those extracts belonged to the Louvain University and perished in the Fire of August 1914, most unfortunately, since the volumes of the *Acta Facultatis Artium* from 1511 to 1572 had been lost since long.

his lessons, the *Dialogi of Vives*, and repeated the first part of de Spouter's grammar. The intensified interest in the study and practice of languages in the Pedagogy attested by those lectures, was not the result of an order or a regulation, but the spontaneous expression of natural enthusiasm; it makes it quite superfluous to suppose that the Faculty should apply just then to her old student, the learned and wise Abbot Streysters, of Tongerlo¹⁾, for help to introduce an arrangement in the instruction of languages, so as to form clever adepts and able teachers in accordance with the necessities of the time: that is requested in a letter addressed to him, which is a most eloquent eulogy of the work done by Busleyden College proposed as a model to be imitated by the four Pedagogies: when it was edited in last century, it was assigned to 'about 1539'²⁾. As mentioned before in this *History*³⁾, that date is necessarily inexact, as the facts related in this section actually testify to a spontaneous and exuberant expansion of the study and the teaching of languages, which the Faculty, in the request, wishes to realize by means of the Abbot's help⁴⁾. No doubt, the year should be read 1559: for the letter mentions that Streysters is nearing the end of his career, and is leaving the Council of the 'King', — who cannot be the 'Emperor' Charles, but his son Philip; moreover, it indicates the necessity of opposing Melanchthon's adepts, 'qui a rudibus annis in iis argumentis sunt exercitati, quæ seniores editis innumeris libris evulgaverunt'⁵⁾. Those facts and details make it almost certain that the demand was made a little while before the Abbot died⁶⁾, at the time when the means were sought to secure a better payment to keep good teachers at their posts⁷⁾; when to

¹⁾ Cp. I, 70, sq., II, 220-21.

²⁾ *ULAnn.* 1841: 154-59.

³⁾ Cp. I, 70, sq.

⁴⁾ The great cause of the trouble was the insufficient salary of the professors of *Artes*, who were constantly looking out to leave for better-paid situations.

⁵⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1841: 155, 156, 157-58.

⁶⁾ He died in 1560.

⁷⁾ *AcArExc.*, 136-37: 1559 (*ActArtVIII*, 115): mittuntur deputati pro subsidio obtinendo a S. Majestate. Supplica oblata S. Maj. pro eo obtinendo, et narratur quod meditetur facultas modum instruendæ Juventutis, vt quemadmodum fecit in Gramaticis, idem faciat in philosophicis, quibus etiam adjiciet mathematicam. Proponitur Reformatio.

remedy the lack of indispensable training, Francis van den Nieuwlande was induced to start his *Collegium Gandense*, in 1559 ¹⁾; and when that same lack caused a movement in the Faculty, which led to the '*Exemplum reformatæ Rationis Studiorum, cum Grammaticæ, tum Philosophiæ, sive Formula Artium tradendarum in Pædagogio Castrensi anno cto. 15. LXI. typis edita*', which Valerius Andreas saw, and about which he quoted the praise by Cornelius van Auwater, the Latin professor of the *Trilingue* :

Prima reformati Studij laus vestra feretur,
Vt res cumque cadat, colitis qui castra Minervæ,
Castrensemque Scholam regitis, pubemque docetis. ²⁾

That and similar allusions help to make up for the sad loss of all official documents for the period between 1511 and 1572 ³⁾, as they allow a glimpse of the studious activity of the old Pedagogies of Louvain under the welcome influence of Busleyden College.

B. BRECHT'S 'EURIPUS'

Another most welcome allusion to the intellectual upheaval in the Louvain Pedagogies in the forties of that century, refers to the natural consequence of a suggestive explanation of dramatic texts, the public representation of Latin plays by the students. They had been introduced by Martin van Dorp in the Lily from 1509 ⁴⁾, and full-heartedly continued in the Porc by Adrian Barlandus from 1514 ⁵⁾. Although the scanty documents do hardly mention those literary celebrations, it is almost a certainty that the example set had been regularly followed, — if not in Busleyden College, — where there were only few and ill-assorted inmates, — at least in the Pedagogies with their numerous and uniformly trained groups of auditors. No doubt those highly useful and efficient exercises for securing facility of speech in public, were made very

¹⁾ FUL, 4364-66; VAnd., 285, sq; *ULDoc.*, v, 2, sq; *ULAnn.*, 1870: 329, sq.

²⁾ VAnd., 250. In *AcArExc.*, 157, is a note from *ActArtVIII*, 157: *Regens castri curavit imprimi certam reformationem Studiorum (viz., the Exemplum).*

³⁾ FUL, 712-713.

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 215, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. I, 217, sq; *Daxhelet*, 11.

attractive and suggestive by clever teachers ; at any rate they prompted at least one student to compose a play that was not a reminiscence of the Old History, but a picture taken from actual life, although treated imaginatively, symbolizing, and yet graphically describing, the struggle of youth against evil in a moral tragedy, *Euripus, Tragœdia Christiana, de Vitæ Humanæ Inconstantia*.

The author **Livinus of Brecht, Brechtanus**, born at Antwerp about 1516, studied the *Artes*, and attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* ; later on, he entered the Franciscan Minorite Convent, in Louvain. He had a predilection for literature : he wrote poetry ¹⁾ ; he was acquainted with the poet Cornelius Musius ²⁾ ; he worked with a fellow-student Peter Philicinus ³⁾ at composing *Carmina* ⁴⁾, and had even a hand in making the latter's *Magdalena* into a drama, 1544 ⁵⁾. He, for certain, knew Dorp's *Dialogus de Hercule, Venere et Virtute*, for he imitated it for the description of a soul irresolute between virtue and vice ⁶⁾, yet with far more dramatic, more graphic expression. He called the waverer *Euripus*, after Erasmus' adagium ⁷⁾, and shows him, in the first act, exposed to the temptations of Venus and Cupid ; he is inspired, though, with the best intentions, and, assisted by *Timor Dei* and *Tempus Gratiae*, he is placed before two paths, one very comfortable, the other steep and difficult ⁸⁾. With his two

¹⁾ He wrote a *Carmen* on the death of Christ caused by the sinner : 1543 ; also a *Sylva ptiarum Carminum*, 1555, neither of which reaches a high level ; he further added poems on Saints to a text found in Mechlin Convent, *Historia Agonis SS. Marci et Marcellini*, which he edited in 1551.

²⁾ Cp. *Batae Mart.*, 66-99 ; *Acta Mori*, 202 ; and II, 196-202, 515, III, 402-3.

³⁾ Cp. III, 268-69.

⁴⁾ Brecht inserted a *Carmen quo Christus in cruce extensus ac sanguinolentus cum Peccatore expostulat, & eundem ad pœnitentiam invitât*, as sequel to Philicinus' dialogue *de Isaaci Immolatione* : Antwerp, J. Steels, 1543.

⁵⁾ From the dedicatory letter to *Comœdia Tragica quæ inscribitur Magdalena Evangelica* (Antwerp, J. Steels, 1544), it appears that the work had been treated first as a poem in iambic dimeters, but had been arranged into a drama by Brecht.

⁶⁾ *MonHL*, 129, 331-3.

⁷⁾ *ErAdag.*, 357, A-D : *Euripus homo*.

⁸⁾ The motive of the two paths was already used by Bartholomew Palau, at Salamanca, in his *Farsa llamada Custodia* : Creizenach, III, 149 ; Altamira, III, 602.

companions he starts on the hard way, but gets tired very soon ; he wants to rest, although *Tempus Gratiæ* urges him on, and warns him for Venus and Cupid, who intend tempting him in his sleep by lascivious music, and wounding him with a shaft. The act closes with a eulogy of the fear of God. In the second act, Euripus looks down at the attractive figures, and, notwithstanding *Timor Dei's* efforts to stop him, he goes down to Venus and Cupid, who make him take off the heavy dress, — no doubt St. Paul's armour, — which he had put on before starting the ascent ; so, instead of the oppressive helmet of salvation, he puts on a hat adorned with feathers ; Euripus, to be true, requests *Tempus Gratiæ* to stay with him, but receives as reply that he can only remain as long as God grants. The third act starts with a love scene ; as soon as Euripus sees under Venus's dress some horrid shapes, and learns that they are : *Incestus*, *Mœchia*, *Scelus Gomorræ*, *Rixus*, *Æmulatio*, *Cædes*, and such like, he runs away, and once more ascends the rough path with *Tempus Gratiæ*. Soon, however, Cupid wheedles him down again, and Venus insists on the surrendering to her of Euripus' sapphire ring, the 'symbolum cœli', so as to bind himself fully to her service, which he does after some hesitation. The fourth act brings the tragic fall : two dreadful women appear : one, *Pestis Inguinaria*, syphilis, wounds him in his sleep, and covers his body with an ugly leprosy, chasing away all his companions, and causing *Tempus Gratiæ* to lament over the loss of his Bridal Dress. Euripus, however, confides in youth and cure, until the second hag, *Mors*, gives him the fatal blow. In the fifth act Euripus' *Anima*, black and ugly, is beaten, derided and spurned in Hell by Venus, Cupid and the devils, and told of the coming tortures. The play then closes with a severe warning to youth.

Not only the spirit that pervades *Euripus* ¹⁾, but the structure and many of the details in the latter acts, show an evident influence of Nannius' *Oratio de Amore*, 1543 or 1544 ²⁾, and, more especially even, of his second *Somnium*,

¹⁾ It has been pointed out already that Nannius always tried to promote the education and the moral welfare of the students by the subjects he explained : cp. before, p 97.

²⁾ Cp. Polet, 68, sq, 196, sq.

sive Paralipomena Virgiliti, 1545 ¹⁾), which Brecht, no doubt, either heard in the lectures, or read in manuscript. His *Euripus* issued in 1549 ²⁾), and often reprinted ³⁾), constitutes, with its sharply-outlined characters, its lively action, and its energetic outspokenness, a most important event in the history of dramatic literature. It was produced, not only in Louvain and the Netherlands, but in most of the Latin schools which had been started throughout Germany by the Order newly founded by Ignatius of Loyola. It was the first play that was performed in several of their recently started *Ludus*, and it reaped everywhere the most unequivocal success : it thus was played in Vienna, in December 1555 ⁴⁾), in Munich, on March 3, 1560 ⁵⁾), at Innsbruck, on Sept. 1, 1563, at Treves in 1565, at Dillingen in 1566 ⁶⁾). It was hailed with such enthusiasm in Prague that the head of the school, the famous Paul Hoffæus ⁷⁾), translated it in German prose ⁸⁾), which, when produced in February 1560, made a profound impression on the numerous audience, and largely contributed to its renown ⁹⁾). It was rendered into German verse by Cleophas Distelmayer, Dillingen, 1582 ¹⁰⁾), but had meanwhile

¹⁾ Cp. Ch. XXIV, 5, A, and App. VII ; also Polet, 62-64.

²⁾ Louvain, Martinus Rotarius.

³⁾ It was reprinted in Louvain in 1550 and 1568 ; in Cologne in 1555 and 1556 : Paquot, iv, 403.

⁴⁾ Duhr, i, 331, 351.

⁵⁾ It had to be re-played, on account of its success, for the Bishop and for the Duke : Duhr, i, 341, 351.

⁶⁾ Duhr, i, 339, 351, 337, 340.

⁷⁾ Paul Hoff, Hoffæus, born about 1525 at Münster, near Bingen, studied in Cologne and, on the advice of the Louvain Jesuit Leonard Kessel, became one of the first inmates of the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome in 1552 ; he was accepted in the new Society a little while before Ignatius' death, 1556. He was active by 1559 in Prague, where he taught philosophy in the University, and directed the Jesuit School. By 1568 he became Provincial of Upper Germany, and, in 1581, German assistant of Claud Aquaviva, the General in Rome. He returned to Germany as *visitor* in 1591, and died on December 17, 1608 at the College of Ingolstadt : Keussen, iii, p 120 ; *ColGerHun.*, i, 17, 39, 44, 94, 156, &c ; Duhr, i, 780-98, &c ; *JesRheinA.*, 587, 591 ; *UniDill.*, 129, 432 ; also *ConstConc.*, i, 158, 346, sq, 695.

⁸⁾ It seems to have been printed in Prague in 1562.

⁹⁾ P. Bahlmann, *Das Drama der Jesuiten* (in *Euphorion*, ii) : Bamberg, 1895 : 274-75.

¹⁰⁾ ' Vicarius ' of Augsburg : Bahlmann, ii, 103.

been imitated in a play, *Pornius*, 1566, by a countryman, Hannard Gameraus, teaching at Ingolstadt ¹⁾, and, especially for the two different paths, by John Heros, in *Egistos*, 1562 ²⁾. Before all, by its repeated production, it became as the first 'Jesuitenkomödie' ³⁾, and it profoundly influenced all the dramas of the Society ⁴⁾, — except those based on historical or biographical events, provided by the Bible or the lives of the Saints: from *Euripus* was derived the characteristic endeavour to teach by generalized sentences, as well as the thoroughly worked out allegoric figures, and the almost intimate mixture of mythology and Christian religion, which, for a long time, proved to be the elements and the peculiar features of the 'Jesuit drama' ⁵⁾. *Euripus* was so much the more welcome as it reflected several of the actual features of the struggle then waged against Protestant reform: such as Venus' reviling of the monks, who, from the pulpit, frighten the people; or Cupid's dread of Our Lady, the great foe of hell ⁶⁾. Brecht thus introduced most effective and lasting elements into dramatic literature, and spread the tendency he had been taught in the *Trilingue*. He occupied himself in latter years with the study of Thomas of Cantimpré ⁷⁾, and died in 1558 as guardian of the Mechlin Convent of his Order ⁸⁾.

C. DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

The unequivocal marks of esteem and appreciation of the work and influence of the *Trilingue*, that had taken the place

¹⁾ Creizenach, II, 98, 157, 162, 531.

²⁾ Creizenach, III, 376, 406.

³⁾ Creizenach, II, 155; Duhr, I, 331-41.

⁴⁾ Duhr, I, 332-342, quotes Laurentius, *Der schmale und der breite Weg*, 1565; *Der Kampf der Tugend und der Wollust*, 1561; *Der Kampf der Tugend und des Lasters*, 1570; *Die faulen Studenten*, 1571; *Das Ende der Guten und Bösen*, 1574.

⁵⁾ Duhr, I, 331.

⁶⁾ Creizenach, II, 155.

⁷⁾ He left a manuscript commentary on Thomas of Cantimpré's *Vita B. Christinæ, Virginis*, formerly preserved in St. Martin's Priory, Louvain: Paquot, XI, 404; cp. A. Kaufmann, *Thomas von Chantimpré*: Cologne, 1899: 41; *BN*, and literature quoted; J. H. Bormans, *Sinte Christina de Wonderbare*: Ghent, 1850: xiv-xxi; &c.

⁸⁾ Paquot, XI, 402-4; *BibBelg.*, 607, 833; *SweABelg.*, 504; Miræus, 63-64; Dirks, 79-81; Creizenach, II, 106, 154-57, III, 406; Bahlmann, II, 103; Baumgartner, 613; Schrevel, I, 135.

of ill-will and diffidence, were creating, in the University, an atmosphere of calm and peace, which was highly helpful to beneficent, studious activity. Nor was anything omitted to prevent whatever might harm mutual understanding. Thus, in 1541, when, probably, some adventitious scholar or some scheming student, allured by the fame of the Busleyden staff, requested the Faculty of Arts to allow him to teach Hebrew in the Vicus, it was emphatically refused ¹⁾. That feeling of admiration and deep veneration had spread throughout the country : it is aptly illustrated by a stipulation in the will of a Frisian nobleman, the councillor Syds Tjaerda, or Tjaerdo, of Rinsumageest ²⁾, who, in 1540, stipulated that one special estate was to be attributed, besides and above his regular share, to the one amongst his three sons who should prove the most learned ; as arbitrators he appointed the members of the Faculties of Laws of Louvain and also the three professors of the College of Languages erected by Erasmus : adding as reason, that one might be so well versed in languages and other good arts that he should equal or surpass the others who studied jurisprudence ³⁾. In twenty years the staff of Busleyden College had thus managed their work so well that, instead of being considered unworthy of belonging to the University Senate, they were now considered equal with, if not surpassing even, the professors of laws, who, throughout the civilized world, were accounted of such high standing that their very appointment conferred the rank and the crest of nobility on them and their wives ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ *ActArtInd.*, 40, quoting *ActArtVII*, 135, v, for 1541 : *Recusatur alicui potestas petita legendi linguam hebræam in Vico.*

²⁾ Cp. II, 455 ; Theissen, 287-88, & *passim* ; *NBW*.

³⁾ The will reads : *enige van hen mocht in tribus linguis ende andere goeden consten soe wèl geleert zyn, dat hy den anderen, dye in iure studeerden mochte gelycken ofte te boven gaen* : Theissen, 289.

⁴⁾ The Brabant herald at arms Ch.-N. van Berckel, having brought in a lawsuit against the Louvain professor of laws, John de Liser, because he and his wife had taken the title and rank of nobility in 1698, evidence was provided against him from Orleans, Cologne, Douai, and Prague Universities, all testifying to a secular custom. On March 5, 1700, Maximilian-Emmanuel, Duke of Bavaria, put an end to the lawsuit, declaring that the titles and honours in question, had, everywhere and at all times, been given to professors of Laws at all Universities. A similar lawsuit was decided that way *init.* 1713 : *FUL*, 623.

In a similar way, great honour was paid to the *Trilingue* during the visit of Charles V to Louvain in 1543. He then returned to the Netherlands in September, but, having convened the States General in Louvain on the 15th, he could not get to that town on account of the gout from which he was suffering; he met Mary of Hungary on the 18th, and received the States, at Diest on the 22nd; after which he proceeded, on the 25th, to the monastery of Kermpt, where he passed the night, and finally reached Louvain on the 26th. Nannius pronounced an oration to welcome him in the name of the town, and another in the name of the students ¹⁾. Charles V stayed in the town till the 28th, when he spent the night at Overysse, on his way to France, where the war had started ²⁾.

As the meeting of Mary of Hungary and that of the States with the Emperor had been arranged for the 15th of September in Louvain, the Queen and her Court had arrived there a few days in advance. Two at least of her followers availed themselves of that stay to pay a visit to the *Trilingue*. One was the English ambassador Nicolas Wotton ³⁾, an old student of Louvain, where, from 1520 to 1522, he had been, with Jerome Ruffault, Vives' favourite pupil ⁴⁾. He afterwards had resided in Italy and in France, where he was in November 1529 ⁵⁾. From Bishop Tunstall's service, he entered that of the King as diplomatic agent, and secured many prebends, culminating in the Deaneries of Canterbury and York, in 1544 and 1546. From April 30 to November 24, 1543, he was sent with Sir Thomas Seymour as ambassador to Mary of Hungary, and afterwards to Charles V, with whom he made an alliance, and whom he accompanied on his march into France in the summer of 1544, whilst Henry VIII besieged and took Boulogne. In 1546, he was appointed Privy Councillor, and sent to negotiate peace with France, where he was resident ambassador until 1549, and again from 1553 to 1557. He became Secretary of State in 1549, but was sent, once more,

¹⁾ These orations were printed in October 1543: cp. before, p 98.

²⁾ Gachard, 264-66.

³⁾ Nicolas Wotton, c1497-1567, was the brother of Henry VIII's councillor Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais (1489-1551).

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 41, b, 281, c; *VOO*, II, 309, 530-31; *Civ Dei*, 1800; *MonHL*, 3-4, 16, 640; *Mameran.*, 149.

⁵⁾ *VOO*, VII, 141-42.

to Charles V as ambassador from April to September 1551, and he returned to this country to arrange a commercial treaty in 1565 and 1566 ¹⁾.

Nannius, who seems to have known Nicolas Wotton during his stay at the University, was highly honoured by the visit of the mighty personage, and, as he had just then ready the *Oratio de Obsidione Louaniensi*, he dedicated it to him on the day on which the acquaintance was renewed, September 13, 1543. It was no doubt on the occasion of the presence of the Court in Louvain in mid September of 1543, that, as Wotton's guest, he heard an aftermath of the discussion which, in the beginning of July, had taken place between Philip de Croy, Duke of Aerschot ²⁾, and Louis de Flandres, Lord of Praet ³⁾, who had just returned from an embassy to England, as well as Louis de Schore, President of the Council of State ⁴⁾, about the respective valour of mercenary soldiers and of warriors defending their own country; he made a report of that debate ⁵⁾ and joined it to the *Obsidio*, as *Dialogus de Milite Peregrino* ⁶⁾.

Through Nicolas Wotton, and probably also through his two speeches of welcome delivered, one, in the name of the town, and the other, in the name of the students, who, the year before, had defended Louvain victoriously ⁷⁾, the English ambassador to the Emperor Edmond Bonner (c 1500-1569) became an interested visitor of the *Trilingue* and a protector of Nannius. He himself was a man of study, for he had taken the degree of bachelor of Canon Law, 1519, and that of Doctor of Civil Law in Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1525 ⁸⁾. He was chaplain of Wolsey in 1529 and was used as agent in Rome by Henry VIII in the matter of his divorce. He was

¹⁾ *DNB*; *LPH8*, xviii, ii, 113, 140, 151, 162, 177, &c.; Gough, 800; Tytler, i, 29-33, &c.; Constant, i, 618, ii, 31, 40 189, 196; *PollHen.*, 384; Gairdner, 289; *PollCran.*, 61, 145, 150; Stone, 25, 201-2, 266, 406, 442; Blunt, i, 467; *Machyn*, 194, 236.

²⁾ Cp. II, 198.

³⁾ Cp. II, 149, 156-7, &c.; *Cran.*, 150, *a-d*.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 20; as President of State Louis de Schore officiated at the meeting at Diest: Gachard, 264, 266.

⁵⁾ Most probably he was told all the details of the discussion by one or other of the Court secretaries or officials.

⁶⁾ Polet, 57-61, 279-80; cp. before, p 96.

⁷⁾ Polet, 49-50; cp. before, p 95.

⁸⁾ Wood, i, 124.

rewarded with the bishopric of Hereford in 1538, which was replaced in 1539 by that of London. In 1542 and 1543, he was sent to Charles V as ambassador. At Henry VIII's death he refused to adhere to the religious changes then introduced : consequently he was deprived of his bishopric, in 1547, and sent to Marshalsea prison, in 1549 ; he was restored on his see, in 1553, by Queen Mary ; but having refused the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth, he was once more deprived of his bishopric, and sent to the Marshalsea, where he died in 1569 ¹⁾. He left several greatly appreciated writings, and his witty and humorous sayings, even during the years of his last imprisonment, found their way into English literature²⁾.

With his keen intelligence and sound common sense, Bonner made the most of a stay in Louvain : he wanted to be shown the lecturing halls and the book collections, especially those of the *Trilingue*, and even attended there an oration in which Nannius praised to his students the Emperor's courage, probably instead of explaining a text, on the occasion of the visit of the 'Great Campaigner' on his way to a new battlefield ³⁾. Bonner greatly appreciated Nannius' eloquence, and suggested him to have his addresses of welcome printed : it was like pushing a stone rolling down a hill : they were published already in October 1543 ⁴⁾, and dedicated to Bonner himself by a letter of October 6 ⁵⁾ ; Nannius may have used

¹⁾ Wood, I, 123-125, 598 ; Gough, 126 ; DNB ; *MonIll*, 570 ; Constant, I, 40, 56-7, &c, 215, sq., II, 340-46, &c ; *LPII*8, XVIII, II, 224, &c ; *PollHen.*, 316 ; Gairdner, 203, &c ; *PollCran.*, 191-99, &c. ; Stone, 326-34, 392, &c ; Blunt, I, 181, II, 119-123, 228-30, 240-45, 286 ; *GreyFriars*, 54, 63, 65, 82, 84 ; *Machyn*, 39, 58, &c.

²⁾ Sir John Harrington records several of them in his *Epigrams* (I IV, 15, &c) and his *Brief View of the State of the Church of England* : London, 1653 : 16. Bonner naturally is amongst those who are bitterly, and often most unjustly, criticized in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* : cp. *ActaMori*, 19, 28, 75.

³⁾ *Quod tam cupide nostras bibliothecas, nostra auditoria, ubi virtus Cæsaris qualicunque oratione celebrabatur, inuisere uoluisti, amplissime præsul, partim tuo in literas studio... partim tuo in Cæsarem amori imputamus* : this can hardly apply to the speeches by which Nannius welcomed the monarch, as they were pronounced in the Emperor's presence : Polet, 280-81, 49-50.

⁴⁾ *Orationes dvæ gratulatoriæ de felici Cæsaris Caroli Quinti in Brabantiam Aduentu* : Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, October 1544 : Polet, 50.

⁵⁾ Polet, 280-81.

the text of the speech he had composed, but not delivered, in 1540 in honour of the Emperor, as the groundwork for the *oratio*, which Bonner heard him give to the students in the lecture-room ¹⁾).

¹⁾ *Gratolatio de Adventu Imperatoris Caroli... Quinti* : Louvain, R. Rescius, February 1540 : Polet, 49.



CHAPTER XXIII

PRESIDENCY OF NICOLAS VAN DER BORCH

II. STUDENTS

1. DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES

A. HENRY DE WEZE

Amongst the students who attended the *Trilingue* in the first months of van der Borch's management, was **Henry Rudolph up ten Haitzhovel, de Weze**. He was born on December 6, 1521, and was the son of a sister of John von Weze, Bishop of Roskilde and Archbishop elect of Lund, who had followed his King Christiern II into exile. That prelate was taken into Charles V's service as councillor, and was often sent on embassies, for which he was rewarded by the appointment as Bishop of Constance, in 1537; also by that as administrator of the famous Cistercian Abbey of Waldsassen, in the Oberpfalz, as well as of that of Reichenau, on an island in the Lake of Constance ¹⁾. He had taken into his care and affection his young nephew, and had him taught and instructed by his secretary Andrew Masius ²⁾, on whose advice he sent him to Louvain. There the young man became a favourite student of Nannius, who, in a letter to Masius, called him 'unica nostra sacra anchora' ³⁾; his uncle had adopted him, so the young man took his name de Weze, and fully justified the kindness shown to him. By August 1541, he was so well developed that he was going to be sent

¹⁾ Cp. III, 283-86; *Cran.*, 57, 4; *MasE*, 2, 11; *AltRel.*, 273-76, 291, 317-18; *DanHist.*, I, 283-84; *DantE*, 21, 22, and twenty more letters (83-439).

²⁾ *MasE*, 11; cp. III, 282-86.

³⁾ *MasE*, 19.

to Italy ¹⁾ ; when, on March 1, 1542, Nannius, in his dedicatory letter to John de Weze of the *Tres Homillæ D. Joannis Chrysostomi* ²⁾, announced his intended journey to beyond the Alps, he added that he would not undertake it if Henry were going to stay in Louvain : now, he writes, 'statui eo præcurrere quo illum paulo post venturum scio, vt eius, si non perpetua, saltem aliqua consuetudine fruamur' ³⁾.

Nannius, however, did not leave Louvain ⁴⁾, whereas Henry de Weze, probably accompanied for the journey by his first teacher, Masius, reached Bologna in 1542, when he was inscribed as a member of the *Natio Germanica*, of which he was 'procurator' in 1546. Masius, who was sent to Italy in 1545 by his master the Bishop, called on him ; he may have helped him in his studies, and possibly even shared them ⁵⁾ : at any rate Henry promoted 'iuris utriusque doctor' on Oct. 19, 1546 ⁶⁾, on which he returned to his uncle's Court, at Meersburg, on the Lake of Constance. He had been appointed his coadjutor in 1545 for the administration of Waldsassen 'Stift', and, taking up that work, he usually resided in that Abbey which he managed for several years. On his occasional visits to Meersburg, he enjoyed the company of Andrew Masius,

¹⁾ Letter of August 6, 1541, in which Nannius declares to Masius that he had recommended him as preceptor and companion on the Italian journey : MasE, 11, 12, 17.

²⁾ Antwerp, Matthias Crommius, 1542 : Polet, 275-77.

³⁾ Polet, 276-77 ; in that same letter Nannius praises the nephew's virtues and manners, mentioning the pleasure his society procures him. 'Nunc... ad eam eruditionem process[it]', he adds, 'vt iam maturus sit Italicis et Gallicis Academijs'. The two allusions in Nannius' letters to Masius : March 18, 1543 : 'Indicauit mihi Henricus magnam esse mei gratiam apud Revmum <Joannem de Weze>' : MasE, 17, and July 1, 1544 : 'Henricus noster... pulcherrime valet et utriusque nostrum amantissimus est' : MasE, 19, do not necessarily imply the youth's presence in Louvain : Nannius, no doubt, quotes from his letters.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 90-91.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, III, 285 ; MasE, 21-23 ; those studies probably allowed Masius to obtain the degree of D.V.J. later on in a regular way, since he formally refused to content himself with the title of 'doctor bullatus' by a papal favour : MasE, 49 ; he is first addressed as 'jurium doctori' by John de Langhe on Nov. 25, 1554 : MasE, 187.

⁶⁾ Knod, 629-30.

when not on his journeys to Italy ¹⁾; at his uncle's sudden death, during the Diet of Augsburg, June 13, 1548 ²⁾, he became himself administrator, and often had Masius as a most welcome guest at Waldsassen. Indeed an intimate and lifelong friendship united them, in so far that not only Andrew called Henry his *frater*, but all their acquaintances referred to that most affectionate connection by that name ³⁾. When, after a prolonged stay in Rome, his health was defective ⁴⁾, Masius availed himself of the mission of Cardinal Jerome Dandino, Bishop of Imola, to the Emperor, to accompany him to Speyer and to Brussels in May 1553 ⁵⁾; in November, he journeyed to his dear friend, the Abbot Gerwick Blarer ⁶⁾, and stayed

¹⁾ MasE, 20, 23, 25. In his preface to his *Sphæra Mundi* (Basle, Henry Petri), July 1546, Sebastian Münster relates that, in 1545, Masius, 'a great Hebraist', wrote him from Rome about the many printed and manuscript books in Hebrew amongst the Jews there : MasE, 20.

²⁾ MasE, 26. Henry's father and his stepbrother Matthias experienced some trouble in securing Bishop John de Weze's inheritance, as results from Masius' letter to Blarer, August 17, 1548 : MasE, 29; it led to an appeal to the Emperor in 1550, and to a lawsuit, which was still hanging in 1555 : MasE, 65, 93, 196, 222.

³⁾ Cp. MasE, 129, 190, 196, 299, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 286.

⁵⁾ MasE, 122; he visited Antwerp and Cleves, but was still in Brussels on November 7, 1553 : MasE, 122-143.

⁶⁾ MasE, 143, *sq.* — Gerwick Blarer is, no doubt, the best known of the Abbots of Weingarten, near Ravensburg, in Upper Swabia; on March 5, 1547, he had obtained also the Abbey of Ochsenhausen (near Biberach, 37 kms. N.E. of Weingarten, as the crow flies), and he requested Masius to obtain the Pope's grant to keep that second abbey, notwithstanding the prohibitive decree (Ch. II of vith sess.) of Trent Council, in which his friend succeeded in that same year : MasE, 25-6, 49. Their sound affection was strengthened by mutual help in difficult circumstances as years went on, in so far that they called each other 'brother', and even 'father' and 'son' : MasE, 91-6, 117-18, 176-78. The remnants of a regular correspondence refer to the services Masius rendered through his influence in Rome, and to the sympathy he offered when the bands of John Albert of Mecklenburg ransacked the Abbey in the summer of 1552 : MasE, 108, 112-14; he always found a hearty welcome at Weingarten, where he resided from December 1553 to February 1554 (MasE, 143-58), from July 1554 to May 1555 (MasE, 176-200) and from August 1, 1556 to December 1557 (MasE, 279-300), when Henry de Weze was in trouble with Otto-Henry, who kept him a prisoner. Meanwhile Blarer was in close touch with Masius by correspondence : in the last letter preserved, on December 31, 1561 (MasE, 339-40), he sent to Masius greetings for 'Henrico a Wetzel, communi fratri nostro'.

during the wintermonths as his guest in the Abbey of Weingarten; he moved from there, in April 1554, to Henry de Weze in Waldsassen, where he now mostly spent the time that he was not in Rome, except when, after the death of Count Palatine Frederic II, his successor Otto-Henry molested the Administrator, and took him prisoner for opposing his measures to Protestantize the Abbey ¹).

Meanwhile Henry de Weze always showed himself a real brother to Masius; when, on account of poor health in Rome, the latter was looking out for a more steady and peaceable living than that of agent and adviser to Courts and Princes, his 'frater' started, as early as July 1551, the '*secretum negocium*', which aimed at obtaining from the Palatine Elector Frederic II the right of succession as administrator of Waldsassen for his friend ²); he himself had already secured a canonry in Emmerich by the end of 1550 ³), although he still was undecided about entering the Church ⁴); above all, he wanted to help his Masius to an excellent living. He therefore requested Hubert Leodius, the palatine secretary ⁵), and

¹) Masius signed letters from Waldsassen from April 13, 1554 to May 1, 1555 (MasE, 160-200); further from June 10, 1555 (when he wrote: Henricum... hic saluum reperi), to October 27 following (MasE, 202-226); also from February 6 to March 1558, when he left the Abbey with de Weze (MasE, 304-307).

²) Letter of 'Hubertus Leodius' to Masius, July 2, 1551: MasE, 80: also 99, 116, 158, 168, 179, 182.

³) MasE, 65; E. Wassenberg, *Embricencis Embrica*: Cleves, 1667: 84.

⁴) MasE, 136.

⁵) Hubert Thomas, of Liège, Leodius, wrote of his father in his *De Tungris et Eburonibus*, 1541, that he was, with the poet Remacle d'Ardennes and the physician Nicolas Herco, one of the three great men that Florennes had given to the erudite world: Schardius, I, 662; *Cran.*, 154, b; *Busl.*, 218-22. After having been for seven years the amanuensis of Tetanias Frisius, a judge of the Imperial Chamber of Worms, he became secretary to Louis, Palatine Elector, and then privy councillor to Frederic II, also Palatine Elector, who sent him on embassies. His *De Tungris et Eburonibus aliisque Inferioris Germaniæ populis Commentarius* (Strassburg, 1541) shows a sad lack of critical sense. He also left reports on the War of the Peasants, on the Antiquities of Heidelberg, on the war between Sickingen and the Elector of Treves; and a book on his own late master, published at Frankfurt, 1624, as *Annales de Vita et Rebus Gestis Frederici II, Electoris Palatini*: *BibBelg.*, 394; *LiègeBiogr.*, I, 203-4; *BN*; *OlaCar.*, 29-30 (68 verses for a letter from

other friends, to help him in his scheme by their influence with the Elector ¹⁾. When, in the beginning of August 1555, Masius intended accepting a mission for the Duke of Cleves in Rome, it was thought a fit occasion to apply directly to Frederic II with their demand, backed by Hubert Thomas and by their friends; the reply was evasive, since it was feared that the appointment of Masius would be an obstacle to the intended secularizing of the Abbey ²⁾. At Frederic II's death, his successor Otto-Henry at once started to work in that direction; he introduced a reform in a Lutheran spirit, and appointed Protestant preachers. Henry de Weze opposed that measure to the utmost: he was imprisoned at Amberg on July 15, and only released in October, 1556 ³⁾.

The difficulties, which continued for several months, broke the home and the prospects of the two friends: fortunately Masius always found a welcome and an abode in Weingarten Abbey, with their friend Gerwick Blarer. Meanwhile Henry de Weze was under the continual threat of imprisonment, if he opposed any of the measures tending to Lutheranize his Abbey: when, on March 14, 1558, he was once more put into liberty after a long confinement, he decided on leaving Waldsassen, to go and accept the position of Councillor which was offered to him and to Masius by the Duke of Cleves ⁴⁾. With his 'frater' he went to visit his mother at Zevenaar, and thus consoled her in the illness that proved fatal on May 4 ⁵⁾. The mourning delayed for some weeks Masius' particular *gaudium*, namely his marriage with Henry's niece, the daughter of his stepbrother, Elsa up ten Haitzhovel ⁶⁾; like Henry, he also settled at Zevenaar ⁷⁾, where he bought the *Borchkens Hoeve* in 1561 ⁸⁾.

the secretary of the Palatine Count to Olah, and ten for Olah's reply); MasE, xviii, 72-3, 79, sq, &c; — and before, III, 43, 287.

¹⁾ MasE, 80, 116, 136, 168, 179, 182, 190.

²⁾ Requests of Masius to Frederic II, August 8, 1555, and letters to Hubert Thomas and to Christopher Probus, the Chancellor, August 9, 1555: MasE, 206-211. ³⁾ MasE, 276, 278, 287. ⁴⁾ MasE, 307, xviii-xix.

⁵⁾ Masius' letter to the Abbot of Weingarten, May 26, 1558: MasE, 305-307. ⁶⁾ MasE, 318, 319, 329, &c. ⁷⁾ MasE, 309.

⁸⁾ January 17, 1561: Andreas Masius and his wife Elsa up ten Haitzhovel bought the estate from Matthias up ten Haitzhovel and his wife Leonora von Weze: MasE, 329-30.

Thus the two friends were once more united, and spent several enjoyable years in their calm retreat. Henry de Weze abdicated Waldsassen on July 22, 1559, in favour of the Palatine Count Richard von Simmern, Dean of Mayence, against a rent of 200 gold florins, which transfer was approved of by the Palatine Elector Frederic III, February 12, 1560 ¹⁾. He thus could devote himself to his duties as councillor, in which quality he was sent to the Diet of Ratisbon in the spring of 1567 ²⁾. Glimpses of the delightful life they led in the accomplishment of their duties ³⁾ and in their study, whilst, all around them, the world was in a turmoil of war and of discord, can be gathered from Masius' correspondence, which shows the very hearty connection, not only with their old friend Gerwick Blarer, Abbot of Weingarten ⁴⁾, and their colleagues, like Henry von der Recke ⁵⁾, but with outstanding men, — like the great Postmaster Antonio de Taxis ⁶⁾, like Councillor Nicolas Micault ⁷⁾, and like the Bishop of Cambrai, Maximilian de Berghes ⁸⁾. Several Roman acquaintances, like the erudite Latino Latini ⁹⁾, and like Cardinal Morone's sec-

¹⁾ MasE, 325, 326; J. B. Brenner, *Geschichte des Klosters und Stifts Waldsassen*: Nuremberg, 1837; Gasp. Bruschius, *Chronologia Monasteriorum Germaniæ*: Sulzbach, 1682: 264.

²⁾ MasE, 331, 357, 386 (1567), 506; PigE, 212 (1567).

³⁾ Henry de Weze did more than his duty: he was as generous as to let young men go and study in Rome: the case noted down by accident for 1554, MasE, 152, was probably not a mere exception.

⁴⁾ MasE, 177, 181, 182, 202, 313, 340, &c.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 287-8, 495, &c; MasE, 111; he became so intimate with the two friends at Zevenaar that Stephen Pigge called them the *triumviri*: MasE, 457, 459, 514. — Other friends were the councillor Arnold van Lewen (1523-1577), who had been preceptor to Duke John of Cleves' sons: MasE, 317, 421, 422, and Albert Groesbeeck, a canon of Emmerich, who died on May 2, 1570: MasE, 429-430.

⁶⁾ MasE, 322, &c, 365; cp. III, 245, *sq*; *AntwHist.*, vii, 617; *CollTorr.*, 76.

⁷⁾ PigE, 84: October 21, 1575; cp. III, 505-9.

⁸⁾ MasE, 158-60, 286; Maximilian, Bishop of Cambrai from Sept. 10, 1556, was promoted to Archbishop there, on May 22, 1562; he died on August 29, 1570: *BelgChron.*, 355.

⁹⁾ MasE, 196, 233, 274, 287, 299, 346, 349, 487, 496. — Latini was secretary of Cardinal James Puteo, and one of the foremost scholars at that time in Italy: his *Lucubrationes*, edited by Dominicus Macer Melitensis, at Viterbo in 1667, contain several interesting letters to Masius and to his friends: Pastor, vii, 579, 581; MasE, 146-47, 322, &c; PigE, 13.

retary, John Visbroeck ¹⁾, sent them regularly their interesting letters.

Still the most intimate messages were those interchanged with genuine *Trilingue*-connections, whom they had either known in Louvain or had been drawn to naturally in Italy or other countries: such were Ogier de Busbeek ²⁾, great both as literator and explorer on many fields; the too soon departed Gerard van Veltwyck, the Vice-Chancellor ³⁾; John de Langhe, secretary of the Privy Council ⁴⁾; the celebrated controversialist George Cassander ⁵⁾, and the well known authority on Roman history and epigraphy, Stephen Pigge ⁶⁾, whom de Weze successfully assisted by securing offices to him that allowed him to place at the general disposition, the vast lore he had collected throughout his life ⁷⁾. To them joined the erudite Vigerus Wierius, famous as physician and as adversary of secular superstitions ⁸⁾.

When Masius' untimely decease, on April 7, 1573, broke the spell of those happy years, Henry de Weze took care of the literary legacy of his dear friend. To the Hebrew and Greek edition of the Book of Josue, with Latin translations and commentaries, which was published by Christopher Plantin in 1574, was added a letter which he had written to Plantin from Zevenaar on April 15, 1573: it is as admirable for the deep and tender sadness which testifies to a life-long staunch friendship, as for the exquisite style and taste, which do honour to the *Trilingue* that had trained him ⁹⁾. If he could not be compared to erudites like his great friends Masius or Pigge, yet he imparted such a distinction to whatever he wrote or did, that it was impossible not to feel its influence.

¹⁾ MasE, 145, 178, 183, 191, 194, 197 (mentioning seeds sent to Masius), 311, 327, &c; cp. further, § 4.

²⁾ MasE, 260, 262-3, 478; cp. III, 492-504.

³⁾ MasE, 193, 196; cp. III, 355-58.

⁴⁾ MasE, 187, 192, 458-59; cp. further, § 4.

⁵⁾ MasE, 458-60; cp. III, 296-303.

⁶⁾ MasE, 381, 383, 386, 391, 400, 405, 407-9, 411, 427, 457, 459, 466, 491, 498; PigE, 3, 28, 30, 33, 93, 101, 107, 111, 137, 159, 161, 191, 201, 212, 225, 227; cp. further, § 5.

⁷⁾ PigE, 238, 238^{bis}, 255, 256: November 29 and 30 and December 1, 1574.

⁸⁾ MasE, 342, 510-12; PigE, 256.

⁹⁾ MasE, 511-12.

Nor is it at all surprising that, at the death of Henry Olisleger, the Cleves Chancellor ¹⁾, Henry de Weze was appointed as his successor ²⁾: one of his first acts was a work of charity to his dear friend Pigge: the young Duke Charles-Frederic, whose preceptor he had been for some time ³⁾, had been entrusted to his care on a journey to Rome ⁴⁾, where the hope of the father and of the whole duchy died suddenly; on his return, Pigge naturally dreaded to meet the unfortunate father, being part of the 'funesta familia' ⁵⁾. Henry de Weze tactfully prevented all rebuke, and suggested Pighius to write a memorial sketch of the young Prince: that is the genesis of the *Hercules Prodicus* which consoled the father and eternized the son ⁶⁾.

B. JAMES & NICOLAS DE' FIESCHI

In the first months of van der Borch's management, there were two noble Genoese brothers, **James and Nicolas de' Fieschi** who, with their preceptor, or at any rate amanuensis,

¹⁾ Henry Bars, Barsz, Olisleger, Alisleger, born at Wesel, studied Theology and Law in Cologne, being inscribed on Oct. 31, 1511, and afterwards in Orleans, 1515, and Bologna, 1518; he became *Doctor Decretorum* and taught Law in Cologne from 1521, until, in 1534, he entered the service of the Duke of Cleves, John III, whose natural daughter he married, and whose Chancellor he became, and remained until his death in Cologne, February 15, 1575. He opposed the Emperor's policy, and was moderate in the religious question: Keussen, 492, 29; Knod, 388-89; *UniKöln*, 461; MasE, 44, 476, 479, 513, sq; Krafft, 192; Redlich, 1, 255, 342, sq, 429, &c, 11, 132, 360, 851; *Heresbach*, 74, 82, 88, 142, sq, 149, 171, 197, 223; *HeresMon.*, 57; P. Jürges, &c, *Konrad Kluppels Waldecker Chroniken und Briefe*: Marburg, 1914: 154; *Weinsberg*, 11, 274, v, 16, 20, &c. — Stephen Pigge inscribed to him the *Annales* at which he was working: he regularly sent him copies of his books, and enjoyed his protection: PigE, 28, 30, 65, 191, 225, 255, 256; cp. further, § 5. ²⁾ Cp. *Heresbach*, 197.

³⁾ Cp. further, § 5; PigE, 141, 93, 143.

⁴⁾ They left Vienna in the first days of September 1574: PigE, 93, 141.

⁵⁾ Letter of April 26, 1575: PigE, 65, 66, 52, 53, 54, 69, 70: also 47, 49, 50, 77, 84, 85.

⁶⁾ The book, dedicated to Prince John-William of Cleves on May 15, 1584, was issued by Plantin, Antwerp in 1587. — On August 23, 1575, Pigge effusively thanks the Chancellor, writing from Cleves; he is leaving for Xanten, and refers to the satisfaction of the Duke, and to the refunding of all charges: PigE, 49; cp. further, § 5; Paquot 11, 190.

Giannangelo Papio, attended the lessons of the *Trilingue* ¹⁾. They were the sons of Hector del Fiesco, or de' Fieschi, Fliscus, who belonged to one of the four chief families of their town : it had provided to the Church two popes, Innocent IV ²⁾ and Adrian V ³⁾, and more than three hundred prelates ⁴⁾. Their uncle, Cardinal Niccolo de' Fieschi, Count of Lavagna, Archbishop of Ravenna, had been councillor to Alexander VI, to Julius II and to Adrian VI ⁵⁾. James, the elder of the brothers, was himself already Bishop of Savona and Noli since October 22, 1537 ; as he was contemplating returning home about the end of 1541, and as, on the other hand, he always greatly appreciated Nannius' lectures, he invited him to accompany him to Italy with tempting promises ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 88-90.

²⁾ Innocent IV, Sinibaldo de Fieschi, was pope from 1243 to 1254.

³⁾ Adrian V, Ottoboni de Fieschi, was pope from July 11 to August 18, 1276.

⁴⁾ Cp. Pastor, I, 264, 495, 685-92 (Cardinal Giorgio de Fieschi, who died on Oct. 8, 1461 : Pastor, II, 97, 207) ; I, 47, 623 (John de Fieschi, Bishop of Vercelli, who provided one of the first manuscripts, a copy of Pompeius Trogus, to the Vatican Library in 1374). Cardinal Lucas de Fieschi left by will in 1336 a precious tabernacle with the head of one of the Eleven Thousand Virgins : Beatis, 47 ; a Stephen Fliscus, of Soncino, wrote *Varietates Sententiarum*, 1483 : Polain, II, 165, 135, sq ; a Niccolo de' Fieschi realized public security in Rome under Julius II : Pastor, III, 576 ; — a Gian-Francisco de Flisco, Bishop of Andria, is mentioned in 1563 : Morone, 171, 175 ; &c. — Cp. *DébAgMod.*, 466, 468 ; *KalHuVa.*, 283.

⁵⁾ Nicolas de' Fieschi, born in 1456, was sent as ambassador to France, where the King had him appointed as Bishop of Agden, later on, of Fréjus, in 1495, then of Embrun, 1510, then of Toulon, 1514. At the King's request he was promoted Cardinal on May 31, 1503 ; at the death of Julius II, he refused the chance of being elected, 'majorem gloriam ex pontificatu repudiato quam... ex adepto consecutus'. He became Archbishop of Ravenna in 1516. At the various elections in which he took part and at the discussions of measures in the Sacred College, he decidedly favoured France : AdriE, 56 ; he also wished, by 1524, to have the religious orders reduced to three, only one being contemplative : Lauchert, 397 ; his active career came to an end on June 14, 1524 : cp. Pastor, III, 493, 653, &c, IV, I, 11-15, &c, IV, II, 5-16, 140-41, 164-67, &c, VI, 280 ; Albergati, II, 36, 55 ; Beatis, 82, 162 ; *ConciGall.*, 239, 617 ; *AdriBurm.*, 131, 141 ; *AdriPas.*, 4, 6, 33, 117 ; H. Sauer, *Die Schrift des Guil. Valla über den Exarchat von Italien* : Göttingen, 1905 : 5, 6, 15 ; Imbart, II, 277, 446 ; *KaLuProI*, 33, 113, 121.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 88.

On November 27, 1541, Nannius dedicated to him his *Orationes Tres* and, although he pretexted advancing age, which ill bears long journeys, as well as an assistance due to some destitute *consanguinei*, yet he praised so much the generosity of the Fieschi family and their patronage of erudites and literators, that it seemed as an invitation to some more insistence to make him accept the offer ¹⁾. That is further implied by the fact that on Jan. 1, 1542, — exactly five weeks later — he dedicated to the Bishop of Savona another work, the *Fœnebris Oratio... pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio* ²⁾; for, although he does not mention the invitation in the letter he prefixed to it, it sounds as an insinuation for more pressing, and it apparently reached its aim, for on March 1, 1542, he announced to John de Weze that he was ready to leave for Italy ³⁾. A fortnight later he found to his great annoyance that he had been deluded. Probably James de' Fieschi and his party either left in a hurry, early in April, without taking Nannius ⁴⁾, — or the money, or the means necessary to start the journey were not sent to the Latin professor ⁵⁾: at any rate he was left to make the best of the annoying situation ⁶⁾.

The Bishop of Savona did not live long: he died on February 12, 1546, and he was succeeded by his brother Nicolas, who resigned his see on October 23, 1562 ⁷⁾. Their preceptor or amanuensis Giannangelo Papio, *Papius*, of Salerno, Saler-

¹⁾ Louvain, R. Rescius, 1541: cp. Polet, 269-72, 51-7, 194.

²⁾ Louvain, Serv. Zassenus: cp. Polet, 274-75, 50-51.

³⁾ Dedicatory letter to the *Tres Homiliæ D. Ioannis Chrysostomi*: Antwerp, M. Crommius: Polet, 275-77.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 88-90.

⁵⁾ In his dedicatory letter of March 1, 1542, Nannius sends to John de Weze the greetings of his venerable pupil: *Salutat te Episcopus Saou-nensis, iuuenis non minus generosus quam modestus; ...cuius mores tam dulces et humanos expertus sum, vt eum contra omnium consilia, in ætate grandiori, corpore non admodum firmo, per mare, per terras, prosequi libeat!* — It follows that the Bishop then was still in the country. Nannius had gone to Antwerp, from where this letter is dated (Polet, 276-277), probably to see to the last dispositions of the journey, and had then returned to Louvain, to wait for the party on their way to Cologne and the Rhine. They may have taken then another route, — possibly by Aarschot, Diest and Hasselt, — which Nannius may have learned when it was too late.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 90-95; Polet, 22-23.

⁷⁾ Gams, 822.

nitanus, afterwards became lector of Italian laws in Bologna, and, from 1553, in Avignon ; he returned to lecture in Bologna in 1560, until, in 1563, he settled in Rome where he died in 1595 ¹⁾).

C. HENRY VAN RAVESTEYN

All about 1540 ²⁾, there was amongst the students of the *Trilingue* Henry van Ravesteyn, Ravestein, of Cuyck, near Nijmegen, — *Coracopetræus Cuccensis*, — who seems to have been on excellent terms with Rescius, from whom he received some information about the beginnings of the College, and especially about Erasmus. Whatever was connected with the great Humanist evidently remained of utmost interest to him, which explains how, at a time, Ravesteyn was the possessor of the famous *Compendium Vitæ*, sent to Goclenius with a letter of April 2, 1524 ³⁾, which was published first by Paul Merula in 1607 ⁴⁾. On October 27, 1569, he wrote down at Nijmegen a declaration stating that Rescius had told him that, for about two years, he had lived in the Lily in a room which was underneath that of Erasmus ⁵⁾ ; that, during that period, Henry Loriti Glareanus ⁶⁾ had come from Paris to Louvain, and had been invited by Erasmus to dinner ; being asked about news, he had related that some native Greeks, who had arrived in Paris, were prodigiously learned men, and that they pronounced the sounds of the language in quite a different way from what was generally done. Rescius had added that Glareanus had invented that piece of news on the way, ‘quod sciret Erasmus plus satis nouarum rerum studiosum,

¹⁾ Tiraboschi, vii, 759.

²⁾ The date 1540 is suggested by the fact that Rescius was the only professor left of those who had witnessed the beginning of the *Trilingue*, and had known Erasmus at the Lily ; moreover, the reference to Goes points out the period intervening between his return to Brabant, 1539, and the Siege of Louvain, August 1542. From 1539 he had some of his writings printed by Rescius, and he was a frequent visitor of the College : cp. III, 61-69.

³⁾ Allen, i, pp 46-52, the text, and 575-78, the history, of the famous auto-biography : cp. III, 548.

⁴⁾ *Vita Des. Erasmi Roterodami ex ipsius manu fideliter repræsentata* : Leyden, Th. Basson, 1607 : cp. *Era Vita*, 1-12.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 81.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 499, &c.

ac mire credulum' ¹⁾). Thus far the story may be exact : Glareanus had actually left Basle for Paris in 1517, in the hope of securing a royal appointment ²⁾ ; he may have seen there some Hellenists, and wished to surprise Erasmus with some startling information. To be true, Erasmus was keen on learning, but he had a sound judgment, and it is not at all likely that he was caught by Glareanus' news : for in the very letter which he wrote to recommend the Basle teacher to Bishop Poncher, of Paris, February 14, 1517, he mentioned that he ' Libet ludere, iocabitur festiuissime ' ³⁾).

Ravesteyn then adds : ' Quo audito, Erasmum paullo post conscripsisse *Dialogum de recta Latini, Græcique Sermonis Pronunciatione*, ut videretur hujus rei ipse inventor, & obtulisse Petro Alostensi typographo imprimendum ; qui cum forte aliis occupatus, renueret, aut certe se tam cito excudere, quam ipse volebat, non posse diceret, misisse libellum Basileam ad Frobenium, a quo mox impressus in lucem prodiit ' ⁴⁾. All that is unwarranted : the *Alostensis* was not *Peter*, but *Thierry* Martens : Peter's name only occurs on four of his father's issues of June-October 1524 ⁵⁾, long after Erasmus left Louvain for Basle. Instead of being printed soon after Glareanus' visit to Brabant, 1517, it was only issued in Basle in 1528 ⁶⁾, seven years after Erasmus left it. What Ravesteyn further mentions, seems, once more fully reliable : namely that Erasmus, ' cognita fraude ', never afterwards applied the new pronunciation, nor prescribed it to his friends : which Rescius proved by a ' pronunciationis formula ', written in Erasmus' hand for Damian a Goes, the Spaniard ⁷⁾, of which Ravesteyn took a copy ⁸⁾ : it is in no way different

¹⁾ *MonHL*, 186.

²⁾ On Febr. 14, 1517, Erasmus recommended Henry Loriti Glareanus to Bishop Stephen Poncher : Allen, II, 529, 53-120, 410, *pr*.

³⁾ Allen, II, 529, 98.

⁴⁾ EOO, I, 911, c.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 621.

⁶⁾ Basle, Froben, 1528 : *EraBib.*, I, 76. Cp. J. Bywater, *The Erasmian Pronunciation of Greek* : London, 1908 : 8-10 ; Allen, IV, 1209, 4, VII, 1949, *pr* ; Sandys, II, 130, 232, 272.

⁷⁾ Cp. III, 50-71, 555, *sq*, 606-08.

⁸⁾ Erasmus, who made Goes' acquaintance about the end of 1532 (*MonHL*, 613), helped him in his studies of Latin and Greek, placing at his disposal some of his notes and practical handbooks : one is the *Compendium Rhetorices* : cp. before, III, 59 ; *MonHL*, 615, 690, 693-94 ; Allen, X, pp 396, x, pp 396, x ; another is this *formula* of Greek pronunciation.

from what both learned and unlearned men practically use in that language. That testimony, dated from Nijmegen on the Eve of SS. Simon and Jude, October 27, 1569, was reproduced by Gerard John Vossius in his *De Arte Grammatica*, 1662 ¹⁾, and reprinted in the works of Erasmus as introduction to the *De Pronunciatione Dialogus* ²⁾.

2. WAYWARD HEARERS

A. KNOBBELSDORF

The same year 1540 brought to the *Trilingue* as student the East-Prussian Eustace of Knobbelsdorf, who matriculated in the period March-May ³⁾ — along with 'Henricus a sichen prutenus', probably an acquaintance ⁴⁾. The young man was the son of the mayor of Heilsberg, and Bishop John Dantiscus of Ermland took an interest in him, as he showed a great capacity for Latin poetry. As he had sent a poem to the Prelate, a reply was composed to that 'ingenuum adolescentem', the *Carmen Paræneticum ad Constantem Alliopagum* ⁵⁾. That poem, which William Gnapheus called *cygneum melos* ⁶⁾, brings to the youth the earnest warning for the dangers with which he himself got acquainted, and the hearty encouragement to learning and to art, but, above all, the deep love of the old, inherited faith of the fathers ⁷⁾. The generous Bishop, no doubt, defrayed the expenses of the education of the youth ⁸⁾, and recommended him to his great friend Cornelius de Schepper, who, on April 12, 1540, assured

¹⁾ Amsterdam, 1635 : 101 ; *ibid.*, 1662 : 107 : reference is made to 'Aristarchi Lib 1, c xxviii'.

²⁾ EOO, I, 911.

³⁾ *LibIntIV*, 144, r : Eustatius a knobelsdorf prutenus.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 144, r.

⁵⁾ *DantCar.*, 169-208 ; Prowe, I, ii, 337-41, 381. — *Alliopagus* is the translation of *Knobbel*, garlic, and *dorf*, thorp ; *Constans*, that of εὐσταγύς, the healthy, strong one, the one with the fine fruit.

⁶⁾ Cp. *DantKop.*, xlv, 292 : ...illius omnes / Cygneum dicunt voce sonare melos.

⁷⁾ *DantKop.*, xlv-v, 2-77 ; Prowe, I, ii, 337, sq.

⁸⁾ He had started his higher studies in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, where he matriculated in the summer of 1536, and promoted *Baccalaureus Artium* in 1537 : cp. *UniFrank.*, 130.

that one of his relatives saw to him ¹⁾; on June 12, 1541, he wrote that, although he had met him only once or twice, he found that 'Eustace Alliopagus' was an 'amenissimi ingenii iuuenis', besides being a clever poet ²⁾).

Knobbelsdorf—or Knobelsdorf—attended the lectures of the school where Dantiscus' great friend Goclenius had been at work, until, after sixteen months, he wanted a change. Having received a letter from his benefactor, he wrote to him, on July 18, 1541, that he studied like a merchant eager for gain, though he did not follow lectures from which he did not expect any great profit. He asked to be allowed to go to Paris before October, which he supposed would do good to him: the French University, he wrote 'est vice multorum Lovaniorum' and would help him on ³⁾. Dantiscus, in his broad-minded generosity, allowed him, warning him, however, for the dangers, as well as for the French manners, which he characterized by 'nihil nisi presente pecunia' ⁴⁾.

Even before he received that permission, the young man had reached Paris ⁵⁾, from where he wrote, on November 23, 1541, that he was pleased with the lectures there ⁶⁾, amongst which he afterwards ⁷⁾ mentioned those of Bartholomew Latomus ⁸⁾, Peter Galland ⁹⁾ and John Straselius ¹⁰⁾; he added

¹⁾ Letter of de Schepper to Dantiscus: DantE, 412; Knobelsdorf had also brought a letter to James of Barthen: DantE, 419. ²⁾ DantE, 424.

³⁾ DantE, 428. Two days later, on July 20, Gemma Phrysius expressed his readiness to help Knobelsdorf, who, however, did not seem to want it; he praised the young poet, and mentioned that the Muses appeared to have removed to 'Sarmatia': at any rate Urania had: DantE, 429; *GemFrisius*, 409; cp. *sup.*, II, 537, 542-65, III, 190, 327, 345.

⁴⁾ Knobelsdorf's letter to Dantiscus, December 17, 1541: DantE, 432.

⁵⁾ On Jan. 30, 1542, de Schepper mentioned to Dantiscus that Knobelsdorf had left for France: DantE, 434. ⁶⁾ DantE, 431.

⁷⁾ Letter of May 25, 1542: DantE, 438.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, II, 591-602: that old student of the *Trilingue* left Paris University by resignation in 1542.

⁹⁾ Pierre Galland, Gallandinus, was entrusted with the lectures of Bartholomew Latomus, when, from 1539 to 1541, he went to Italy; he also replaced him as professor of Latin eloquence at his resignation, although official accounts make that career start only in 1545, and end it in 1559. On May 7, 1547, he pronounced the *Funebris Oratio* of King Francis I: Lefranc, 121, 160, 204, 214, 232, &c, 381.

¹⁰⁾ John Straselius, of Strazeele, another student of the *Trilingue*, was professor of Greek in Paris: cp. before, II, 415-16.

that he regretted not to have come straight there, 'posthabito Lovanio', where, however, as Cornelius de Schepper wrote on January 30, 1542, he had left a good renown for his easy and modest manners ¹⁾. Maybe he found Nannius too formally eloquent, and failed to approach him; nor does he seem to have accepted the overtures of Gemma Phrysius ²⁾, who duly recognized the poet in him ³⁾, but regretted not to receive the information he was longing for about the great astronomer of Frauenburg, and his book on mathematics ⁴⁾. At any rate one of the great topics in the letters of the young man was the ever growing want of money, which became alarming when the war threatened to cut him off from Antwerp, where the friend resided through whom Bishop Dantiscus sent the usual allowance ⁵⁾. The attraction of Paris thus soon waned ⁶⁾, for it does not at all appear that it was the thirst for knowledge and study that had made him leave old Louvain.

It seems rather as if the young man, far from being impressed by the example of resipiscence and penance proposed in the latter part of J. Dantiscus' *Carmen Paræneticum*, decided passing first through the aberrations, of which an Ovidian description is provided in the former ⁷⁾. Almost on his arrival in the Netherlands, he made the acquaintance of several admirers and favourers of the Reformation ⁸⁾. Having probably been entrusted by his benefactor with messages to his friends of Ghent ⁹⁾, he became there very familiar with the liberal minded humanistic teacher George Cassander, who, in the beginning of 1541, was entrusted with the lead of the School founded by Bishop de Witte at Bruges ¹⁰⁾. Even in Louvain he found kindred spirits in the famous Jayme and

¹⁾ DantE, 434.

²⁾ Cp. II, 542-65, &c.

³⁾ Letter of Gemma to Dantiscus, July 20, 1541 : DantE, 429.

⁴⁾ On January 29, 1543, Dantiscus wrote to Gemma that, the year before, he had ordered Knobbelsdorf to inform him about Copernicus' book and his other works; the astronomer was just then at his last; on April 7, 1543, Gemma had not heard anything yet : DantE, 441, 444; *GemFrisius*, 413.

⁵⁾ Letter of K. to Dantiscus, Paris, Sept. 3, 1542 : DantE, 440.

⁶⁾ Letters of May 25, 1542 and April 18, 1543 : DantE, 438, 445.

⁷⁾ Prowe, I, ii, 337-41.

⁸⁾ Prowe, I, ii, 334, sq.

⁹⁾ Cp. II, 468.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. III, 296-303, 482, I, 520; Bianco, I, 655-67; *ConstConc.*, I, 80, 96, sq, 110, 230, 613-17, II, 971.

Francisco de Enzinas, and, through them, in Albert Hardenberg and John a Laski ¹⁾. It is natural that, before long, Knobbelsdorf lost all interest in the stern orthodox lectures of the *Trilingue*, and, especially, all sense of security in the perilous atmosphere of Louvain, where his patron, the Bishop, had several friends, and at least one correspondent ²⁾. Consequently when, in September or early in October 1541, Francis de Enzinas left for Wittenberg ³⁾, or what he called *Leucorea*, to make Melanchthon's and Luther's acquaintance, his brother Jayme and Knobbelsdorf resorted to Paris, from where they sent some books destined to their friend Cassander, through a Bruges Carmelite Christopher for safety's sake. In the accompanying letter, dated February 20, 1542 ⁴⁾, Jayme sketches most vividly the punishment of some heretics executed in the French capital, expressing both his deep sympathy and his high indignation. By the same messenger Knobbelsdorf also wrote to Cassander, describing no less vividly than his friend, although with more moderation, the execution of a youth and of an old man ⁵⁾. Those letters show to all evidence that they had not turned their backs on Louvain for the sake of the teaching: at any rate Jayme's letter contains even a desperate outcry at the worthless lessons of the Sorbonne which he attended. 'Præceptorculorum magistellorumque passim miram videbam copiam', he writes, 'qui optimos quosque authores impudentissime explicandos suscipiunt, et suis ineptis annotatiunculis, et miserum scholasticorum popellum fallunt, et doctissimos illos veteres ab ipsis non intellectos jam corrigunt, jam vellicant, jam denique in horas omnes pro sua inscitia vertunt' ⁶⁾.

No wonder that Jayme, or Didacus, de Enzinas did not stay very long in Paris, being as displeased with the lectures as with the behaviour of the students; the disgusting heartless-

¹⁾ Cp. for those friends, *inf.* pp 145-46.

²⁾ Viz., Gemma Phrysius: cp. II, 547, sq, 559.

³⁾ He matriculated there on October 27, 1541: cp. *inf.* p 146.

⁴⁾ *EpSel.*, 55-65: the executions referred to, seem to have taken place by the end of 1541.

⁵⁾ *EpSel.*, 38-45; Schrevel, I, 404-5.

⁶⁾ *EpSel.*, 55; Schrevel, I, 404; the bad state of studies in Paris about that time is also mentioned in *CMH*, II, 350-51.

ness of the rabble and of the executioners made him admire so much the more the courage of the victims, and rendered him most eager in the propagating of his opinions : to him is ascribed the defection from the Old Faith of a countryman whom he met there in Paris, the famous Juan Diaz ¹⁾. He soon left for Antwerp, where he stayed with relations, and even corrected a Spanish catechism ²⁾; then, to obey his father's orders, who wished him to enter the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he went to Rome, where, after some weary months, he decided joining his brother Francis in Germany. Unfortunately he was betrayed by a countryman, and put into prison ; on December 24, 1545, he acknowledged having written a letter to Luther, declaring that he venerated him ' ut angelum Dei ', and asking his advice about the meaning of some of the condemned *Articuli a magistris nostris Lovaniensibus editi* ³⁾. That letter was used against him ⁴⁾; nor did it last long before that and similar utterances caused him to be declared a heretic, and delivered up to the secular arm : he perished at the stake by the middle of March 1547 ⁵⁾.

Although sharing, at least at the time, his friend's views about religious opinions and practices, Knobbelsdorf apparently differed from him in his judgment on the lectures of the University. He highly praised them in a poem entitled *Lutetiae Parisiorum Descriptio* ⁶⁾, consecrated to the glory of the French capital, and adorned with historic reminiscences of Charlemain and Alcuin, of the wars with England and of Joan of Arc ; it closes with a promise never to forget it when he will return to his native country and to the fatherly care of

Dantiscus vatum pontificumque decus ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. II, 414 ; — also *CMH*, II, 402, *sq* ; *SpanRef.*, I, 157 ; *EraSpain*, 551.

²⁾ *EpSel.*, 66.

³⁾ *Grisar*, III, 952.

⁴⁾ *Buschbell*, 292-93.

⁵⁾ Cp. *McCrie*, 187-89, 190 ; *Buschbell*, 150-51, 292-93, 320 ; *Paquot*, xv, 204 ; *Pastor*, v, 712 ; *HerMaur.*, 192 ; *CMH*, II, 387 ; *EraSpain*, 551 ; *DébAgMod.*, 500 (called mistakenly Juan).

⁶⁾ *Paris*, 1543 : it contains 1358 verses : they praise Barth. Latomus and P. Galland, professor of Latin, Toussain and Strazel, Greek teachers, Vatable, for Hebrew, and Oronce Finé, orientalist.

⁷⁾ Cp. *Baumgartner*, 605 ; *Lefranc*, 166 ; *Neff*, xiii ; D. Murarasu, *La Poésie Néolatine ...en France 1500-1549* : Paris, 1928 : 145-48.

Songs and poetry, which generally are irrepressible outbursts of joy and happiness, occasionally are prompted by dire misery, as the saying goes : it probably was Knobbelsdorf's case : on September 3, 1542, he bitterly complains to his Bishop about the lack of all resources, all help being held up at Antwerp, on account of the war, which even forced him to send his letter by England ¹⁾. No doubt, want compelled him to leave his so highly vaunted Paris 'professors' by April 1543, when he went to continue his studies in Orleans ²⁾. Even there he could not stay long : on November 17 following, he sent a message of distress to Dantiscus, announcing his decision to return home, if he could be helped to pay the heavy debts which prevent him leaving ³⁾. It explains the high praise which he bestows on his benefactor in his poems on Paris and on the second French University, in which he celebrated Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans ⁴⁾.

When he started his stay in the West, Knobbelsdorf had thought of finishing it by a sojourn in Rome ⁵⁾ ; yet he did not go there during the several months following his last letter from France, no doubt frightened away by the presence there of the friends of Bishop Dantiscus. For there was not only the latter's favourite Stanislas Hosius ⁶⁾, but also his nephew Caspar Hanow, or Hanau ⁷⁾, who, on August 21, 1546, wrote to his uncle that Alliopagus had been in Wittenberg, and probably had contracted more irregularities than could be absolved by a dispensation ⁸⁾. Still the Prodigal Son managed after all to obtain his benefactor's pardon in the meantime. For when Canon Mauritius died at Frauenburg, he requested his succession on April 14, 1546, and already received a

¹⁾ DantE, 440.

²⁾ Letter of April 18, 1543 : DantE, 445.

³⁾ DantE, 446.

⁴⁾ That poem was partly translated in French and published by *abbé Valentin Dufour* (Orleans, 1879).

⁵⁾ Letter of December 17, 1541 : DantE, 432.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 486, III, 288 ; *Fisher*, 370-73 ; *Voigt*, 64-66 ; *UniDill.*, 57 ; *Wainewr.*, 1, 5, 6, 10 ; *J. Lortz, Kardinal Stanislaus Hosius, Gedenkschrift* : Braunsberg, 1931 ; *RefDeutsch.*, II, 190-98, &c ; *Prowe*, I, i, 171, 190, 201, ii, 350-60, &c ; *BeitSchlecht*, 78 ; *Morone*, xxviii, xlix, 75, sq, 427-32 ; *ConstConc.*, *passim* I, 31 to II, 988.

⁷⁾ *Prowe*, I, i, 171, ii, 358.

⁸⁾ DantE, 474.

satisfactory reply on April 28 following ¹⁾, in so far that he became administrator, 'Domkustos', of Frauenburg Cathedral. In hearty gratitude Knobbelsdorf tended the Bishop in his last illness with the care and the love of a son, and it was in his arms that, on October 27, 1548, his Mæcenas breathed his last in quiet and edifying submission ²⁾. Nor was it only grateful friendship that caused the appraising : for Knobbelsdorf was highly valued as Canon and as administrator of Ermland Chapter ³⁾, as results from the letters he wrote to, and received from, Cardinal Hosius, one of Dantiscus' successors, and from King Sigismund of Poland ⁴⁾.

B. JUSTUS VELSIUS

Far more wayward than Knobbelsdorf was his fellow-student in Louvain and at the *Trilingue*, Justus Velsen, Welsens, Velsius ⁵⁾, a native of The Hague. As a boy he had made Viglius' acquaintance ⁶⁾, and, for a time, he had resided in Bologna, where he may have got the title *Magister Artium* and attended lectures of medicine ⁷⁾. He came to Louvain, where he was a regular hearer of Busleyden College, whilst continuing medical studies ; he promoted *Doctor Medicinæ*

¹⁾ DantE, 467, 469.

²⁾ *DantKop.*, xlvii.

³⁾ He was called 'Domkustos', administrator of the Ermland cathedral at Frauenburg : Prowe, I, ii, 381, and in a letter from Albert, Duke of Prussia : *CatCzart.*, II, 267 (1561).

⁴⁾ Many letters to and from Knobbelsdorf are preserved in the Ermland Episcopal Archives ; in the Museum of the Princes Czartoryski, Cracau, are, besides, several letters of him to Dantiscus : *CatCzart.*, II, 257 (1540), 260 (1542-44) ; to Bishop Stanislas Hosius : *CatCzart.*, I, 85 (1554), II, 263 (1553), 269 (1561-63), 265 (1561-64), 268 (1565-66), 270 (1567-70) ; to John Lehman, Leoman, canon of Frauenburg : *CatCzart.*, II, 264 (1560) & 271 (1561-62) ; there are further letters to him from King Sigismund of Poland : *CatCzart.*, II, 277 (1555) ; from Christ. Albr. von Kunheyme : *CatCzart.*, II, 283 (1555) ; and from Albert, Duke of Prussia : *CatCzart.*, II, 267 (1561 : administratori Varmiensi).

⁵⁾ Velsen, an old place, 10 kms N. of Haarlem : Hofdijk, II, 45, 98, sq.

⁶⁾ On June 24, 1551, Viglius makes, in a letter to Velsius, special mention 'pristinæ benevolentiae, quæ inter nos ab ineunte ætate exordium sumpsit' : Hoyneck, II, i, 356-57.

⁷⁾ Of that stay in Bologna, to which he often boastfully referred, no trace seems left in the *University Acta* : Keussen, 645, 73 ; the year 1538, usually given, is contradicted by his poem on Vesale : cp. p 135.

in 1541 ¹⁾, and had written, already in 1537, some verses in praise of Vesale's *Paraphrasis in Nonum Librum Rhazæ* ²⁾. He established himself at Antwerp as physician, but instead of waiting patiently for a practice, he soon returned to Louvain, attracted by the lure of the languages, as the teaching in the *Trilingue* had made a very deep impression on him. Although not appointed by the University, he started giving, in his turn, public lessons on Greek and Latin, as well as on philosophy and mathematics, for, besides being eloquent, he was very proficient in those sciences ³⁾.

The good result with which his endeavours were rewarded, emboldened him to stand for the succession of Peter Nannius, when, in the first days of March 1542, the Latin professor intended leaving for Italy ⁴⁾. The failure of that scheme ⁵⁾ disappointed in so far the expectations of the lecturer, that he considered it as a personal affront ⁶⁾; whereas his pupils—amongst whom were some Germans,—availed themselves of the occasion to take a revenge for some belittling and contempt of their Melanchthon by Nannius, and added some quips to the notices by which he announced the taking up again of his lectures, at the doors of St. Peter's ⁷⁾. The trouble they thus caused was doubly welcome to Velsius: it stimulated his secret sympathy with the Reformers, and it afforded, at least for a time, a hope to clear the way to the Latin chair which he coveted ⁸⁾; it is, however, a certainty that he never

¹⁾ VAnd., 233. Velsius' *Oratio, utrum in Medico variarum Artium et Scientiarum Cognitio desideretur*, was printed by M. Crommius, Antwerp, in 1541, together with texts from, and commentaries on, Hippocrates and Galenus: Paquot, ix, 442-43. That work is mentioned as printed by Joh. Oporinus, Basle, in 1540.

²⁾ Cp. III, 536: the book was dedicated by Vesale to Nicolas Herco Florenas, from Brussels, on February 1, 1537.

³⁾ Velsius was not known to Andrew Masius, and Louis Gens had evidently made his acquaintance after Masius had left: he mentions his erudition on March 23, 1542: *vir græce et latine probe eruditus et mire facundus, acutus philosophus et mathematicus item bonus, qui abhinc menses aliquot ex Antwerpia huc concessit et publice professus est aliquamdiu*: MasE, 15.

⁴⁾ MasE, 14-15; cp. before, pp 88, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 90.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 90-92.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 92, sq; MasE, 14, 15.

⁸⁾ Nannius applied to his friends, like Musius and Mens, for poems and letters to counteract Velsius' obloquy: cp. before, pp 93-94.

was appointed, nor even actually taught, as professor in the *Trilingue* ¹⁾.

Meanwhile Velsius kept up an inofficial, yet public, teaching, — as, at that time, also James Cruckius did in the Convent of the Augustines ²⁾, — with the tacit consent of the University; for, in September of that year, he was helped in a difficulty in which he was involved ³⁾. Still, as he showed partial to the new doctrines in conversations and lectures, the academical authorities made use of the regulations requiring the formal assent of the University and of the Faculty to which the matter belongs, for all public teaching. In the beginning of 1544, the Faculty of Arts actually wanted to prohibit him ⁴⁾ from reading on the *Dialectica* of Trapezuntius ⁵⁾; in reply Velsius declared, on March 4, 1544, that he had a right to teach even without a licence from the Rector and University, or from the Faculty in whose range the matter

¹⁾ It is wrongly asserted by Paquot (ix, 437-38) and by Nève (*NèveMem.*, 151; Polet, 23, &c); the inexact information is repeated, e. g., by Kuckhoff, *Tricoron.*, 58: cp. before, p 91, n.

²⁾ MasE, 15; cp. before, III, 481-88.

³⁾ Die Lunæ vndecima mensis Septembris (1542) fuit deputatio in loco capitulari superiori ecclesiæ sancti petri Louaniensis in qua coram Dominis Rectore et Deputatis comparens Dñs Doctor *Iustus* siue *Judocus Welsens* proposuit et allegauit se vocatum coram Iudicibus Laycis in actione personali supplicauit propterea pro Inhibitione. — Dominus vero rector habita per eum et alios dominos deputatos communicatione cum præfato Domino Justo super suo negotio, ex Dominorum deputatorum deliberatione conclusit quod ipse supplicans sumat aliquem aduocatum et si ille visis actis declarauerit inhibitionem concedendam Domini extunc conuenient et illam annuent sine suis nouis sumptibus: *LibActIX*, 13, r.

⁴⁾ *ActArtInd.*, 44, quotes from *ActArtVII*, 201, for 1544: Mgr. judocus Velsius prohibendus ne legat dialecticam trapesontii. — *AcArExc.*, 127; quotes from the same source: judocus Velsius vult legere dialecticam publice, at privatim, et impeditur.

⁵⁾ George Trapezuntius, 1395-1484, a native of Chandace, in Crete, reached Venice by 1420, where he was hailed as Greek erudite. He became a papal secretary, and worked zealously, although not always felicitously, translating Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Problems*, and Plato's *Laws* and *Parmenides*. Like Theodore Gaza he defended his Aristotle against Plethon, and he even made a vehement attack on Bessarion in 1464 on that account: *BeitKlette*, III, 69-72, 60, 99, 104-5, 149-50; Sandys, II, 63, 54, 66, 75; Symonds, 210-11, 228, 247, 263.

lay, arguing that he had promoted in the University of Bologna, older than that of Louvain, and consequently, that he was free to lecture as he liked. The Rector, Robert Martenius ¹⁾, and the Deputies, to whom he applied, decided to admonish him severely, as he necessarily was to conform himself to the Louvain Statutes, if he did not want the promoter to proceed against him ; on the other hand, they expressed the wish that the Faculty of Arts should not urge her privilege so as to harm the general utility ²⁾, as private teaching naturally helped towards the universal development.

There was, however, a special reason in this case for the *Artes* to insist on the prohibition : and it was made effective to Velsius. He left Louvain, — for fear of the Inquisition, Valerius Andreas states, — and found a shelter at Strassburg, where, in 1544, he published *De Mathematicarum Disciplinarum vario Usu Dignitateque* ³⁾. He also taught for some months in the Latin School of Marburg, as the headmaster Peter Nigidius declares in a poem, praising his abilities and his books ⁴⁾ ; he may also have spent some time at Basle, where he published *Procli Diadochi de Motu Libri duo*, in Greek and Latin, in 1545 ⁵⁾. In 1549, he issued his *In Commentarios Simplicii ad Prædicamenta Aristotelis Græce edita*, with a preface to Viglius, in which — breaking in an open door — he showed the necessity, for a theologian, of a deep knowledge of Philosophy ⁶⁾, and, in 1550, *In Cebetis*

¹⁾ Robert Martenius, Martennius, *Martinus*, of Valenciennes, who promoted the second in 1535, and became J.V.L., first taught in the Porc, and was from Dec. 9, 1542 to 1545, extraordinary professor of the *Codex* and of Canon Law ; he was canon in St. Peter's, and was elected Rector on February 28, 1544 : VAnd., 42, 158 ; *ULDoc.*, 1, 266, iv, 118 ; *ULPromRs.*, 82.

²⁾ *LibActIX*, 27, v, 28, r : Jpsa Facultas artium non sit jta intenta ad proprium commodum quin etiam respiciat eorum vtilitatem. — In that report of the *Acta*, he is styled *Veltius*, as how his name is also written in *JesRheina*, 237-238.

³⁾ Strassburg, Crato Mylius, 1544.

⁴⁾ Paquot, ix, 438 ; *MatriMarb.*, 115.

⁵⁾ Paquot, ix, 443.

⁶⁾ Venice, 1549 : Basle, 1551 ; Paquot, ix, 443 ; Hoyneck, ii, i, 356-58 : on June 24, 1551, Viglius answers Velsius' repeated messages, explaining that he is too busy to reply, and had discontinued the old friendship, — evidently on account of the well-known *dubia religio* of his old companion ; he is glad that he left Strassburg, and advises him to

Thebani Tabulam, Commentariorum Libri sex, which was dedicated from Strassburg, January 1, 1551, to Bishop Antony Perrenot de Granvelle ¹). Possibly those dedicatory letters, as well as his own statement that he was leaving Strassburg for religion's sake, were as the result of a change of his opinions, though they may have been some of the many shrewd moves in the intricate game of his life ²).

Indeed about that time the town authorities of Cologne wished to imitate the glorious example given by Louvain, and create a School of the Three Tongues in their University ³), which was evidently on the wane. There happened to be just then a clever Latinist, James Leich, Lichius, of Cochem ⁴), as

stay some time where he now is (*viz.*, in Cologne), so that, he writes, 'id quod amici de tua innocentia sentiunt, idem aliis nonnullis malevolis tempus ipsum persuadeat'.

¹) Strassburg, 1550 : Paquot, ix, 443-45.

²) Whenever he afterwards was in trouble on account of his religious opinions, Velsius invoked as authorities and as pledges of his orthodoxy, both Granvelle and Viglius; it caused the latter to write, on January 16, 1556, to James Horst, Canon of St. Gereon's, Cologne, that, to his utmost surprise, he and Granvelle were believed to back up Velsius in his errors and in his pertinacity : Hoyneck, II, i, 376-78.

³) *Tricoron.*, 47, 55 ; *UniKöln*, 201, 371 ; Kuckhoff, 47-8.

⁴) James Lich, Leich, Lichius, of Cochem, 'de Vlisch' (*Tricoron.*, 56), matriculated on May 7, 1543 in Cologne, — and, most probably, availed himself of the help given for the study of languages by Louvain students, whom the war with France and Gelderland had driven to Cologne in the latter months of 1542 : Keussen, II, pp 974-77. He became bachelor, May 30, 1544, licentiate, February 3, 1546, and M.A. in 1548. He had several sons of the foremost families as private students, which, no doubt, led to his fame as teacher, and to his appointment as Latin Professor by the town in 1550. He was moreover entrusted with the lead of the *Bursa Cuckana*, which he renewed, and made into the *Tricoronatum* with the help and experience of Velsius. He formed several clever students (*cp. inf.*, p 140) ; unfortunately his loving and self-sacrificing nature was not backed by a strong will, and lack of authority made him lose many pupils. By 1552, Velsius' influence became disastrous : he soon shared his unbelief, and, although enjoying a University prebend, '1. gratiæ in Sta. Maria ad Gradus', he married in June 1554. His school was deserted, and the University only granted him a delay during which his succession, after some hesitation, was entrusted to John von Rheidt, Rhetius, and his fellows of the Jesuit Order. Leich left in the summer of 1557, and adhering to the Confession of Augsburg, earned his living by private teaching, which

well as a good Hellenist, Gerard Mathisius, a Gelderland scholar ¹⁾; the Town Council secured their services, besides those of the man who had recently been formed at the Brabant *Trilingue*, and who, by the dedications of his last books, had openly courted the favour of the two great representatives of the Roman party, Justus Velsius. He was expected to communicate to his colleagues the inestimable advantage of the method and the matter of the teaching, and to provide the new school with the most precious experience gained by Louvain ²⁾; from there also was invited the professor of Hebrew, Isaac Levita, who had actually taught there ³⁾. Velsius, on being thus invited to Cologne, matriculated there on June 28, 1550, starting with an untruth, as he declared to have promoted medical doctor in Bologna in 1538 ⁴⁾. He was duly appointed by the Town Council on August 25 and 28, as professor of philosophy and of Greek, which provided him welcome latitude. He arranged the new institute according to what he had seen in Louvain, and pronounced in his name and that of his colleagues the introductory oration, which was printed on September 10, 1550 ⁵⁾. Encouraged by Viglius ⁶⁾, he read on a Greek philosopher, and from June 15, 1551, added a Latin one, and even threw in mathematics. He seems

was not without an occasional alarm. After a life, mostly devoted to quiet work, he died on September 18, 1584: Keussen, 617, 23; *UniKöln*, 201, 556; *Weinsberg*, III, 248; Bianco, I, 293, sq; *Tricoron.*, xxvii, 50-59, 61-88, 94-101, 109; Kuckhoff, 48-56; Duhr, I, 38, sq, 757, sq; *DébEnCo.*, 200, sq; *JesRheinA*, 188, sq, 194-97, 208-62, 286, 514, 529, &c; *Rhetius*, 15, 22, sq, 37, 44, 46, 53, 64, &c.

¹⁾ Gerard Mathys, Mathisius, born about 1523 in Gelderland, matriculated in September 1542, in Cologne; he resided in the *Bursa Montana*, where, after becoming M.A. in 1545, he taught philosophy, and, from 1547, Greek. He was one of the professors of the School of Languages, but he soon started studying theology; he was canon in the metropolitan church from Oct. 7, 1556, and *Regens* of the *Montana* from that same year. He published several books, and died on April 11, 1572: Keussen, 615, 23; *UniKöln*, 335, 431, 498, 513; Bianco, I, 754-57; Paquot, VIII, 302-9; *Tricoron.*, 55-60, 84-86, 114, 121-28, 141, 151, 372; *JesRheinA*, 261, 263, 273; Kuckhoff, 47; *Rhetius*, 53, 80, 133.

²⁾ *Tricoron.*, 61, 66-69.

³⁾ Cp. Ch. XXIV, 6; Kuckhoff, 48.

⁴⁾ Keussen, 645, 73: Justus Velssius, Haganus, art. et med. dr. promotus Bononiæ 1538.

⁵⁾ *Tricoron.*, 56.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, II, I, 357-58; cp. before, II, 145, sq, III, 348, &c.

to have had a mind to settle there, for he married, in November 1551, Beatrix von Steinhoven, and the *In Aristotelis de Virtutibus Librum Commentariorum Libri Tres*, which he wrote, was dedicated, on March 1, 1552, to the Mayor and Council of what seemed to have become his town ¹).

With Leich, Velsius wished to organize the institute thus started, — which afterwards became the *Tricoronatum*, — into a well established school of languages, as he explained in his *De Artium Liberalium & Philosophica Præcepta tradendi explicandique Recta Ratione ac Via* ²). He helped to form there many excellent disciples, such as Francis Hemerolus ³) ; especially the son of the Cologne Mayor, John von Rheidt, Redt, Rhetius, the Jesuit ⁴), greatly esteemed his work and saw the immense advantage offered by the School to studies and to the possibilities of securing the right development of youth ⁵).

Since the organization and the methods, even to the choice of the handbooks, for teaching and study in the Cologne School were closely and scrupulously imitated from those of the *Trilingue*, the latter thus gained an influence which can hardly be gauged. For Rhetius and the companions with whom he worked from the first, appreciated them far too much from their own experience to change them in any way ; circumstances greatly helped to confirm them in the continuance of what had been practised ; as they were the first in the newly founded Order to devote themselves to that work, and as they realized an uncontested success, the good seed sown in Busleyden's Institute soon spread, and grew, and prospered all over the Christian world ⁶).

Unfortunately the link that had connected the rising *Tricoronatum* with the Brabant model, soon fell out : maybe Velsius had some inkling that the School to which he

¹) Cologne, Martin Gymnicus, 1551.

²) Cologne, heirs of Vitus Birckmann, 1554 : Paquot, ix, 445-46. — Cp. *Tricoron.*, 66-69 ; *Rhetius*, 37.

³) *Rhetius*, 133 ; *Tricoron.*, 117, 134, 136 ; *JesRheinA.*, 238, & *passim*.

⁴) Cp. II, 193, III, 81, *sq* ; *DébEnCo.*, 200-2, 205-6 ; *ConstConc.*, i, 601, *sq*.

⁵) *JesRheinA.*, 235, 238 ; *Rhetius*, 106, *sq*.

⁶) Cp. for this instance of influence, *UniKöln*, 201 ; Kuckhoff, 47-51 ; *Rhetius*, 31, 36-39.

devoted his best efforts, was part of the scheme of the quickly developing Society ¹⁾ : he, certainly, regretted the beneficent, yet undesired, result, as he no longer pretended to be a worthy friend of Viglius or Granvelle, and his bad influence on Leich, the head of the School, was increasing fast. In 1554, when the latter — though directing an institute for *Clerici*, the *Tricoronatum*, — married ²⁾, Velsius broke openly with the Church of Rome, and published his *Veræ Christianæque Philosophiæ Comprobatio*, afterwards called *Κρίσις*, to which the University, which was bitterly criticized and calumniated, severely objected ³⁾ : on account of the erroneous assertions it contained, it was condemned at the academic meeting of October 29, 1554 ⁴⁾. Since the author refused to revoke it, they decided to proceed against him : they sent one of their professors, the Carmelite Everard von Billick ⁵⁾ to communicate the book to the University of Louvain, and to ask their advice. Meanwhile the academic authorities had to protest against Velsius on November 5, 1554, for mixing theology into his lectures, and prohibited the students from attending a dispute which he took upon himself to preside. The Louvain theological Faculty gave, on November 24, 1554 ⁶⁾, a verdict that was as severe as that of Cologne. Consequently, on December 11, 1554, Velsius was cut off from the University : he tried to make an appeal against that decision, which was confirmed on March 29, 1555. The town authorities, who, up to then, had been very favourable to him, became indignant at his pertinacity, and discharged him from their school on January 19, 1555 ; he then made open profession of Protestantism, and tried to give public explanations on *Isaias* v, April 15, and on *Psalms* cix, May 27 ⁷⁾. He published an *Epistola ad Ferdinandum*, dated March 25, 1555, followed by satirical squibs on the inquisitors, as well as by the incriminated *Κρίσις*, which publication was fanatically Protestant ⁸⁾. It caused

¹⁾ *JesRheinA*, 237-38 ; *Rhetius*, 31 ; *Tricoron.*, 82, 101 ; *Bianco*, I, 294-95.

²⁾ *Tricoron.*, 83.

³⁾ *Paquot*, IX, 446.

⁴⁾ *Bianco*, I, 791-92.

⁵⁾ *Paquot*, v, 184, 181-88 ; *BeilSchlecht*, 298 ; *Bianco*, I, 632-36 ; *Gropfer*, 18, & *passim*.

⁶⁾ *Bianco*, I, 793-96 ; *VAnd.*, 233.

⁷⁾ *Tricoron.*, 82-84 ; *JesRheinA*, 256 (May 11, 1555).

⁸⁾ <September> 155<6> : no editor, nor place is named : *Paquot*, IX, 446-47.

Velsius' imprisonment and condemnation to exile ; on March 26, 1556, he was led to the boundary of the diocese, and on the same day, Leichius, who was himself in great trouble on account of his marriage and of his opinions, provoked anybody to a public debate about the righteousness or injustice of his friend's condemnation : he was silenced by order of the Town Council ¹⁾.

Velsius reached Mülheim on March 31, 1556, from where he proceeded to Frankfurt on the Main. He there wrote his *Apologia contra Hæreticæ Pravitatis... Inquisitores eorumque... Interrogatoria*, addressed to Charles V and Ferdinand I, on August 23, 1556 ²⁾, in which he lacerates, in Luther's roughest style, the fame and lives of the inquisitors and of the recently appointed Cardinal, whom Velsius misnamed 'Carnalis Gropper' ³⁾. In 1557, John van der Slooten, *Slotanus*, of Geffen, a Cologne Dominican, Inquisitor General, replied by his *Apologicæ Justi Velsii... Confutatio* ⁴⁾. From then on, Velsius rapidly turned into a fanatic : in the *Apologia*, he already represents himself as inspired by God ; it becomes the theme of the *Epistolæ, aliaque Scripta, & Vocationis suæ Rationem, et totius Coloniensis Negotii summam complectentia*, of September 1557 ⁵⁾. He rejected Zwingli's doctrines, provoked a debate against Calvin at Frankfurt, and accepted the Augsburg Confession ⁶⁾, but called himself the *servus Justi Christi*. He led a roving life : he was in Heidelberg on Aug. 5, 1557; he matriculated in Marburg in 1562 ⁷⁾; on April 2, 1566, he wrote from Groningen an appeal to his old friend Viglius, who had returned a letter unopened in December 1565 ⁸⁾. He was in Cologne on April 3, 1570, and, from then on, wandered from one town to another in his native country, proclaiming himself a man sent by heaven to reform humanity ; he even pretended proving his mission by miracles,

¹⁾ *Tricoron.*, 85 ; *Rhetius*, 39 ; *JesRheinA*, 261.

²⁾ Paquot, ix, 447-48.

³⁾ *Gropper*, 157 ; cp. *BeitSchlecht*, 298 ; *ConstConc.*, i, 601, 723-24.

⁴⁾ Cologne, 1557 : *Bianco*, i, 786 ; *PaulDom.*, 159-62 ; Paquot, xiii, 256, 254-60 ; *UniKöln*, 430.

⁵⁾ Paquot, ix, 448.

⁶⁾ Paquot, ix, 441.

⁷⁾ *MatriMarb.*, 51 : Justus Felsius Haganus.

⁸⁾ *Hoyneck*, ii, i, 377-78.

which, however, always failed through the incredulity of the recipients in his supernal gift. The town authorities of Leyden, who had banished him, were vowed in a dire letter to eternal perdition ¹⁾. It is not known where, when or how he died ²⁾..

C. FRANCISCO DE ENZINAS

Although not applying himself to the regular study of divinity as prescribed by the Faculty, another student of the *Trilingue* worked at that time at the languages with the special aim to get acquainted with the text of the Bible. He was the Spaniard **Francisco de Enzinas**, or Encinas ³⁾, who, according to circumstances, took the name of du Chesne, or of van Eyck, van der Eycken, and after 1543, **Dryander**. He was born at Burgos about 1515, of one of the most distinguished families ⁴⁾, who had relatives at Antwerp. As a young boy Francis spent some time with them, and when, in 1537, his uncle Pedro de Lerma, late Abbot of Alcala, and Chancellor of the University ⁵⁾, had some trouble with the Inquisition in his

¹⁾ Gerard Brandt, *Historia Reformationis*, I, 629-30 (1578).

²⁾ VAnd., 233; *BibBelg.*, 605-606; Paquot, IX, 437-448; *SaxOnom.*, 230; Bianco, I, 294, sq, 791-96; L. Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*: Cologne, 1862-75: IV, 688, sq, 780-91; Chr. Sepp, *Kerkhistorische Studien*: Leyden, 1885: 91-179; C. Krafft, *Theologische Arbeiten a. d. Rhein-Preuss. Prediger-Verein*: Elberfeld, 1872: I, 27; *JesRheinA*, 209, 237-38, 261-62; Keussen, 645, 73, and references quoted; *Tricoron.*, 66-67, &c; Hurter, IV, 1234; *UniKöln*, 201; Rommel, II, 194; Kuckhoff, 48-50; *Rhetius*, 31, 36-39.

³⁾ Cp. M'Crie, 185, sq.

⁴⁾ Amongst his many countrymen, Vives met in Paris in 1520 the 'iuuenem Ioan. Enzinam', who was excellent as debater: he was, surely, no brother of Francis: Allen, IV, 1108, 31; *EraSpain*, 109. There was also in Paris, between 1518 and 1526, Fernando de Enzinas, of Valladolid, residing at the College of Beauvais, author of several books on logic, who died prematurely in 1528: possibly he was meant by Vives, who frequently made mistakes in names: Allen, IV, 1108, 31; Paquot, XV, 204; *EraSpain*, 108-109 and 545 (quoting Luis de Carjaval, *De Restituta Theologia Liber unus*: Cologne, 1545, where he is quoted on a line with Lax and Dullardus). Moreover Hallam, I, 265, mentions a Juan de la Enzina, who wrote poetry, edited in 1501, as well as a treatise on Castilian metrics: *EraSpain*, 700; Paquot, XV, 204.

⁵⁾ The Inquisition had taken him prisoner on account of some points he had developed in his popular sermons; when liberated, by the end of 1537, he went by Flanders to Paris, where he had studied theology;

native town, where he had a canonry, there seemed to be some danger that he and his brother were not going to be allowed to study abroad, on account of exposure to heretic contagion. He wanted, however, to go back to Brabant, allured as he was by the *Trilingue* : so he managed to leave Spain, and arrived at Antwerp. On June 4, 1539, he matriculated in Louvain ¹⁾, and applied himself strenuously to Latin and Greek languages and literature : no doubt, it was in Nannius' lectures on Titus Livius, of which the introduction was published in November 1541 ²⁾, that he made the acquaintance of the great Roman historian, of whom he afterwards translated the epitome by Florus ³⁾ ; he probably also studied Plutarch's *Vitæ* under Rescius ⁴⁾, of some of which Enzinas provided a translation ⁵⁾.

After a while, Francisco's brother Jayme, or Didacus ⁶⁾, came to Louvain, and, making friends with the Polish student

he was visited there by Francis, his nephew, in 1541, and died on October 27, 1541, over seventy : *Enzinas*, II, 158-167 ; *EraSpain*, 520-21 ; *ValdDial.*, 68 ; M'Crie, 181 ; *CMH*, II, 401.

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 122, r : 'Dns Franciscus densines Hispanus' ; with him was inscribed 'Antonius gottices (or gottiers) Hispanus', possibly a companion. — On the same day, but not in connection with him, was re-accepted as *suppositus* 'Damian a Goes, Lusitanus', coming from Italy and settling in Louvain : *MonHL*, 620 ; *Altamira*, III, 368.

²⁾ Polet, 15, 52-57 ; cp. before, p 89.

³⁾ It was printed at Strassburg in 1550 : *SpanRef.*, I, 179 ; Sandys, I, 661 ; *EraSpain*, 666.

⁴⁾ In June 1540, Rescius printed Nannius' translation of Plutarch's *Catonis et Phocionis Vitæ* : *NijKron.*, I, 1744 ; Polet, 99-101.

⁵⁾ Those *Vitæ* translated by Enzinas were edited, with others, by Gracian de Alderete (cp. II, 408-12), at Strassburg : *El Primero Volumen de las Vidas*, which was often reprinted with or without names : *EraSpain*, 666.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 130-32 ; *Enzinas*, I, 24. The Juan Dryander, who is said to have been their brother, and to have become professor of Medicine and Astronomy in Marburg in 1535 : M'Crie, 186-87, was no relative. He was John Eichmann (1500-1560), born at Wetter, who started dissections on human corpses, of which he published some results : they were highly esteemed ; it induced the Landgrave of Hesse to encourage more anatomical practice in Marburg ; Melanchthon, on the other hand, praised his *Planetarium* in 1543 : *UniMarb.*, 18, 42-44 ; *MatriMarb.*, 271-72 ; *MelE*, I, 817-18 ; also before, III, 330, 418. Francis de Enzinas took the Greek name Dryander after his incarceration of 1543.

Eustace Knobbelsdorf ¹⁾, they shared the mighty sympathy with the Reformation which soon monopolized all interest in the *spiritus irrequietus* of Francisco. He made the acquaintance of George Cassander, to whom he sent some books for a fellow-believer through his brother, when, in the autumn of 1541, he left for Wittenberg ²⁾. Still that leave was only decided on in the beginning of that year; for, although Louvain has been styled, most inappropriately, 'a plague-spot of the New Learning' ³⁾, he had heard of the so-called 'hotbed of Reformation', kindled there amongst a small group of inhabitants by the wild Pole John a Laski, only after that zealous leader had left the Brabant town with the wife he had found and, although a priest, married there ⁴⁾. On a visit of her and

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 130-32.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 131.

³⁾ Altamira, III, 368, describes Louvain as 'muy contagiada de reformismo', — which, however, is not at all justified by the three or four dozen suspected as adherents for the whole town, which Francis hastened to leave for Wittenberg long before there was any danger of persecution.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 254. John a Laski, born at Warsaw in 1499, went to study in Italy, France and in Basle, where, by 1525, he lived for some time in the household of Erasmus, who was well acquainted with his brother Jerome and his uncle John, Archbishop of Gnesen: Allen, v, 1502, s, vi, 1593, 133, 1622, 4, & p 504, 38, sq. He developed into an apostle of the Reformation, and, having arrived in Louvain in 1539, he married the daughter of one of his converts, although he was in the orders. He had left in the beginning of 1541, and soon started a congregation at Emden, in East-Friesland. He left Germany at the *Interim*, and repaired to England, where he was hailed by Cranmer; he took an active part in the arranging of religious reform. His wife died there from consumption in August 1551; but he married again on January 29, 1553. At the accession of Queen Mary, he fled with some of his fellow-believers to Denmark, from which he was expelled into Germany: he died in Poland on January 13, 1560: *Lasco*; *Lasclana*; Gough, 463; Strype, II, 390, sq, 391 (*his wife*), 415, III, 56, sq, 205-7; *Cranmer*, I, 336, sq, 583, II, 878-81, 886; Blunt, II, 163; *PollGran.*, 268, sq, 216, 266; Gairdner, 263, 283, sq, 321, 390; *EdComPr.*, 173, sq, 230, 232; Tytler, I, 260; *Ensinas*, I, 9-11, 103, 105; *LouvBoon*, 97-98; *PolReFox*, 38, 53-56, 64, sq; *PolReKra.*, 21, sq; *SleiComm.*, 817; *Sleidan.*, 267; Kraftt, 95, sq, 75; Hessels, II, 29-30, 37, & *passim*; *MeiEBind.*, 398, sq; R. Jung, *Die Englische Flüchtlings-Gemeinde in Frankfurt 1554-59*: Frankfurt, 1910: 3; H. Schöffler, *Die Anfänge des Puritanismus*: Leipzig, 1932: 120, 125; Constant, II, 382; Gabbema, 116, 493-517, and *passim* from p 7 to p 135; *ConstConc.*, I, 43; Trésal, 246, 270, 294, 359; *CMH*, II, 477, 502, 617, 636-37.

her child to Louvain in May 1541, Enzinas went to make her acquaintance, and gave her a letter by which, on May 10, 1541, he requested her husband to introduce him to Luther and Melanchthon, whom he intended visiting before long ¹⁾).

During some weeks he worked in Louvain with a newly made acquaintance, the Bernardine monk Albert Rizæus Hardenberg, of Adwert Abbey, a student of divinity, who, after his doctorate in Mayence, 1540, returned to Louvain, and continued spreading the ideas of the Reformers notwithstanding his recent abjuration ²⁾). Francis de Enzinas went to Wittenberg, where he matriculated on October 27, 1541, and became an ardent disciple of Melanchthon ³⁾), in whose house he boarded, in so far that he was called 'Melanchthon's soul' ⁴⁾). His father had wished him to enter the military career, for which reason Laski sent him a fine old sword, one day, as a present ⁵⁾). Whereas his brother Jayme, at the same time, left Louvain with his friend Eustace Knobbelsdorf for Paris University ⁶⁾), Francis worked at the translation of the New Testament in Castilian ⁷⁾ on the advice of his friends, and had it printed 'en Enveres, por Estevan Mierdmanno a 25 de Octubre en el anno... M.D.XLIII.', under the title '*El Nuevo Testamento de Nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo, traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana* ⁸⁾). Instead of having it edited anonymously as he had intended at first, he boldly added his name on Melanchthon's advice; in a preface he recommended reading the Bible in Spanish, and criticized Cardinal Ximenes for having prevented Don Fer-

¹⁾ Gabbema, 37-43; Lasco, 196, 274; Enzinas mentioned to her on that visit that he recognized her husband's features in those of their little daughter Barbara: cp. Hessels, II, 79, 87; Lasciana, 365-66.

²⁾ Cp. Enzinas, I, 11-13, 105, 304, sq; Lasciana, 313, 355; Gabbema, 90; Gough, 376; MelEBind., 307, sq, 321, sq; Lasco, passim; Hessels, II, 2, 3-8, 29-31, 324-27, 981. He was since 1545 in Herm. de Wied's service and was also requested to come to England by 1549; he became pastor of Kampen and Bremen, where he died in 1574: HerMaur., 175.

³⁾ EraSpain, 552-53.

⁴⁾ CMH, II, 402.

⁵⁾ M'Crie, 198.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 131, sq. ⁷⁾ M'Crie, 202, sq.

⁸⁾ M'Crie, 202-4; Hallam, I, 386; ValdDial., 77, sq, 296; DébAgMod., 252; Enders, I, 434; SeviVal., 61, 82, sq, 124; Enzinas, I, 173, 181.

nando Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada, from having a version made for the then recently subdued Moors ¹⁾).

As the edict of 1543 had rendered more severe the laws about the publication of books, it looked as if Enzinas' rendering was condemned beforehand, especially since it was said to have been made in imitation of the models by Luther and Calvin. On that account the translator ventured to dedicate his rendering to Charles V from Antwerp, on October 1, 1543 : introduced by the Bishop of Jaen, he went to offer a copy to the Emperor on November 23, 1543 ²⁾). The monarch promised to take the book under his protection if there was nothing objectionable in it. Although encouraged by some officials in Court, Enzinas was arraigned for some marginal notes which he had added, and which were objected to by the Imperial father confessor Peter de Soto ³⁾); at his request, the President of State, Louis de Schore ⁴⁾), had him imprisoned on December 13, 1543, for the *Nuevo Testamento*, as well as for translations from Luther's writings, and for his familiar stay with Melancthon ⁵⁾). During several months he was detained in the good-natured Brussels *Vrunte* ⁶⁾), or prison ⁷⁾), which he was not to leave, but where he could receive the visits of friends and relatives; he addressed from there several memoirs to his judges, until, on February 1, 1545, he escaped from it through doors left open ⁸⁾).

¹⁾ *EraSpain.*, 590-91; *ValdDial.*, 296, sq; Paquot, xv, 199-200. Enzinas' translation was reprinted in Venice, 1556, and in Amsterdam, 1708; cp. *SeviVal.*, 61, 82.

²⁾ M'Crie, 413-17; *Enzinas*, I, vii, viii, 181-97, 203-09, 213.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 415, III, 292; *CMH*, II, 402.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 20, 96, 113; *Enzinas*, II, 355-56.

⁵⁾ M'Crie, 204; *Enzinas*, I, 9.

⁶⁾ *Enzinas*, I, 268-71, II, 7; *BruxHist.*, I, 54, III, 91, sq; his uncles came to see the prisoner and bitterly reproached him his behaviour for the shame it brought on them: M'Crie, 204; *Enzinas*, II, 49, 65, 71, 372; SchelAL, xiv, 578; Voigt, 185. The prisoner himself declares that he had the visit of 400 Brussels citizens: *Enzinas*, II, 81.

⁷⁾ Cornelius Grapheus had been for a good while in a similar confinement in Brussels Beghard Convent, twenty years before: *Cran.*, 179, b.

⁸⁾ Enzinas explained the fact as a solution to the difficulty of the absence of all reprobable matter, — although one should expect a more rational way of dismissal. Most probably his well-to-do relatives managed the means of escape from a slovenly guarded prison (*Enzinas*,

He first hid for some time at Antwerp, and composed there his famous memoirs, in which he related to Melanchthon his imprisonment, the sad fate of his townsman Francis of St. Roman ¹⁾, as well as that of some prisoners he met at Brussels, and of several of his Louvain fellow-believers, besides a sketch of the difficulties suffered by his relative Pedro de Lerma for the sake of his religious opinions ²⁾. Those memoirs, finished at Antwerp in July 1545, were not printed before the XIXth century ³⁾, but were translated into French, — possibly by James of Burgundy, Lord of Fallais ⁴⁾, — and published in 1558 as '*De l'Estat du Pays-Bas et de la Religion d'Espagne, par François du Chesne*' ⁵⁾. From a pamphlet written in the heat of bitter revenge for wrongs endured, a matter-of-fact exactness can hardly be expected, and a generous allowance is readily made for the animosity of the sufferer. Still, there is in those Memoirs, not merely an excusable exaggeration of the disagreeableness of some facts, but a revolting lack of truth and consistency ⁶⁾, which

1, 269, sq, II, 389, 395), and his friends and favourers prevented all further annoyance. It was not the only mysterious event in the confinement : *Enzinas*, II, 427-29.

¹⁾ *Enzinas*, II, 175-218.

²⁾ *Enzinas*, II, 159-169.

³⁾ They have been reproduced by Ch. A. Campan (Brussels, 1862-63) from the manuscript (now short of its first pages) belonging to the Latin School of Altona : *Enzinas*, I, 30. — As the archives of the University and of the Holy Ghost College of Louvain had been sent for safety to Altona by the great archivist and book-lover J. F. van de Velde, it is quite possible that Enzinas' manuscript had been part of those records, which he may have enriched with those he found during his stay in Germany, where he worked at his *Apparatus Melanchthonis* ; they may have remained there when the bulk of those documents were claimed by the authorities under the French Domination : FUL, xxvi-xxxvi ; cp. *BN* ; *ULCinqS*, 249-55, 261-62.

⁴⁾ Calvin wrote on August 16, 1547, to James de Fallais about some corrections he suggested for the Latin letter of Dryander : *Enzinas*, I, xv.

⁵⁾ It is ascribed to Francis Perrin, printer at Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, near Ribeauvillé Alsace : *Enzinas*, I, xi-xv ; cp. Paquot, xv, 200-202 ; *ValdDial.*, 17, 77-8.

⁶⁾ Not to mention contradictions, some of which are pointed out by the editor : *Enzinas*, I, 69, 104, 113-14, 127-43, &c, II, 109, 157, 169 (*Era-Spain*, 515, 521), &c, — and exaggerations : *Enzinas*, I, 77-79, 96, 104, 285-89. By the way, he calls Flemish or Dutch, *Germanica lingua* : *Enzinas*, I, 60-1, 66-7, 146, &c.

necessarily breaks down the argument that the author wants to build up. Not mentioning the dire injustice of making the individuals responsible for the evils of secular uses and institutions, the Memoirs turn P. de Soto ¹⁾, James Latomus ²⁾, and several other personages, invested with an unpalatable mandate ³⁾, almost into monsters of inhumaneness. Although Peter Curtius is treated indifferently ⁴⁾, his master Ruard Tapper is said to ignore even Latin, and is made into an utter nonsensical simpleton, although accounted as one of the cleverest divines of the century ⁵⁾; that man may have suffered from bodily defects, yet all his writings attest to a remarkably clear insight in the muddle of religious and moral debates : they were acknowledged as the highest authority by friends and foes, so as to cause him to be called the 'Oracle of the Netherlands' ⁶⁾, and the *Humanæ Sapientiæ Fastigium* ⁷⁾. The Memoirs also blame him bitterly for his merciless cruelty towards his opponents ; yet, his correspondence, his writings and all his interventions in judgments or in other public affairs, proclaim a hearty kindness, that often was ascribed to weakness, and that even exasperated some of his friends, as happened for his excessive patience with Michael de Bay and John Hessels ⁸⁾. Worst of all, they deny him the most

¹⁾ He is generally styled Judas : *Enzinas*, I, 228-30, 232, 262 : cp. II, 96, 109, 145, 372, 394.

²⁾ *Enzinas*, I, 25, 43, 46-49.

³⁾ E.g., Francis Sonnius, whom he calls *diabolus incarnatus* : *Enzinas*, I, 54-57, II, 392, 397 ; Paquot, v, 322 ; also Peter Montanus, Tilman Clerici Ghybens (whom he misnames Titelmans : *ULDoc.*, III, 205 ; *BN*) and their colleagues : *Enzinas*, I, 42, 55-67 ; also Louis de Zoete, imperial secretary : *Enzinas*, II, 357-59.

⁴⁾ *Enzinas*, II, 392 ; cp. before, II, 83, sq, III, 131-35.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 575-79 ; *BN* ; — *Enzinas*, I, 25, 42, 48-55, 144-47.

⁶⁾ Miræus, 63. — Cp. Paquot, v, 322, sq.

⁷⁾ Vern., 270, sq ; in 1561, Pius IV approved of his *Explicationes Articulorum*, 1555, by a highly laudatory brief, and in 1786, Pius VI placed them on a level with St. Thomas' *Summa Theologica*. The two series of *Articuli* of 1544, of which he was the inspirer, and which he explained in his lectures, are praised as the best conceived and most severely built summary of Catholic faith, and were practically as the basis of the decrees of the Council of Trent ; cp. *BN* ; de Jongh, 181-86 ; Jedin, 326 ; and further, Ch. XXIV, 3, c.

⁸⁾ *Enzinas*, I, 144-45 ; cp. *BN*, and sources.

elementary morality, through the downright accusation of violating the secret of a sacramental confession : that wholly unwarranted imputation brands Enzinas into a disgraceful villain ¹⁾.

Leaving the Netherlands soon after 1545, Enzinas resided some time with Melanchthon in Wittenberg ²⁾ ; from there he came to Strassburg, where he made the acquaintance of Sturm and Sleidan. He went to Constance with a recommendation of Martin Bucer, dated August 22, 1546, and stayed for a time in Basle, where he married Margaret Elter ³⁾. On Jan. 13, 1548, Melanchthon recommended him to Archbishop Cranmer, who wished for the help and advice of several foreign religious leaders to organize the English Church, that had lately broken her secular connection with Rome ⁴⁾. On August 10, 1548, he wrote to Melanchthon that, after a long journey and much wandering, he was staying with Cranmer, on whose request he asked for his visit, or at least his help, for some satisfactory reform ⁵⁾. With Bucer, Peter Martyr, Fagius and Tremellius, Enzinas ⁶⁾ prepared the changes in the liturgy at the suggestion of Calvin, who wished to do away with the large amount of prescriptions left in the *Book of Common Prayer* from the time of the Roman obedience. Enzinas pointed out that some matters, such as that of the Lord's Supper, were worded most obscurely because the bishops who fixed the first text, did not at all agree on that or on other doctrines ⁷⁾. It was especially on Enzinas that Cranmer, for a time his host at Lambeth, counted for the sake of his familiarity with the Mozarabic rite, so as to replace by means of those old religious observances, all the Roman elements that were left in their liturgy ⁸⁾. Naturally when

¹⁾ *Enzinas*, I, 50-53 : for proof, Enzinas only declares : ' *Hæc a viris fide dignissimis Lovantii audiui* ' !

²⁾ Cp. M'Crie, 205-06.

³⁾ *Lasco*, 325-26 ; — cp. *SeviVal.*, 124.

⁴⁾ *Strype*, II, 194 ; *Gairdner*, 291. Cp. *Hessels*, II, 4 ; *Cranmer*, I, 579-80.

⁵⁾ *MeleBind*, 280-81. Cp. *Hessels*, II, 21-22.

⁶⁾ *Palear.*, I, 426, sq ; *PollCran.*, 269 ; *Constant*, II, 404.

⁷⁾ *PollCran.*, 220 ; *Constant*, II, 119.

⁸⁾ *PollCran.*, 222 ; *EdComPr.*, 232 ; *Gough*, 285 ; *Original* [Zurich] *Letters relative to the English Reformation*, ed. by H. Robinson (*Parker Soc. Public.*) : London, 1847 : 77, 348-54, 463, 535, 562 ; *Constant*, II, 94.

the new service was introduced, on June 9, 1549, by the new *Book of Common Prayer*, and prescribed for the use in the churches, the innovators met with an opposition with which they were unable to cope. Still Dryander wrote to Bullinger from Cambridge that 'the English churches received the book with the greatest satisfaction' ¹⁾).

Although entrusted since March 25, 1549, with the teaching of Greek in Cambridge University ²⁾, and settled there with his family, and although John a Laski and several friends were in England, Enzinas returned, on November 5, 1549, by himself to the Continent, promising to be back very soon ³⁾. Of that promise John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, did not make much in a letter to Bullinger, nor did he of the character of the Greek professor ⁴⁾. The latter was at Strassburg in the first months of 1551; he went to Basle and even to Geneva, where he met Calvin; but had returned, by October 1552, to Strassburg where he died, on December 30 following, from the pest ⁵⁾. *Inglorius evanuit* ⁶⁾).

¹⁾ *EdComPr.*, 239; Constant, II, 249-59. — Finally on March 9, 1552, the new Book of Prayers, thoroughly Calvinized, was offered to the House of Lords; being accepted by both Houses on April 14, it was put into use on November 1, following; cp. Pastor, VI, 179; Constant, II, 308-9, 469, sq; Knox, 79-83; PollCran., 270-74, and, for the results reached, 275, sq.

²⁾ Letter to Bullinger of that date: Hessels, II, 21-22: in April he was at Lambeth, but in June he was back in Cambridge.

³⁾ He wrote from Basle, on December 3, to Bullinger, mentioning his intended return in spring: Hessels, II, 22.

⁴⁾ Cooper, I, 293; *Palear.*, I, 390.

⁵⁾ *SpanRef.*, I, 154; *EraSpain*, 744; HerMaur., 192 (makes him professor in Strassburg); Hessels, II, 22, 36; Altamira, III, 369.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Enzinas*, I, vii-xix, &c; Cooper, I, 292-93, 558, and references; Paquot, xv, 197-204; Blunt, II, 170; *EdComPr.*, 232, sq; M'Crie, 185, sq, 198, sq, 202-7, &c; Lasco, 188, 195, 274, 325; *EraSpain*, 552-54, 590-91, 744; *ValdDial.*, 77, sq; *SpanRef.*, I, 133-58; Gough, 285, and references quoted; Buschbell, 293; HerMaur., 192; *CMH*, II, 402-3; A. Hoerman, *Fr. de Enzinas und sein Kreis*: 1902; Constant, II, 408, and references indicated.

3. THEOLOGIAN

A. HUNNÆUS

Several of the students who attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* during van der Borch's management, gained a great renown, thanks to the knowledge and the methods to which they had been made accustomed in the College. Amongst them there was **Augustine Huens, Hunnæus, Hunæus**, born at Mechlin, July 27, 1522, the son of John Huens and Elizabeth van den Zype ¹⁾. He was educated in the Abbey of Boneffe, where he had an uncle, Rombaut Huens, who was elected Abbot in 1555 ²⁾. He proceeded to Louvain, where he studied philosophy, and was placed the 13th at the promotion of 18 March 1540 ³⁾; after which he applied himself to divinity, whilst teaching first Latin and literature, and, later on, philosophy in his Pedagogy, the Castle; on November 11, 1547, he was accepted into the Academical Senate ⁴⁾. All the time he was a zealous student of the *Trilingue*, acquiring a thorough knowledge of Latin, which he was to teach, as well as of Greek and Hebrew, of which he made a judicious use in the study of the Bible, comparing the texts in different languages to master the meaning of the original. He was very proficient in studies and teaching, and published several treatises, providing a clear exposition of Aristotle's *Organon*, free from superfluous remarks, and not couched any longer in the secular cant ⁵⁾. His *Dialectica, seu generalia Logices Præcepta omnia*, and his *Logices Fundamentum, seu Prodidagmata de Dialecticis Vocum Affectionibus & Proprietatibus*, printed for the use of his students, were still re-edited fifty years later ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ His father died on May 11, 1527, his mother, the daughter of Henry van den Zype, on Nov. 7, 1561 : *MalInscr.*, 482.

²⁾ He died on August 10, 1560; one of Augustine's brothers, John, entered that Abbey : Paquot, xi, 274. ³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 103.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 116; Paquot, xi, 272; *ULDoc.*, iv, 32-33.

⁵⁾ VAnd., 245; Vern., 307.

⁶⁾ The *Dialectica* was printed at Antwerp in 1584 for the fourth or fifth time; it was published again in 1608. The *Logices Fundamentum*, of 1552, was re-edited in 1564 by Maternus Cholinus, Cologne, with the note : *Omnia, juxta laudatissimum celeberrimæ Lovaniensis Academiæ*

Having worked for some time as professor of theology in St. Gertrude's Abbey, he was appointed as successor to Cornelius Gravius, of Rommerswale, or Reimerswaal, S. Th. L., as ordinary professor of divinity and canon of the second foundation of St. Peter's, in 1555 ¹⁾. In August 1557 he was entrusted with the presidency of St. Anna College, which he resigned in 1563 to become an inmate of the Larger College of the Holy Ghost ²⁾. He was elected Rector in February 1563 ³⁾, and closed his inscriptions in the Matriculation register, in which he had noted down a large amount of English refugees, with the words : CRUX LIMA / Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam / Finis rectoratus Augustini Hunnæi Mechl. 1563, 31 Aug. ⁴⁾.

Hunnæus had promoted Doctor of Divinity on June 20, 1558 ⁵⁾, and on March 7, 1567, he succeeded to John Hessels ⁶⁾ as Royal Professor of Scholastic Theology ⁷⁾. For those lectures he, no doubt, carefully studied St. Thomas' *Summa*, and even prepared a castigated edition of its text by means of authoritative manuscripts. About that time there was in Louvain a Portuguese Dominican, Antony à Conceptione, who chose the name of Sienna : he took the various degrees in divinity leading up to that of doctor, on June 25, 1571 ; he

morem, ab Augustino Hunnæo, ante annos duodecim, in gratiam suorum discipulorum, conscripta, & postea... accuratius ab eodem recognita. Plantin reprinted it in 1566, in 1572, 1577-79 and in 1586 ; his successor once more in 1591 : PlantE, I, 18, 149, VI, 114, 241-42 ; Paquot, XI, 276-78, puts him on a line with Gerard Mathys, Mathisius, of Gelderland, and Peter Winellius, Guinellius, both professors in Cologne, who also simplified the language and the style of the philosophical treatises : Paquot, VIII, 307-8, xv, 194 ; cp. before, p 139-40, and VAnd., 245. — Hunnæus' books were used in Dillingen University : *UniDill.*, 206.

¹⁾ VAnd., 79. Cornelius Gravius promoted doctor in Theology on March 3, 1555, and became dean of Veere : VAnd., 113 ; *HEpM*, 50, b.

²⁾ VAnd., 311 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 248.

³⁾ *ULDoc.*, I, 269.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 397, v.

⁵⁾ VAnd., 116 ; Hunnæus promoted Doctor at the same time as the Augustine hermit Laurent de Villa-Vicentia, of Xeres, who resided a long time at Bruges, and, on his return to Spain, became one of Philip II's advisers.

⁶⁾ He died on Nov. 7, 1566 : cp. further, p 160.

⁷⁾ VAnd., 79.

studied the writings of Aquinas ¹⁾ and his notes on the *Summa* were added to Huens, his master's, *S. Thomæ Aquinatis Summa totius Theologiæ*, which Plantin printed in three volumes in 1569 ²⁾; it had Hunnæus' dedication of Sept. 1, 1568 to Pius V, as well as one by Antony of Sienna to Don Antonio de Beja, Prior of Crato ³⁾. As the latter claimed the succession of King Sebastian of Portugal against Philip II, the King banished from his estates Antony of Sienna, the great supporter of his antagonist; consequently, when a reprint of the *Summa* was requested, Huens realized many more corrections of the text, thanks to more and better manuscripts, but left out the letters and even the name of Antonio of Sienna, as unacceptable in the King's realms from which he was exiled ⁴⁾. He dedicated the two-volume folio to Gregory XIII by a letter dated January 1, 1575 from the Larger Holy Ghost College, of which he had been made President in 1572 ⁵⁾; it was freely made use of for all subsequent editions, at least until the scholarly issues of the Latin, and especially of the Greek, Fathers of the Church, cited as authority, allowed to correct the numerous quota-

¹⁾ He was born at 'Vimarans' (Guimarães), in Braga diocese, and after entering the Dominican Order, studied at Coimbra and Lisbon, and came to Louvain in 1564. He went to Rome for the Jubilee in 1575, but was not allowed to re-enter Philip II's dominions: he had made a study of St. Thomas' *Summa*, and left some books on that subject; he died at Nantes in 1585. Cp. Paquot, XIII, 429-39; VAnd., 122; PlantE, I, 63, sq.

²⁾ Paquot, XI, 279-81. The title does not give any names, but Antony of Sienna is mentioned on the reverse of the title-page as the author of the comments and of some corrections of the text, of which the bulk is ascribed to Huens, who worked at them for three years, and was helped by six students: PlantE, I, 67-69, 149, 312, II, 11-12.

³⁾ That illegal son of the Infante Don Luiz, was Prior 'do Crato'; he reigned one month, June 23-July 25, 1580, and was dethroned by Philip II on July 25, being vanquished at the battle of Alcantara: Pimenta, 286, 295-96, 305; Altamira, III, 96-97.

⁴⁾ Paquot, XI, 280, XIII, 432; Antonio de Sienna complained to Plantin of his letters being omitted and his name suppressed in the new edition; there seems to be left at least a draught of the reply sent to him by John Moretus: PlantE, I, 67, IV, 290, sq, 294, VI, 61.

⁵⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 20-21; Vern., 205; Paquot, XI, 279, sq, III, 132, XIII, 432, XVI, 288.

tions of which St. Thomas could hardly be expected to check the exactness ¹⁾).

Moreover Hunnæus made a shorter and more handy treatise *De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ Christi Axiomata*, built on St. Thomas' doctrine, which Plantin printed in 1570 ²⁾, and he published separately his *Catechismus Catholicus*, a kind of synopsis in the form of tables, which had been added to his *Summa* of 1567 ³⁾. From Viglius' correspondence with Joachim Hopper, it follows that Hunnæus had already started lectures on the Catechism before 1566, when he was appointed by the Duchess of Parma as successor to John Hessels ⁴⁾ through the influence of her chaplain John Molinæus, professor of laws and dean of Louvain ⁵⁾, although some would have preferred another candidate, not judging him qualified for that lecture, and wishing that he should be ordered to return to the teaching of his Catechism, as Viglius wrote on February 9, 1567 ⁶⁾.

That inability, which is again mentioned in a letter of June 25, 1569 ⁷⁾, may have to be attributed only to the disappointment of a discarded candidate, and it is, for certain, aptly contradicted by Hunnæus' edition of the *Summa*. The displeasure felt by some theologians may have been caused by his aloofness from their Bayanism ⁸⁾, and it was seemingly justified by the evident interest which he showed for languages; for at the illness of Andrew Balenus, he replaced him

¹⁾ Cp. Paquot, xi, 281 : even Cardinal Cajetan is said to have owned that many places in the *Summa* were unintelligible and unwarranted on that account.

²⁾ Paquot, xi, 281-82 ; PlantE, i, 17-18.

³⁾ It was printed by Plantin in 1570, and dedicated on January 1, 1570 to Viglius. In 1566 he had already brought out a sketch of that summary, the *Catechismi Catholici Schema* : Antwerp, Plantin, 1566 : they are interesting preparations to the final *Catechismus* : Paquot, xi, 278-82 ; PlantE, i, 18, 86.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, p 160.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 298, 352.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, i, ii, 402-3 ; on May 23, 1567, Viglius sent to Hopper Hunnæus' *Schema Catechismi nuper editi*, and mentions that he had been appointed through Molinæus against the wish of the Theologians : *ibid.*, 430.

⁷⁾ In Hunæo præter diligentiam multa Theologi Lovanienses desiderant : Hoyneck, i, ii, 527 ; cp. Paquot, xi, 146, quoting Maximilian Morillon's doubt about his strength to resist Baius.

⁸⁾ Paquot, xi, 275-76.

for one whole year as professor of Hebrew in the *Trilingue* ¹⁾; and when Thierry Langius was weakened and nearly blind by age, he gave his lectures of Greek during four years ²⁾. Those services, on whose account the *Trilingue* preserved Hunnæus' name and his portrait in great veneration ³⁾, prove his intimate acquaintance with all the sacred idioms, of which Benedict Arias Montanus made ample use for the *Biblia Regia*, in five languages (Antwerp, 1569-1572). The Spanish Doctor applied to him and to his colleague Cornelius Reyneri Gaudanus ⁴⁾ for the accurate checking and correcting of a Latin version of the Hebrew texts and of the Chaldaic paraphrase, which was added between the lines in the seventh volume ⁵⁾. Another collaborator to that great work was Hunnæus' friend John Willems, Guilielmus, of Haarlem ⁶⁾, who, after his studies at the *Trilingue*, was appointed Gennep's successor as professor of Hebrew in 1568; besides the 'three' languages, he also knew Chaldaic, Syriac and Arab, which made him a most welcome helper towards the success of the

¹⁾ NèveMém., 247; VAnd, 284. ²⁾ NèveMém., 211, 247.

³⁾ Cp. p 157, n 6. — That portrait, still in honour in the *Trilingue* in Paquot's time, gave the date of his birth, 'anno <15>22, mane circa medium quintæ die 27 Julij', and that on which the painting was made: 'Ætatis 55, 1577 mense maio': Paquot, xi, 282; cp. III, 216, sq.

⁴⁾ Cornelius Reyniers, Reyneri, born in 1525 at Gouda, Gaudanus, was first in the promotion of the Arts in 1549; he taught philosophy in the Porc, and became rector of the Great Béguinage, on May 10, 1564. He was appointed professor of theology and canon of the new foundation in St. Peter's, in 1568, the year that he promoted doctor (June 1). He was made President of the Lesser College of the H. Ghost in 1566, and in September 1568, he succeeded Cornelius Jansenius as President of the Larger; still about April 17, 1572, he abandoned that College for that of Arras, which he directed until his death, on December 16, 1609. On February 13, 1569, he succeeded to Judocus Ravesteyn, Tiletanus (cp. II, 508-10), in his professorate and in his prebend; on Aug. 3, 1596, he became dean of St. Peter's; he took a considerable part in the efforts tending to lessen the misery in the last years of the XVIth century. Cp. VAnd., 61, 78-81, 118, sq, 223, 244, 274, 288, sq, 302, 308, 364, 369, 371, 380; Vern., 34, 205, 217; Mol., 521; ULDoc., III, 20, 94, 159; Paquot, II, 104, XI, 144, xvi, 288; LouvBoon, 107, 112, 118, 132, 157, 368; PlantE, II, 215-6, III, 60. Reyneri was Hunnæus' colleague as censor of books: MasE, 445, 451. ⁵⁾ NèveMém., 319-21, 403-05; RamCons., 54-6.

⁶⁾ NèveMém., 247-48; VAndEx., 71; VAnd., 285; ULDoc., IV, 528-29; PlantE, II, 210, 212, sq, III, 60, 68, 86, 258, 308.

grand enterprise ¹⁾. He entered the Jesuit Company in 1569, and although he left the *Trilingue*, he continued his studies of divinity, in which he became licentiate in 1571, as well as his active interest in the Royal Bible ²⁾. A most efficient contributor to its excellence, was that other glory of the *Trilingue*, Andrew Masius, the Cleves councillor, who provided several of the Chaldaic texts he had found in Rome, and who added to the sixth volume a syriac grammar and dictionary ³⁾.

In the beginning of 1577, Hunnæus resigned the presidency of the Holy Ghost ⁴⁾, and went to live in a house in Spierinck Lane, opposite Drieux College ⁵⁾, where he died on September 7, 1578, from an epidemical disease ⁶⁾: two days before, he had made his will, and he had bequeathed several manuscripts to John of Haarlem, who only survived him three weeks ⁷⁾. The memory of Hunnæus prompted the following distich:

ET SOPHVS, ET GRÆCVS, CHALDÆA VOLVMINA CALLENS,
SPIRITVS ALTA TENET, DENSUS AT OSSA ROGUS ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. PlantE, II, 215, III, 60, 216, IV, 187-88, 297; Miræus, 110; Paquot, v, 45; MasE, 439, 451; NèveRen., 289, sq.

²⁾ Guilielmus died from the same contagious disease as Hunnæus, in Louvain on Oct. 1, 1578: cp. *inf.*, n 7, and *ULDoc.*, IV, 529.

³⁾ MasE, 437-39, 440-51; cp. II, 166-71, 609-10, III, 15, sq, 557, sq.

⁴⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 21: Laurent Walteri of Westerhoven succeeded him on February 1, 1577.

⁵⁾ He had as servant Claud Verrydt (1558-14 Nov. 1623), who became Lic. S. Th. and canon of Renaix; he was one of the executors of his master's will; he also was Dean of St. Walburgis, Audenarde, and founded several scholarships in 1615; they were temporarily incorporated into the *Trilingue*, which, thanks to that help, rose up from its ruined state; from 1638, they formed Mechlin College: FUL, 3879, 3883, 1464, 1715, 1724; *ULDoc.*, III, 524-28, IV, 500, 529; Mol., 639, sq; Paquot, XI, 273-74, xv, 134. — Spierinck Alley (cp. II, 517-18) was behind the hostel The Wild Man, — where Erasmus and Aleander alighted in 1521: cp. before, II, 517-18, and, for the *Vir Sylvestris*, Allen, IV, 1244, 3, v, 1342, 105; *KAlgL.*, 96.

⁶⁾ Mol., 520, 480, 601; Opmeer, II, 40, with an epigram; Vern., 307-8; VAnd., 43, 116, 121, 364, 380; *BibBelg.*, 94-95; Paquot, XI, 271-83, v, 45, xvi, 288; *MalGod.*, 592 (portrait), 634; de Jongh, 21; PlantE, I, 17-18, vi, 263, &c; NèveMém., 102; &c. His relative Melchior Ryckenroy, of Mechlin, was President of the *Trilingue* from 1558 to 1571: cp. III, 217; hence his readiness to help.

⁷⁾ Paquot, XI, 274. Hunnæus had, it seems, an old volume of the *Correctoria Bibliæ*, which he lent to Luke of Bruges: Paquot, VIII, 203.

⁸⁾ Mol., 520, has: aLta tenet, densos, spirItVs ossa rogos.

B. RYTHOVIUS AND HESSELS

Although less devoted to the regular activity of the *Trilingue* than Hunnæus, two of his colleagues of the Faculty of Divinity, Rythovius and Hessels, enjoyed its training and the benefit of the scientific development it offered. The former, **Martin Bauwens, Balduini**, born at Walick, a hamlet of Riethoven, W. of Valkenswaard, in the Dutch Campine, **Rythovius**, was the second at the promotion to M.A. in Louvain in 1533 ¹⁾, as student of the Falcon, in which Pedagogy he taught from 1535 to 1545 ²⁾. He studied divinity with such success that, in 1549, he was appointed professor and canon of the second foundation ³⁾, and that, in response to the request of the Bishop of Augsburg, Cardinal Otto Truchses von Waldburg (1543-1573), he was sent to teach Holy Scripture in the University, founded recently at Dillingen ⁴⁾ : there, with other professors, he justified the claim Louvain had as *Mater Universitatis Dillingianæ* ⁵⁾. He returned in 1552 on account of the war against Maurice of Saxony, and resumed his work in Louvain ; when requested repeatedly to send him back, the Brabant *Alma Mater* replied through Viglius ⁶⁾, that they could ‘ plantas ab Lovaniensi seminario traducere, non vero ipsas arbores... evellere’. In 1554 Rythovius took the chair of Scholastic theology which Josse Ravesteyn had occupied ⁷⁾.

He was succeeded in his professorate and in the canoury of the second foundation connected with it, by **John Hessels**,

¹⁾ *ULPromLc.*, 81 ; the first of that promotion was Andrew Masius, the great linguist : cp. III, 282-90, 427, sq, 494.

²⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 394-95 ; he was admitted to the Council of the Faculty of Arts on Jan. 5, 1536, and obtained several nominations to benefices for the case they should become vacant : *LibNomI*, 256, r, 261, r, 331, v, 343, v, 359, v, 360, v.

³⁾ *VAnd.*, 78 : he took the preferment which Judocus Ravesteyn had received that same year, and had resigned.

⁴⁾ *UniDill.*, 1-10, 26, 44, 47, 51, sq.

⁵⁾ *UniDill.*, 47, quoting the *Acta Univ. I*, 361 : *Universitas Lovaniensis tanquam nostra mater*.

⁶⁾ Cp. Viglius' letters on the subject, Oct. 24, 1554, to the Louvain divines, and to the Bishop of Augsburg, Cardinal Otto Truchses : *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 304-09.

⁷⁾ Cp. *VAnd.*, 79.

Hesselius, of Louvain, a son of William, a carver ¹⁾, and of Martha 'sConincxs; he had matriculated on Aug. 31, 1536, as 'dives Standonicus', and was placed the first at the promotion in Arts of April 2, 1541 ²⁾. He also started studying theology, and taught it for eight years in the Abbey of Parc, where he was a wise adviser to Abbot van den Berghe in the re-establishing of religious discipline ³⁾.

After a fatherly, yet insisting warning by Tapper ⁴⁾ against defending or teaching matters different from what the Louvain Faculty had always proposed and adhered to, especially those controverted amongst heretics, from which, *salva veritate*, one should keep away as far as possible, both Rythovius and Hessels promoted Doctors of Divinity on May 19, 1556 ⁵⁾. No doubt Tapper had in view the newfangled theories of Michael de Bay about grace; Rythovius for certain did not share them, whereas Hessels, who was Baius' friend, and admittedly his superior in intelligence and erudition, may have endeavoured to keep him within the bounds of reason, at least until the Church, from whom de Bay never wanted to separate in the least, should have decided the matter ⁶⁾. At

¹⁾ He made the carved altar placed against the first column to the right in front of the rood-loft in St. Peter's, dedicated to St. Catherine and to St. Wilgeforte — or Sinte Omcommere, in the language of the people: Mol., 723. With Lancelot Beyaert he also made in 1525 the altar against the next column but one, dedicated to the Four Crowned Saints, for the Guild of Masons, Stonecutters and Sculptors: Mol., 723; *LouvEven*, 369.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 36; *ULPromRs.*, 108; *VAnd.*, 244.

³⁾ Cp. Mol., 214; *Parc*, 42: Louis van den Berghe, the energetic renovator of the Abbey, ruled it from 1543 to 1558.

⁴⁾ Tapper himself was then in a controversy by letters with Peter de Soto 'de conciliatione gratiæ et liberi arbitrii', and afterwards with Judocus Ravesteyn: cp. A. Reginaldus, *De Mente Concilii Tridentini circa gratiam seipsa efficacem*: Antwerp 1706; A. de Meyer, *Les premières Controverses Jansénistes*: Louvain, 1919: 5, sq.

⁵⁾ *VAnd.*, 113-15, 367; *Paquot*, xvi, 309: — *Baius*, 151, insinuates that the doctorship of de Bay and Hessels had been delayed on account of their opinions: de Bay became doctor on July 15, 1550 when there was no dissension, and Rythovius was several years older than Hessels.

⁶⁾ *GranClaess.*, 44-51. Cp. *Baius*, 11, 149: on p 19, sq, its author expresses the supposition that the premature death of Hessels was a benefit for Baius. Cp. for a report on the Baius episode, Pastor, viii, 267-78. On May 27, 1561, Hessels wrote to the Legate Commendone: *Nobis præcipue incumbere putamus, ut studendo, docendo, disputando*

any rate, it was to Hessels that he ascribed the use of the principle that theological study should be based, not on the teaching of scholastics and other predecessors, but on the Bible and the writings of the Fathers within the safe-guard of the doctrine of the Church, guardian of the Revelation, — which was that of the *Trilingue*, and which has as little in common with heresy, as light with darkness ¹⁾).

In 1558, at the death of Ruard Tapper, Rythovius was chosen to succeed him as Dean of St. Peter's, whereas Hessels was entrusted with his primary lecture of divinity connected with the canonry of Holy Ghost Altar, as well as with Rythovius' lesson of scholastic theology ²⁾, whereas his own secondary lecture with the prebend was granted to his brother Martin Hessels ³⁾. He replaced Rythoven, further, as President of the Holy Ghost from March 7, 1559, and when, on account of the growing burden, it was divided on June 21, 1561, he only kept the lesser College ⁴⁾. In May 1563, he went with the Bishops Rythoven, Richardot and Havet and his colleagues Baius and Cornelius Jansenius to take part in the activity of the Council of Trent until its conclusion ⁵⁾. Unfortunately he did not survive it very long: he died from apoplexy on November 7, 1566 ⁶⁾, causing a deep regret: for he gathered most numerous auditors, and was famous for his quick perception, his keen insight, his prudent research, his great piety and his unceasing investigation of truth. That 'præclarissimum, non Academiæ, sed totius orbis lumen', as Nicolas Sander called him ⁷⁾, left many works in manuscript: besides

ex antiquissimis et solidissimis nostræ religionis fundamentis studeamus nostri temporis erroribus occurrere: Pastor, viii, 271.

¹⁾ Cp. Pastor, viii, 274, 276; Baius, 129, 154, sq, 176, sq.

²⁾ VAnd., 78-79.

³⁾ He was Licentiate in Theology: VAnd., 78.

⁴⁾ ULDoc., iii, 18, 94.

⁵⁾ From June 21, 1563 to December 1563: the sessions were then nearly at an end, which, it seems, had been intended: Pastor, vii, 181, viii, 270, sq; Vern., 92; VAnd., 363; Morone, 471; Paquot, viii, 435; Chifflet, q 7, v; Baius, 8, sq, 161 (two contradictory references).

⁶⁾ Cp. Mol., 479, 519, 723, 856 (reference to particularities in his will), 874 (id.); Vern., 205, 274-75; VAnd., 114-15, 43, 116-17, 288-89, 367; Bib-Belg., 515, sq; SweMon., 216; Miræus, 79; de Jongh, 61.

⁷⁾ In his *De Imaginum Cultu*, quoted in *RibBelg.*, 516, along with Bellarminus' praise of Hessels in *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiæ*, describing him as 'virum multæ doctrinæ & iudicij'.

some changes in the statutes and oaths of the Faculty, which he suggested in a memoir ¹⁾, he wrote a remarkable *Catechismus Lattnus*, as well as various treatises explaining faith and doctrine, or vindicating them against all *novatores* ²⁾, such as John Monhemius ³⁾; they were edited in two volumes ⁴⁾, whereas some about special topics, like *De Communtione sub unica Specie*, or *De Officii pii Viri, vigente Hæresi*, intended as reply to the doubts enounced by Cassander ⁵⁾, were separately and repeatedly printed.

Meanwhile Rythovius, dean of St. Peter's since 1558, abandoned the presidency of the Holy Ghost, which he exercised since 1556, to Hessels, on March 7, 1559 ⁶⁾; he was nominated Bishop of Ypres in 1560: Pius IV gave his approval on May 25, 1562, and the consecration took place in St. Gudula's, Brussels, on November 2, 1562 ⁷⁾. The new Prelate was present at the last series of the meetings of Trent Council ⁸⁾, and he at once applied its decrees in his diocese ⁹⁾. Unfortunately his flock was sorely tried in 1566 by the wild iconoclasts and by the insidious Calvinistic bands under John d'Ydeghe, Lord of Hembyze, and Francis de Kethulle, Lord of Ryhove, who invaded Ypres; from October 28, 1577 to August 15, 1581, they kept the Bishop in prison along with Remi Drieux and others ¹⁰⁾. Yet he had tried to oppose some of Alva's measures ¹¹⁾, and had given his assistance to Count

¹⁾ FUL, 443 : 66-67 : the same volume also contains Hessels' memoir : *ad quid tenetur Religiosus vi Voti*; cp. de Jongh, 61-62, and FUL, 395.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 516 17.

³⁾ Monheim was the head of Dusseldorf School : he had edited a rather Calvinistic Catechism, which Hosius as Vienna Nuncio denounced : Paquot, XIII, 316; MasE, 332, 334, 338, 343, sq, 355; *UniKöln*, 201.

⁴⁾ It must be borne in mind that those *Opera* were only manuscript documents, which, probably, the author would have corrected or changed for the press; they were indeed revised : *Batus*, 210, 218.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 296-303.

⁶⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 17-18.

⁷⁾ *BelgChron.*, 525-26; *SonRyth.*, 42-44.

⁸⁾ *SonRyth.*, 44-46.

⁹⁾ *SonRyth.*, 48-54. An instance is provided by his help to the Abbey of Eversham, Stavele : LooE, 8, 35, 105. In the absence of the Archbishop of Mechlin he gathered and presided provincial councils at Mechlin, 1570, and in Louvain, 1574.

¹⁰⁾ *SonRyth.*, 46, sq, 68, sq.

¹¹⁾ *SonRyth.*, 58-63.

Lamoral of Egmont from the eve to the morning of his execution ¹⁾). He also had advocated the Pacification of Ghent tempered by the Union of Brussels. After some years of patient and heroic endeavours to bring peace and welfare to Church and country, he died as an exile at St. Omer on Oct. 9, 1583²⁾). *Vir merito priscis Ecclesiae episcopis comparandus!*³⁾)

C. VERLENIUS

In the first forties ⁴⁾) there came to the *Trilingue* a **Jerome van Verlen, Verlenius**, or Vairlenius, also called Sylvius, after the town Hertogenbosch, where he enjoyed his first instruction, and became the head of the Grammar School later on. He may have been born there, in 1511, although the presence of two names in the lists of promotions, Rutgerus Verlen, ex Westerhoven, in 1532 ⁵⁾), and Henricus Verlenius, ex Westerhoven, in 1548 ⁶⁾), suggests that he was of their family, if not their brother; which makes him originary from that village, 7 ¹/₂ miles S. of Hertogenbosch. He certainly received his training in the school of that town before he went to Louvain ⁷⁾), where, after his study of 'Arts', he started that of theology, and promoted licentiate. He seems to have been very eager on languages and literature: for, in 1543, he published already his translation of *Epicteti, Stoici nobilissimi*

¹⁾ *SonRyth.*, 54-58.

²⁾ Rythoven left, besides a highly valued *Manuale Pastorum* (Paris, 1576) and several decrees taken as conclusion of the two Provincial synods and the diocesan one, 1577, only some mss, comments on the *IV Libri Sententiarum*. Cp. *Mol.*, 137, 160, 214, 479; *Opmeer*, II, 52, 56; *VAnd.*, 113-14, 43, 60, 109, 263, 288, 380; *Vern.*, 32, 34, 136-37; *BibBelg.*, 645; *FlandIll.*, II, 298-99; *Coppens*, III, I, 152; *Miræus*, 126; *SonRyth.*, 38-72; *AnEmBr.*, XI, 147-262; *BelgArch.*, *Et&Aud.*, 1177¹ c: Bull of Nomination as inquisitor by Pius IV; *BelgChron.*, 525; *Paquot*, II, 253, v, 328, IX, 78, XVI, 307; *GranClaess.*, 35-38, 41, 43-45, 50; *RamCons.*, 20, 71.

³⁾ *FlandIll.*, II, 298, a.

⁴⁾ Judging from the year 1543 when his translation from the Greek, *Epictetes*, was published.

⁵⁾ *ULPromLv.*, 12 (: *ULPromRs.*, 80, reads Verly): the young man was placed second in the promotion: he belonged to the Porc.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 149: Henry Verlenius was placed the 42nd on 149 candidates.

⁷⁾ His name does not seem to be in the lists of promotions.

atque sanctissimi, Enchiridion, together with some explanations of difficult passages ¹⁾. That he had been a student of the *Trilingue* is implied by the fact, that, to a second edition of that translation, in 1550, he added *Hippocratis Epistola de Risu Democriti; Fragmentum Xenophontis de sui Cognitione, ex libro quarto de Dictis et Factis Socratis* ²⁾.

Before January 1546, Jerome had accepted a place of teacher at Hertogenbosch, as, in fact, he styles himself *Gymnasiarcha Buscoducensis* in the title to some verses in Simon Pelgrom's *Synonymorum Sylva Latina* (Hertogenbosch, 1546) ³⁾; even his evident acquaintance with Latin and Greek literature must have pointed him out as the most appropriate successor to the head of the Hertogenbosch School, James Marin, of Weert, who died about 1550 ⁴⁾. At any rate, he did great credit to his training, and continued his zealous study: he edited, in 1555, his predecessor Marin's *Syntaxis*, profusely enlarged with his examples of construction of Latin and also Greek sentences ⁵⁾, which language seems to have been his favourite.

Still he kept a place in his heart for the study of divinity, which he had interrupted to accept his post at Hertogenbosch, and, by 1553, he had become instructor of theology to the Maltese Knights at Utrecht ⁶⁾. He wrote there three books of

¹⁾ Hieronymo Verlensi interprete. Adjectis per eundem Scholiis breviusculis in locos aliquot obscuriores. The book was printed by John Schoeffer, at Hertogenbosch: Paquot, viii, 326. The maturity of that edition suggests that Jerome had already promoted Master of Arts since some time.

²⁾ Antwerp, John Loëus, 1550.

³⁾ *RibBelg.*, 812; Paquot, vi, 284; — 'Dominicus Schenckels, medicus', wrote verses in the same book, also calling himself *Gymnasiarcha Buscoducensis*.

⁴⁾ Paquot, v, 403-4; cp. before, II, 189.

⁵⁾ The book came out first as *Syntaxis* at Antwerp, at Mich. Hillen's office in Febr. 1526: NijKron., i, 1494: — probably as an adaptation of the *Doctrinale*; it was published a second time at Hertogenbosch in 1542, as *Syntaxis Linguæ Latinæ*; Verlenius edited it at Hertogenbosch, John Schoeffer, as *Jacobi Marini, Weerteni... Syntaxis, prioribus illis et limator & compendiosior*: Paquot, v, 404. Already in 1510 (Dec. 7), James Marin had edited *Celij Sedulij Presbiteri Mirabilium diuinorum libri quinque: cum hymno & carmine elegiaco eiusdem*: Hertogenbosch, L. Hayen: NijKron., ii, 3872.

⁶⁾ He published at Utrecht a Dutch commentary on Psalm cxviii: *Beati immaculati in via*, in which he calls himself 'teacher of H. Scripture at Utrecht'.

comments on the Psalms dedicated to Walter à Byler, Bailiff of the Johannites, on Aug. 16, 1556 ¹⁾, and he even continued his tests for divinity, promoting doctor in Cologne, where he made the acquaintance of John von Rheidt ²⁾. In the sixties he published St. Ignatius' letters, with a Latin translation and *Scholia*, which Plantin printed in 1566 and reprinted in 1577 ³⁾. Jerome had meanwhile been entrusted at Utrecht with the parish of St. James. When the Haarlem diocese was confided to Godfried of Mierlo, his countryman ⁴⁾, he was appointed, in 1571, as canon and Scholaster of his Cathedral Chapter, which was composed of the regular canons of the Abbeys of Heilo and Geervliet, incorporated into the new see ⁵⁾; he also became penitentiary, official and vicar-general ⁶⁾, and showed great zeal in discharging his duties. It is recorded that he acted with great charity and humaneness after the taking of Haarlem by Alva on July 13, 1573 ⁷⁾. When, on May 29, 1578, the troops of William of Orange broke into the Cathedral service, the Bishop escaped slaughter and fled to Bonn : Verlenius remained at Haarlem and continued his work ; he even took the place of Nicolas Heussen, appointed as Vicarius *Sede Vacante*, who died in the same year ⁸⁾. Having found a shelter for some time at Wijk-bij-Duurstede, he returned to Haarlem, where he died on Aug. 17 in one of the latter eighties, probably 1589, and was buried before the high altar of the Cathedral ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ The *Commentariorum Libri Tres in omnes Psalmos Davidicos*, was printed in Louvain by Ant. Mar. Bergaigne in 1558.

²⁾ Cp. bef., pp 138, sq ; Ch. XXV, 3 ; *JesRheinA*, 609 (1571), referring to a letter which Rhetius sent to Verlenius, Sept. 12, 1571, congratulating him on the fine edition of St. Ignatius ; Verlenius replied only on July 7, 1574, from Wijk-bij-Duurstede, relating all the trouble he had gone through : Cologne Town Archives, 977-78.

³⁾ *D. Ignatii... Epistolæ, Græce ; cum Latina Interpretatione, & brevissimis in eas Scholiis* : unfortunately Verlenius had no proper original ms : still his edition remained long in use as the best : Paquot, viii, 327-28.

⁴⁾ Cp. *HEpH*, 25-28 ; Mierlo is also a village in the neighbourhood of Hertogenbosch. ⁵⁾ *HEpH*, 5, b. ⁶⁾ *HEpH*, 26-27, 28-29.

⁷⁾ *HEpH*, 27.

⁸⁾ *HEpH*, 28, a.

⁹⁾ *SweABelg.*, 346 ; *BibBelg.*, 389 ; Paquot, viii, 325-29, NBW.

4. PHILOLOGUES

A. LÆVINUS TORRENTIUS

When, in the first days of August 1542, the Louvain students, in the defence of the town, made an unexpected charge at the army of van Rossem camped at Ter Banck ¹⁾, there was amongst them a boy of seventeen, **Lævinus van der Beken, Torrentius**. He was born at Ghent, on March 8, 1525, of an old patrician family ²⁾; his father, Baldwin van der Beken, and his mother Clara Heyndrix, were very wealthy, and possessed, amongst others, an estate at Borsbeek, which fell to Lævinus' lot ³⁾. He was educated in his native town, and found already in his family an incentive to literature, as his uncle, Peter van der Beken, was an erudite and a poet ⁴⁾. He was sent to Louvain by 1540 ⁵⁾, and he was amongst the

¹⁾ Cp. III, 67, and before, pp 95, sq; also Gabbema, 556.

²⁾ His grandfather, Livinus, an apothecary & druggist, was several times alderman at Ghent. At the promotion of 1553 a 'Philippus Torrentius, Gandavensis', was placed the 27th: he may have been a cousin: *ULPromRs.*, 178.

³⁾ Lævinus' sister Clara married Nicolas Lievens, of Termonde: their son, John Lievens, Livinæus (1547-13 Jan. 1599), was formed at the *Trilingue*, and became an excellent philologue; he took part in the editing of Plantin's *Biblia Regia*, and was appointed Canon at Antwerp by his uncle; he had a share in the editing of the Bible of the Seventy by the Cardinals Will. Sirleto and Ant. Caraffa, and he wrote several fine books: Paquot, iv, 71-75; *BibBelg.*, 527-28; Gabbema, 252, sq; *GandErVir.*, 74; *BrugErVir.*, 30; *SweMon.*, 64; *AntwKan.*, 81-83; PlantE, iii, 330, sq. — Another sister, Cornelia, married N. de Paep: their son, Andrew, Papius, born at Ghent in 1547, also studied in the *Trilingue*; he edited Dionysius Alexandrinus' *De Situ Orbis*; he was appointed canon in St. Martin's, Liège, but died by accident on July 15, 1581: Paquot, xiii, 144-48; *BibBelg.*, 52-3; *GandErVir.*, 10, 16; PlantE, vi, 239-41, vii, 160, sq; Sandys, i, 310. — A third sister, Mary, married an Italian nobleman, Hector Scribani: their son Charles (1561-1629) was famous as historian and controversialist, and was an illustration of the rising Company of Jesus: *BibBelg.*, 126-27; Paquot, iii, 348-58; *Tricoron.*, 220.

⁴⁾ Peter was also interested in geography: in May 1538, he issued at Ghent the first map of Flanders; he died on Dec. 24, 1567.

⁵⁾ On March 22, 1538, he received the tonsure at Ghent from Nicolas Bureau, Bishop of Sarepta, suffragan of Charles of Croy, Bishop of Tournai (Berlière, 144-46), as results from the Liège register of the

students to whom Nannius delivered his oration in praise of the defenders of the town, in the first days of October 1542 ¹⁾). That speech impressed him in so far, that he composed a poem of 136 verses on the same subject ; to an echo of his master's eulogy, he joined the report of what he witnessed himself, or was told about those eventful days. The poem, without the author's name, was printed that same year as *Gelrogallorum Grassatio in Louanienses, per Martinum à Roshem : ab eximie spei adolescentulo Flandro* (he was only 17) *posteritati prodita*. 1542, as sequel to John Knaeps Servilius' *Geldrogallica Conivratio in totius Belgicæ clarissimam Civitatem Antuerpiam, Duce Martino Rosheymio* ²⁾). Whilst attending the lectures of philosophy and of laws, Lævinus studied most zealously languages and literature in the College of Busleyden, and thus prepared himself for intellectual pursuits throughout his life : he made himself a name as Latin poet and as numismatist, and showed a lifelong interest in the classics.

Leaving Louvain with the title of licentiate in laws, he went to Italy with Alexander de Jonge, Junius ³⁾, and his brother ⁴⁾, two young Antwerp patricians ; after four years' study in Bologna, he promoted *Doctor Viriusque Juris* on February 11, 1552. From there he went to Rome, where he lived on friendly footing with several countrymen, who, like himself, had been trained at the *Trilingue* : Stephen Pigge ⁵⁾, John Visbroeck ⁶⁾, Charles Rym ⁷⁾, and, especially, if only

reception of the canons of St. Lambert's, f 624. — He matriculated in Louvain only on July 11, 1544 : 'Livinus Torrentius Gandensis (postea Episc. Antwerp.)' : *LibIntIV*, 176, r, — probably not passing any acts before he was *majorennis*. ¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 95-96.

²⁾ Antwerp, Antony Dumæus, 1542 : *MonHL*, 640-41. A poem of eight verses on the same subject by Torrentius was reproduced in *SweMon.*, 263.

³⁾ He afterwards became *auditor Rotæ* in Rome, and was the hospes of Torrentius : he died in 1558 ; cp. letter to Masius, Rome, July 14, 1556 : *MasE*, 275-76 ; *MélMoell.*, II, 103 ; *PigE*, 194, 35, 228.

⁴⁾ Probably the John de Jonge, repeatedly alderman and mayor at Antwerp : *AntwAnn.*, II, 398, 408, IV, 36 ; *AntwHist.*, V, 102, &c, VIII, 236.

⁵⁾ *MasE*, 188 ; cp. further, section 5. c. — Two letters from Torrentius to Pighius are edited by F.L. Hoffmann in *BulCoHist.*, XI, II, 4.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 314-16 ; *MasE*, 67, 325, 326.

⁷⁾ *MasE*, 281-82 ; cp. Ch. XXV, 3.

occasionally, with Andrew Masius ¹⁾, with whom he spent several enjoyable hours at the frugal, but merry table of Lucretia Bolatra ²⁾. He took part in their studies and researches, securing several valuable books and manuscripts, and a large amount of coins and medals. By his interest in Roman antiquities and literature, he made many friends, amongst whom there were some most influential personages : the Cardinals Morone, Sirleto, Cervino, Rudolph de Carpi, Maffeo and John Michael Sarracena ; also the Bishop of Ischia and, afterwards, of Assisi, Philip Geri ³⁾ ; he further became well acquainted with intellectual men : the ichthyologist Hippolyto Salviani ⁴⁾ ; the Latinists Gabriel Faërno, the future Archbishop of Tarragona Antonio Agostino, and also Latino Latini ⁵⁾, as well as the Servite Pac. Ottavio Pantagato ⁶⁾. He placed the experience he had gained at the disposal of the Bishop of Liège ⁷⁾, besides helping his friends : he thus was active for several months, in 1556, in favour of the University which Masius' patron, the Duke of Cleves, wanted to establish at Duisburg ⁸⁾. About the end of 1556 he left Rome ⁹⁾, and was appointed Archdeacon of Brabant in Liège diocese on August 24, 1557 ¹⁰⁾ ; from then on, he became one of the most important personages in the Principality.

At Liège, Torrentius found several kindred spirits : amongst the Bishop's officials was the poet and artist Dominic Lampson, of Bruges, who had been in Cardinal Pole's service in Italy, where he had learned art and literature from a colleague, Lambert Lombard, of Liège, through whom he came and

¹⁾ MasE, 116, 122 : it refers to an Ode by Torrentius to Masius ; Paquot, ix, 201 ; cp. III, 282-90, 427-28, 494.

²⁾ MasE, 165 : Torrentius celebrated those happy meals in his *Poemata*, 1579 : 343 : ' Ad convivas Amicos '.

³⁾ MasE, 67, 188, 238, 244, 266, 274-76, 325.

⁴⁾ MasE, 68 ; cp. III, 314.

⁵⁾ MasE, 115, 188, 212, 334-35, 486.

⁶⁾ MasE, 22, sq, 148-52, 171, 238, 334, sq.

⁷⁾ *MélMoell.*, II, 114 (1552-55).

⁸⁾ MasE, 260, 266, 270, 273, 275, sq, 279, 284, &c ; cp. III, 288, 301, sq, 315, 523, sq. — For professors had been considered John Otto, of Bruges, and Philip Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde : cp. MasE, 338, correcting *Heresbach*, 162, sq, 177, sq.

⁹⁾ MasE, 291, 310, 311 (Visbroeck mentions on July 23, 1558, Torrentius' office of Archdeacon).

¹⁰⁾ *BerghAutr.*, 339.

took service there, and caused his brother Nicolas, also a poet, to be appointed canon and Dean of St. Denis ¹⁾. He renewed friendship there with a fellow-student of the *Trilingue*, the poet and erudite Charles de Langhe, who had accompanied John Hasselius and Ruard Tapper as secretary, when they attended the second session of the Council of Trent ¹⁾. Besides the beneficial connection with those and other friends, he enjoyed from the beginning the favour of Robert de Berghes ³⁾,

¹⁾ Dominic Lampson, born in 1532, from a Bruges family, also called Lamsin (*Brug&Fr.*, III, 145, IV, 205, VI, 26), found his way to Italy where he entered Cardinal Pole's service; he enjoyed the help and tuition of the able artist Lambert Lombard, whom he followed to Liège, where he became secretary to Bishop Robert de Berghes and his two successors. He wrote a biography of his Master: *Lamberti Lombardi apud Eburones Pictoris celeberrimi Vita*: Bruges, 1565 (M. Hoc, Hubert Goltzius: *AnEmBr.*, 1925: 24, 33); also poetry: an *Ode ad Ernestum, Bavaram*; an *Elogia in Effigies Pictorum celebrium Germaniæ Inferioris, carmine*: Antwerp, 1572; the *Psalmi Poenitentiales* in verse, and *Poemata*, to which, at their editing (Liège, 1626), were joined some by his brother Nicolas, several of them being reproduced in *Del-PoBel.*, III. He was well acquainted with Giorgio Vasari (1512-1574) and other artists, and corresponded with Abraham Ortelius and with the great Justus Lips, who, on July 9, 1591, announced to him his return, writing from Spa, *Aquis*. He lived in friendly connection with Langius, who, probably on account of his loud voice, called him *Stentor*: *PigE.*, 193; also with Torrentius, as results from the Brussels Royal Library MS 15704 of his letters, 1583-95, (e.g., ff 286, 295, 353, 370). He had married Mary van Zolderbeke, of Bruges (*Brug&Fr.*, III, 145; Burman, I, ep. 454); but, whereas Lips praised Lampson as the ornament of Flanders, he mentioned on February 13, 1593, his son, then in Louvain, 'in quo nondum agnosco', he wrote to Torrentius, 'ingenium paternum'. Dominic died at Liège in 1599, probably on July 17, judging by his epitaph in St. Denis:

sic erat, hoc Late notVs LaMpsonIVs anno,
Ipsa defVnCtVs qVa sanCtVs ΔLeXIVs hora.

Cp. Burman, I, 128-49; *BibBelg.*, 194; *BrugErVir.*, 26, sq; *LiègeBiog.*, 332-34, 224, sq; Paquot, XII, 414; Lips, *Poliorectica*: 1st dialogue; *Epist. Miscell.*, I, 60, II, 15, 50, 86; *Epist. ad Belgas*, II, 3; Hessels, I, 221, 353, sq, 360, 379-92, 413-15, 434, sq; *MélMoell.*, II, 113.

²⁾ *BerghAutr.*, 259; cp. further, pp 180, sq.

³⁾ Robert de Berghes was for a time suffragan of George of Austria, and succeeded him at his death, May 1557. In 1562 his mind became obnubilated, and his work was done by his suffragan Gerard of Groesbeeck. He died at Bergen in 1565: *BelgChron.*, 243-44; C. Tihon, *La Principauté et le Diocèse de Liège sous Robert de Berghes*: Liège, 1923: 223, sq; *CollTorr.*, 77.

coadjutor, and, from May 1557, Bishop George of Austria's ¹⁾ successor, who sent him to Rome, in the spring of 1560, for some questions resulting from the decrees of the Council of Trent. He also was entrusted with the plan of the erection of a University at Liège, starting with the Faculty of Theology, which was to be entrusted to the Jesuits. The approval was granted by the bull of June 10, 1561, but the clergy made a most vehement and stubborn opposition on account of the unavoidable loss of numerous prebends, so that the scheme was abandoned ²⁾. A few years later, when, with the approval and help of Bishop Gerard of Groesbeeck ³⁾, another combination was proposed for a school of the new Order, in which the lower classes were to be given by Hieronymites, it was once more frustrated, both by the clergy and by the higher authority of the Company ⁴⁾. A third scheme, for which Torrentius was sent to Rome in 1572, was not more successful for the Company ⁵⁾; the question was finally solved in 1581 ⁶⁾, in the first months of the management of Bishop Groesbeeck's successor, Ernest of Bavaria ⁷⁾. Torrentius also worked in the diocese as well as in Rome, on his visits ⁸⁾ or through the agent John Fonck ⁹⁾, to solve the many difficulties raised

¹⁾ Cp. II, 132, III, 364, sq.

²⁾ *JesHist.*, I, 190, sq. 199-201.

³⁾ Gerard de Groesbeeck succeeded Robert de Berghes in 1565: he was consecrated in the Abbey of Herckenrode on May 20, and introduced into Liège on June 3. He was very prudent, and proved a wise and courageous leader, besides being an eloquent preacher; Gregory XIII made him Cardinal. He welcomed the Jesuits at Liège; he died on December 28, 1580: *BelgChron.*, 244; *Mémoires*, II, 114; Opmeer, II, 60; Gabbema, 426.

⁴⁾ *JesHist.*, I, 202, sq.

⁵⁾ *JesHist.*, I, 205-06.

⁶⁾ *JesHist.*, I, 209-12.

⁷⁾ Ernest of Bavaria, elected Bishop of Liège on January 31, 1581, was a wise and prudent shepherd, and a decided adversary of all heresy. He became Bishop of Münster in 1585, and founded 'Liège College' in Louvain University on June 1, 1605. He died on February 17, 1612: *BelgChron.*, 244-45; *ULDoc.*, III, 413-15, 425.

⁸⁾ MasE, 322, 327, 334-35, 338, 347; Brom, I, 267, II, 430.

⁹⁾ John Fonck van Ameronghen, a native of Amersfoort, studied for some time in Louvain before he secured preferments at Utrecht, Liège, Namur, Cologne and Courtrai, whilst residing fifteen years in Rome. He became a member of the Privy Council by 1570, and was entrusted in 1579 with the office of Warden of the Seals, and that of private adviser of Philip II in Spain. He had been appointed Bishop of Ghent, but died at Monzon, in Aragon, on Oct. 10, 1585: P. F. X. de Ram, *Lettres de*

between the Bishop and the clergy on account of the decrees of the Council of Trent about privileges, emoluments and jurisdiction, which had all been considerably curtailed by the erection of the New Dioceses ¹⁾. In 1570, he helped to prevent the creation of a see in Luxemburg, and, two years later, Gregory XIII acknowledged his zeal by granting him the title of secret chamberlain ²⁾. He often represented the Bishop and the diocese, and pleaded their interests to secular authorities, taking part in many meetings to find solutions in the troublesome days, especially after that he had been appointed vicar-general. Under Bishop Ernest he was faced with many difficulties on account of the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent; he was helped in Rome by the Liège agent Richard Stravius ³⁾, and was a member of the Synod of October 3 to 6, 1585, convened to arrange some matters which were in opposition with the secular traditions of the Church of Liège ⁴⁾.

Meanwhile he did not forget his studies, nor whatever could promote intellectual work and workers. He helped his old friend of the *Trilingue* and of Rome, Stephen Pigge, to secure a preferment at Xanten, and obtained for him a canoury at Liège ⁵⁾. It was, no doubt, through him that John Visbroeck was provided with an ample living in the old *Legia* ⁶⁾. He welcomed John Goropius Becanus in his misfortune, and even undertook, although not to his honour, the editing of the remaining essays of his ill-starred *Origines*

Torrentius à J. Fonck (BulCoHist., III, ii), Brussels, 1861 : 1-11 ; Mél-Moell., II, 106, 109.

¹⁾ Cp. *BerghAutr.*, 67, 261, 300, *sq* ; J. Laenen, *Introduction à l'Histoire Paroissiale du Diocèse de Malines* : Brussels, 1924 : 228.

²⁾ MasE, 486-88, 490 ; Brom, I, 769.

³⁾ Cp. de Ram, *Lettres de Torrentius à Rich. Stravius (BulCoHist., 1865, III, vii) : 3-8, &c ; MélMoell., 106-07.*

⁴⁾ Cp. *MélMoell.*, II, 114 ; Hoogewerf, *Liber Confraternitatis B. Mariæ de Anima* : Rome, 1875 : 151 ; *Anima*, 369 ; J. de Theux, *Le Chapitre de Saint-Lambert à Liège* : Brussels, 1888 : III, 124-26 ; *AntvDiercx.*, VI, 227.

⁵⁾ PigE, 136, 112, 157, 167, & *passim*. Pighius wished to dedicate to Torrentius the third book of his *Annales*, and mentioned it to Baltasar and John Moretus in his letters of 1595-96 : PigE, 147, 187-88, 224 ; MasE, 425. Cp. further in this Ch., 5, c.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 314-16 ; MasE, 340.

Antwerpianæ, 1580 ¹⁾). He dedicated them to the great Scholar Arias Montanus, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence ²⁾; so he did with the able geographer Abraham Ortelius ³⁾, as well as with the architypographer Christopher Plantin, whom he helped to breast the storm of the seventies of that century ⁴⁾. It is on Torrentius' advice that the famous printer left Leyden, and even settled again in Antwerp, instead of staying in Germany ⁵⁾; and it is also largely due to him that Lips returned to his *dulce Louanium* ⁶⁾.

Amongst all the manifold activities, and notwithstanding the never ceasing and all-absorbing solicitude, literature and erudition remained as naturally attractive to the Prelate as they had been to the *Trilingue* student. When he returned from Rome in 1572, he wished to show his deep gratitude to Pius V, and published his *Poemata Sacra*, of which the first, *De Partu Virginis*, was dedicated to the saintly Pope; others were inscribed to his own protectors in Rome: *De Puero Jesu*, to Cardinal Morone, and *In Natalem Christi Elegia*, to Cardinal Sirleto. The book was printed in 1572 by Plantin, and pretendedly edited by Charles de Langhe ⁷⁾, who added a poem on John of Austria's Victory of Lepanto by Torrentius, dedicated to Cardinal Granvelle, and two by himself on the

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 38, 31-40. He probably knew him from an acquaintance made at Plantin's, which became a deep friendship after Gorp removed from Antwerp to Liège; cp. Paquot, II, 97, III, 29, 33; PlantE, IV, 61-63, 137, VI, 153-55, 183, *sq.*, 191.

²⁾ Torrentius went to Rome with Arias Montanus in April 1572: PlantE, II, 312; in the correspondence of, and with, the Antwerp printer and his friends, Montanus is frequently mentioned for greetings from December 1586 to Dec. 1589: PlantE, VIII, 103, 195, 232, &c.

³⁾ Torrentius is frequently mentioned for greetings, and for news about his work, his books and his collections, in several of the letters from Aug. 19, 1578 (by Daniel Rogers: Hessels, I, 179), to June 1595 (Paul Merula: Hessels, I, 652), sent to Ortelius by Arias Montanus, Fulvius Orsini, Andrew Schott, Dominic Lampson (Nov. 2, 1587: Hessels, I, 353), and other outstanding men: Hessels, I, 179 to 767, *passim*.

⁴⁾ From April 26, 1572, when writing a letter to be taken to Rome by Arias Montanus and Torrentius (PlantE, II, 312), Plantin is constantly in correspondence with Torrentius, or sending him greetings or messages — until his death, June 30, 1589: PlantE, VIII, 524, 585, 592.

⁵⁾ PlantE, VII, ix, 112-18, 197-98.

⁶⁾ PlantE, VII, 234-35.

⁷⁾ Cp. further, p 181.

same subjects, besides three other smaller compositions ¹⁾. The excellent reception which those poems found, occasioned new editions, in which were published also some pieces composed by Torrentius in his youth, and odes in honour of his various friends in Italy ²⁾. He not only wrote poetry, but continued his studies : when, at Charles de Langhe's decease, he bought his books, and the manuscripts and coins he had collected ³⁾, Torrentius found a precious help — to say the least ⁴⁾, — towards his own comments on Suetonius, which he published in 1578 ⁵⁾. The great admiration with which his edition was welcomed, spurred him on to bring to a finish a similar work on Horace, at which he had been occupied since several years ; still he did not issue it : from his manuscripts and notes it was published in 1608 by Baltasar Moretus ⁶⁾.

At the death of Francis Sonnius, Bishop of Antwerp, on June 29, 1576 ⁷⁾, the King intended offering to Torrentius his succession ; still the difficulties through which that town

¹⁾ PlantE, III, 220, 229, IV, 47 ; Paquot, XI, 158, sq.

²⁾ A second edition with those additions was printed by Plantin in 1579 ; the bundle was reprinted in 1579 and 1594 : Paquot, II, 95-97.

³⁾ Cp. further in this section, pp 183-84 ; Gabbema, 252, 410, 412.

⁴⁾ Comparing the acknowledged excellence of Langius' criticism (cp. of this section) with Torrentius' complete lack of judgment about the value of Goropius' trash in connection with the primordial language (cp. sup., pp 36-38), it seems almost necessary to ascribe a large part of the lustre of the Liège vicar-general as editor, to his humble friend's judiciousness and to his own ample fortune.

⁵⁾ *Læv. Torrentii in C. Suetonii Tranquilli XII Cæsares Commentarii* : Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1578 : PlantE, v, 113, 211, 236, VI, 52, sq. The book was reprinted at Plantin's office in 1592 ; the manuscript is preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels, MS. 3526 ; cp. Paquot, II, 97. Casaubon praised Torrentius' edition in his own of 1595.

⁶⁾ *Q. Horatius Flaccus cum erudito L. Torrentii Commentario, nunc primum in lucem edito* : Antwerp, ex Officina Plantiniana, 1608. Some of the original manuscripts used by Torrentius, — one dating from the xth century, — are preserved in the Royal Library, Brussels : P. Thomas, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de Classiques Latins* : Ghent, 1896, nos 188-192 ; Nannius' *In Artem Poeticam* was added to that edition. Cp. Paquot, XIV, 76, XVIII, 378. Already on October 3, 1589, Janus Gruterus was looking out for the edition, having heard that a good MS had been provided by James de Carondelet, Liège Chancellor : Hessels, I, 405, 603.

⁷⁾ *BelgChron.*, 503-4 ; *AntoEpisc.*, 58-64 ; cp. II, 510-11.

passed, caused the see to be vacant for eleven years. It was only in April 1587, that Torrentius left Liège to prepare all things for the taking possession of his Cathedral and of his charge ¹⁾. He was consecrated at Vilvorde by Archbishop Hauchin, on September 10, 1587, and entered Antwerp on the same day ²⁾. He ruled his diocese with great wisdom and prudence : although hampered as well by the poverty of the inhabitants as by the unavoidable difficulties created by an unwilling part of the Cathedral Chapter ³⁾, he brought finally peace and calm to his fold. Through his meekness and his clemency, he caused thousands to return to their old Church and to their homes ⁴⁾, most illustrious amongst them being, as already mentioned, the great erudite Justus Lips, who highly admired Torrentius' poems, and appreciated his edition ⁵⁾. Through him, the great Latinist accepted to come and lecture in Louvain, although miserably paid at first. The Bishop did not see him installed in a condition worthy of his value : for he died on April 26, 1596, in Brussels, where he was taking part in the deliberations of the Council of State at Archduke Ernest's request ; he had been designed as Archbishop of Mechlin by Philip II, but the papal bull confirming that nomination failed to reach him. He was buried in his Cathedral, where a magnificent monument was erected ⁶⁾.

His memory inspired several verses, and is especially connected with the *Collegium Societatis Jesu apud Lovanienses*, of which his bounty made him as the *Fundator* ⁷⁾ ; he had provided it with the means to buy the *Cour de Chièvre* and the adjacent houses, and to organize a school ⁸⁾ ;

¹⁾ *AntoDiercx.*, vi, 227, sq.

²⁾ *AntoDiercx.*, vi, 233.

³⁾ *AntoDiercx.*, vi, 233, sq, 244-45, 248, 256, 260-73.

⁴⁾ *AntoDiercx.*, vi, 246-48 ; *JesHist.*, ii, 299.

⁵⁾ Brussels Royal Library MS 15704 : 16, sq (Oct. 10, 1583), 286 (letter to Lampson, July 3, 1589), 352 (June 12, 1591), 353 (June 30, 1591) ; Burman, i, epp. 454-57.

⁶⁾ Cp. Miræus, 178 ; *BelgChron.*, 504-5, 448 ; Opmeer, ii, 198, 220 ; *BibBelg.*, 609-10 ; *SaxOnom.*, 506-8 ; *AntoDiercx.*, vi, 290-92 ; *AntoEpisc.*, 65-69 ; *SweMon.*, 15-17, 55 ; Paquot, ii, 92-98, xi, 224 ; *LiègeBiog.*, 281-85 ; P. Claessens, *L. Torrentius* (in *Précis Historique*, xxvi, 1877 : 630-52, 715-35) ; BN ; A. Roersch, *L. Torrentius* (in *Miscell. de M. Vasconcellos*), Coimbra, 1930 ; Orbaan, 12, 31, 33, 41, 45-48 ; Brom, ii, 5 ; *JesHist.*, ii, 200 ; &c. ⁷⁾ *AntoEpisc.*, 67. ⁸⁾ *LouvEven*, 491, sq.

and he also bequeathed to it all his books and manuscripts, as well as his most valuable collection of coins and medals ¹⁾).

Unfortunately his generosity had a disastrous effect on the *Alma Mater* : she had come, poor and dilapidated, out of the ordeal of the seventies and eighties of that century : her colleges were plundered and ruined ; the estates, providing the wherewithal to keep her institutes and bursars, were devastated or destroyed, and sources of revenue invested on interests beyond the Biesbosch, irremediably lost ²⁾). When peace returned, and when efforts had started to repair the big damage done ³⁾, Torrentius pretendedly wished to help the four secular Pedagogies in their pitiful condition, and, strange enough, insisted on doing so by creating a fully equipped and abundantly endowed *fifth* Pedagogy, which he offered, lock, stock and barrel, to the Company of the Jesuits, though perfect strangers to the University. Whereas the four old institutions could hardly subsist, except by the sacrifices of *Regentes* and *Legentes*, the new foundation was so richly

¹⁾ VAnd., 378 ; L. Theunissens, *Testament de L. Torrentius : Anal.*, xv, 92-11 ; V. Tournieur, *La Collection de L. Torrentius (Rev. Belge de Numism., 1914 : 75, sq. = CollTorr)*, from the Inventory in BrsRL MS. 6269. At the suppression of the Louvain Jesuit Convent, the collection of coins and medals was saved by Jos. Hippolyte Gesquière, late Bollandist ; unfortunately, it was only for a time, since at his death, in 1802, it was brought under the hammer at Ghent, and sold piecemeal at ridiculous prices.

²⁾ Cp. FUL, xix.

³⁾ An evident proof of the success of those efforts in the nineties, is provided by a comparison of the number of students taking part in the yearly tests for the promotion to M. A. In the glorious period of 1546 to 1560, it varied between 150 and 200 : in 1578 it still was 157, but in the next year it fell to 22, then to 9 : it was only 3 or 4 from 1581 to 1583. In 1585 the 15 that promoted, all belonged to the Lily. The number slowly crept up to 60, in 1590 ; 118, in 1596, and had reached again 157 in 1598, — as is clearly shown in the lists, *ULPromRs.* and *ULPromLv.* It proves to all evidence that the fall in the numbers of students was due to the miserable state of things in Louvain in that calamitous time, and clearly shows that there was no need at all of Torrentius' fifth Pedagogy : for certain, the Faculty of Arts was not declining at the end of the xvith century, as is declared in *JesHist.*, II, 190-91, except as a result of the unavoidable circumstances, of which the effects often last much longer than the cause : Lips, *Epist.Misc.*, III, 7 : Paucos per hæc bella, omnino paucos ad artes nostras adspirare non ignoras : Louvain, Sept. 11, 1593.

gifted that teaching and instructing was offered gratuitously to whoever wished to accept it. By the end of 1593, Torrentius wanted the Society to begin professing all the branches of philosophy without any delay. The plan seemed so ominous, not only to the exasperated Pedagogies, but even to many Jesuits, such as Manare and Lessius, and to several of their Patrons, that it was decided to start only with one branch, for which no less a man than Robert Bellarmine was appointed ¹⁾. The University, summoned on May 5, 1594, by the Bishop to let herself be utterly maimed, if not strangled, replied on May 19, by urging as well her secular right as her recent losses ²⁾; but like for the editing of Goropius' absurdities, the sad reality pointed out by wise friends, — amongst them Lips, — could not change Torrentius' headstrong determination ³⁾. Egged on by some Jesuits, he insisted on starting the full series of lectures of philosophy, making nothing of the secular possession, nor of the time-honoured right of the Popes on public higher grade instruction, — which, three decads earlier in that very century, even the Duke of Cleves had acknowledged when planning his university at Duisburg ⁴⁾.

In the very last months of his life, Bishop Torrentius thus urged on the unwanted display of his lectures, mindless of the impoverished *Alma Mater*, helping them on by all his influence on the persons in power. Brought before the Brabant Council, the question was decided fully in favour of the plan of the Bishop, who meanwhile had died. On September 5, 1595, a Royal decree ordered, for the coming October, the extending of the teaching to all the branches proposed ⁵⁾. In answer to the appeal of the University, Clement VIII prohibited the lectures of Philosophy outside the University by his breve of December 22, 1595, — but the Royal *Placet* was withheld in the 'Catholic' Netherlands, at the request of those who made a show of seconding the Pope in the management of the Church ⁶⁾! Meanwhile Clement VIII, on March 16,

¹⁾ *JesHist.*, II, 192-93, 197; cp. Ch. XXIV, 4, B. ²⁾ VAnd., 378-82.

³⁾ Cp. his letter to Lips, June 28, 1594: *BrsRL* MS 15704: 438; Burman, I, ep. 462. ⁴⁾ Cp. III, 288, 315, 523, &c. ⁵⁾ *JesHist.*, II, 207.

⁶⁾ VAnd., 385-87. The granting of that breve and its reinforcing by two others, is attributed in *JesHist.*, II, 209-13, 219-26, to the 'crafty intrigues and underhand practices' of one agent only, Gerard Vossius,

1596, ordered the General of the Society to see that the lectures objected to, should cease at once; that measure, put into effect on April 10, 1596, was taken as an infraction of the Royal right, and caused no end of further trouble and discontent, to which, fortunately, Archduke Albert of Austria put an end on receiving a breve from Clement VIII, dated October 11, 1596, requesting him to see that the Privileges of the University should not be violated by any one ¹⁾. Sixteen years later, the Society attempted starting University lectures at Liège, which were similarly prevented by the defence to admit any hearer not belonging to the Society ²⁾. Thus Torrentius' golden legacy turned out as ominous an apple as that of Eris: for it brought discord and strife instead of peace and prosperity ³⁾; neither was it very considerate towards a venerated and highly efficient Institution, to limit all appreciation to decorating a gable with a chronogram at the conclusion of a second centenary ⁴⁾, even though worded:
CoLUMen BeLGII e CoeLo ConCessa UnIVersItas LoVanIensIs.

viz., Voskens, of Borgloon, D.D.; it does not sound flattering for the Pope and his Council, and it certainly clashes with the reports of the man's erudition and exemplary life: 'ein Gelehrter von lauterstem Wandel und grösser Frommigkeit', as is styled that old pupil of the *Collegium Germanicum* (1572-73), that editor of the works of St. Ephraem the Syrian (1589) and of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (1604), that friend of Popes Gregory XIII, Sixtus V and Clement VIII, that corrector of the Vatican press, that foreign notary admitted to the meetings of the Cardinals, that 'provisor' of the *Anima*, who, on his appointment in 1584, brought about a most beneficent and complete reform, which lasted centuries! He knew Louvain, where he promoted M.A. on February 21, 1566, from the Castle, and taught until 1572, publishing even a *Rhetoricæ Artis Methodus* in 1571, and, no doubt, attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, to lay the foundation of his erudition; he died as Provost of Tongres at Liège, March 25, 1609. Cp. Hurter, I, 203; *BibBelg.*, 285-6; *Anima*, 415-23, 523, &c; *Mémoires*, II, 109; *ULPromRs.*, 271; *ColGerHun.*, I, 81, sq, 253, 261, II, 548; *VAnd.*, 384; *ULDoc.*, IV, 125.

¹⁾ Cp. *JesHist.*, II, 188-228; *VAnd.*, 378-387.

²⁾ Cp. *VAnd.*, 387-90; *JesHist.*, II, 229-246, also 277, sq, 285, sq.

³⁾ Torrentius, of course, was free to dispose of his wealth as he liked; still he can hardly be pleaded free from ingratitude, and, to some extent, even from injustice, by availing himself of the temporary bitter need of his old *Alma Mater* to force her to accept a competitor that would have soon made her a stranger within her own precincts.

⁴⁾ *JesHist.*, II, 297. — The difficulty thus overcome in 1596, shows the inanity of some hare-brained historians like a V. Hamlyn, who, in his

B. NICOLAS FLORENTII

With Lævinus Torrentius, there were, most likely, at study in the *Trilingue* his friends of later life **Nicolas Florentii**, Florentius, of Haarlem, and Charles de Langhe. The former does not seem to have gone in for a regular training, for his name does not appear on the lists of the promotions ¹⁾. He certainly attended the lectures of the College of Busleyden, for on October 23, 1567, he besought Pigge from Rome to offer his hearty greetings to the 'professores illos insignes' of the *Trilingue*, his 'optimos patronos', if ever he should pass through Louvain, hoping that, through his friend, he also should hear about those 'probissimos viros', whom he likes ever more, and about whom he inquires from all those who come to Rome ²⁾.

Hardly anything is known about the life of Nicolas before he went to Rome, and, whereas he was there for several years, the only biographical details about him refer to his studies and to his constant connection with the outstanding erudites at work there. Thus, in 1568 and 1569, he is recorded to be in frequent intercourse ³⁾ with the learned Servite Octavius Pantagathus ⁴⁾, with the famous editor of Virgil Fulvius Orsini, Ursinus ⁵⁾, and with the biographer of the Popes, Onofrius Panvinus ⁶⁾, sharing their incessant researches

Stanhope Prize Essay for 1876, relates that Louvain University, through the orthodox Faculty of Theologians, in their mad strife against the *Trilingue*, 'ultimately languished... and finally fell into the usurping power of the Jesuits': *UniEur.*, 103-04, 98.

¹⁾ Neither de Langhe nor even Torrentius are mentioned on the list of promotions: a 'Nicolaus Florentius, Nivigellensis', promoted in 1552, as the 23rd, but he was not Dutch: *ULPromRs.*, 172.

²⁾ PigE, 192^{bis}; cp. *inf.*, pp 200, sq.

³⁾ MasE, 406; PigE, 112.

⁴⁾ Pacato Ottavio Pantagato, of Brescia (1494-1567): MasE, 396, sq, &c; Sandys, II, 145; cp. *sup.*, III, 286, sq.

⁵⁾ Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600): Sandys, II, 153, sq; cp. III, 311, 353; MasE, 383, sq: his Virgil was printed by Plantin in November 1567: PigE, 158.

⁶⁾ Onofrio Panvinio (1529-1588), of Verona: PigE, 5, 20, 34, &c; MasE, 397, 406, sq; Sandys, II, 145.

for Roman Antiquities. He may have been a secretary to some important personage, and have served occasionally as Roman agent : as such he is most appreciatively mentioned on October 10, 1564, by Mark Laurin ¹⁾, and on August 16, 1567, by Pighius for Cardinal Granvelle ²⁾ ; at any rate he had entered the latter's *familia* on January 1, 1575, when a letter to the ' auditor ' of the ' Viceroy de Naples ', Granvelle, was to be handed to ' Nicolas Florent ' in ' Monseigneur de Genneuille's ' absence ³⁾.

Nicolas Florentii, for certain, thought less of securing wealth or preferments than of steadily increasing his erudition, which made him highly esteemed by the Laurins and Hubert Goltz ⁴⁾ as ' antiquitatis & literarum scientia præstantissimus '. He was a member of the group of restless searchers, like Masius ⁵⁾ and Pighius ⁶⁾, and proved of great use to them after they had left Italy. Several of Pighius' letters refer to inscriptions which Nicolas either copied from the originals, or compared with the reproduction, critically examining the various monuments in Rome and the neighbourhood, so that his absent friend could use them for his *Themis* and *Annales*, or for his studies in general : they often entailed repeated visits, and consultations with other antiquarians, to ascertain the wording and meaning of the old texts ⁷⁾. The access to the monuments was not always easy ; moreover, his health was not of the best ⁸⁾. He criticized some of the statements of Pighius in his *Themis*, so that his letter and the reply were added to the book as an appendix ⁹⁾ ; he

¹⁾ PigE, 168 ; cp. *inf.*, p 189.

²⁾ Cp. his letter to Pighius, Aug. 16, 1567 : PigE, 140, also 106, 112.

³⁾ PlantE, iv, 215.

⁴⁾ Cp. *inf.*, pp 186, sq ; PigE, 168 ; *HEpH*, 54, mentions that Florentius... ' acceptissimus vixit... Huberto Goltzio, Justo Lipsio, & Adriano Metio, antiquariis summis ' : it is difficult to identify that Adrian Metius, with the professor of mathematics and astronomy to about 1630, of Franeker University, who ' primo in Germaniâ vixit ' : *BibBelg.*, 14 ; Paquot, *III*, 305, vi, 73, vii, 414, ix, 334, xiv, 418. ⁵⁾ MasE, 362, 406-07.

⁶⁾ PigE, 2bis (Sept. 1558)-112 (Nov. 1569) ; cp. *III*, 311, 315-16.

⁷⁾ E.g., letters PigE, 158, 140, 139, 192, 226 : July 15 to Dec. 4, 1567, about old inscriptions.

⁸⁾ PigE, 192 : Rome, October 23, 1567.

⁹⁾ PigE, e.g., 6, 13, 20, &c ; Paquot, *II*, 190.

further sent him casts of medals and plans of Rome, even occasionally, as on July 3, 1569, a letter from one of the venerable English Refugees in the Eternal City, Maurice Clenock, which gladdened the heart of an exiled priest of his acquaintance ¹⁾; and all the time he took care, wherever he could, of his friend's interests, especially of his Xanten 'ferculum' ²⁾.

When Justus Lips, after finishing his *Variae Lectiones* ³⁾, went to Italy, where he accepted the office of private secretary to Cardinal Granvelle, — evidently, so as to have the occasion to continue the studies and researches to which his eminent master Cornelius van Auwater had initiated him, — he soon made the acquaintance of Nicolas Florentii, who mentioned him to Pighius on July 3, 1569 ⁴⁾. The young scholar greatly availed himself of the experience and erudition of the elder investigator, and made ample use of it in later years. In his *Epistolicarum Quæstionum Libri IV*, of 1577 ⁵⁾, there is one letter, in which he mentions that *Florentii* is still staying in Italy, which he probably will not leave, now that his native country, which he did not want to revisit when it was in peace, is being ruined by war. He submits to his approval the sense to be given to the word *passer*, in a Neapolitan inscription: *venatione passeris*; for Lips had learned from him that *στρούθος*, which means *passer*, also has the sense of *struthiocamelus*; he prefers that meaning; he therefore quotes the inscription, and concludes with the flattering request: 'Iudicare te, Florenti, vne omnium peritissime harum rerum, volo' ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ PigE, 106. Maurice Clenock, or Clynog, canon of York, had been appointed Bishop of Bangor under Queen Mary; he left for the Low Countries in 1559 (*MélMoell.*, II, 179), continuing to Italy and Rome, where he became Rector of the English College in 1578; he was drowned at sea in 1580: *DNB*; Bridgewater, 404, v, 416, r; Sander, 668; Wood, I, 583, 702. Judging from Pighius' letter, he sent a message to a countryman, a priest, who had remained in the Netherlands.

²⁾ PigE, 36, 106, 112, &c.

³⁾ Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1569: *BB*, L, 350.

⁴⁾ PigE, 106.

⁵⁾ *BB*, L, 489: Antwerp, Plantin, 1577; *Iusti Lipsii Opera Omnia*: Antwerp, 1614: I: *Epist. Quæst. V: ep. ix lib. iv*: pp 290-91.

⁶⁾ In Lips' *Epist. Select. Cent. Prima* (Leyden, Chr. Plantin, 1586) the xxxth was a letter to Nicolas Florentius (*BB*, L, 221, 2), which was left out in the edition *Epistolarum Centuriæ Duæ* (Leyden, 1590: *BB*, L, 225);

C. CAROLUS LANGIUS

The second of Torrentius' great friends at the *Trilingue*, was **Charles de Langhe, Langius**, the son of the secretary of Charles V and of Philip II, John de Langhe, Lord of Beaulieu ¹⁾, and Antoinette de la Sale ²⁾. He studied in Louvain — no doubt especially in the *Trilingue*, as the whole bent of his intellectual activity showed throughout his life. He was sent to Italy, where he probably continued what he had begun in Louvain ³⁾, studying the languages and literature of Antiquity, and gathering a collection of old coins ⁴⁾.

His stay in the country that was as the source of all classic erudition, greatly benefited him : he availed himself of the opportunity to gather a rich store of manuscripts and coins or medals, and an abundant amount of information about the authors of antiquity derived from inscriptions and monuments. His experience of journeying, and his acquaintance with languages, probably caused him to be taken as secretary to the Louvain professors of divinity, Ruard Tapper

it was inserted in *Lipsii Epistolarum (Quæ in Centurijs non extant) Decades XIIIX* (Harderwijk, 1621 : BB, L, 288, 4-5).

¹⁾ John de Langhe is recorded from March 1533 to June 1534 : OlaE, 322-3, 354, 357, 505, and from 1553 to 1557, as Secretary of the Privy Council ; he died in the last days of October 1571, since Viglius announced to Hopper, on Nov. 3, 1571, that 'Langius secretarius superioribus diebus ex hac vita migravit'. He was Viglius' friend (Hoyneck, I, ii, 653) ; also that of Masius, whom he helped with advice and with his influence in the claim he had on an Utrecht prebend : MasE, 58-60, 63-66, 180, 187-9, 192-3, 287, 356. The intimate friendship with those two great erudites, as well as his outspoken sympathy with the study of languages and literature, which seems to be as a golden legacy passed to his son, suggests that he had some connection with the *Trilingue*, or, if he did not actually avail himself of the teaching, at least with the spirit of the Institute, as already suggested (cp. before, p 97) ; at any rate, it is quite admissible that he should have attended the incipient lectures of the College, of which his son became one of the glories.

²⁾ Antoinette de la Sale died on December 30, 1563, and was laid to rest in Our Lady of the Chapel in Brussels : SweMon., 294.

³⁾ His name does not appear on the lists of promotions, which suggests that he did not follow any regular curriculum : cp. before, p 177.

⁴⁾ Paquot, xi, 155, relates that he became Doctor of jurisprudence in Italy : the records of the universities, where he is said to have promoted, do not mention his name.

and John Leonard van der Eycken of Hasselt, when they went to attend the second meeting of the Council of Trent, 1551-52 ¹⁾. Being a priest, he had accepted a canonry in St. Lambert's, at Liège, where he studied, and put to use his harvest of erudition; in time, he was rejoined there by Lævinus Torrentius ²⁾, in whom he found a genial colleague, and in whose *Poemata Sacra*, of 1572 ³⁾, he wrote a recommendatory letter to Christopher Plantin, on March 1 ⁴⁾; he also enriched the bundle by a poem *In <Ioannis Avstriaci> Navalem... de Torcis Victoriam*, by a *Hymnus in Natali Domini Nostri... præcipue ad Iudeos*, and by some other verses ⁵⁾. In 1563, he had published *M. T. Ciceronis Officia, de Amicitia, ac de Senectute, e membranis Belgicis emendata, Notisque illustrata* ⁶⁾, and he wished to issue similar editions for all the works by the great Roman orator. In 1566, he added *Variae Plauti Lectiones* to the edition of Plautus' Comedies by Plantin, to which Turnebus, Adrian Junius and others contributed ⁷⁾.

Meanwhile Langius had started, if not taken up again, a connection with Pighius: several of their letters from 1567 to 1573 are preserved: they make ample references to their familiar and social life ⁸⁾, describing <Pighius'> journeys, or <Langius'> discussions 'post cœnam', to which, at times, 'Lampsonius Stentor' was present ⁹⁾; and mention the help which Langius offered his friend in a lawsuit about a Xanten

¹⁾ BerghAutr., 259.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 167.

³⁾ Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1572.

⁴⁾ *Poemata Sacra*, P 3, v-P 4, r: he declares that those poems are not the only ones, nor even the best of those written by Torrentius; his nephews de Paep and Livineius write verses, too, and hardly find anything left to learn, as is natural to Flemings and to natives of Ghent: Paquot, xiii, 144; and before, p 171.

⁵⁾ One of them, *In Evropam Seditionibus agitatum*, is reprinted in *DelPoBel.*, III.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, William Silvius, 1563: it was reprinted in 1573 and 1615: Paquot, xi, 158.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1566: Paquot, xi, 159; the book was inserted into a larger work on Plautus, printed at Basle, by Hervagius, 1568.

⁸⁾ PigE, 193, 222, 2, 37, 39, &c.

⁹⁾ PigE, 193: cp. before, p 168: probably the man's voice made him be called *Stentor* by the friends.

ferculum against a Broccardius, which had to be judged at Liège ¹⁾). Still the chief topic is learning : the letters refer to books which Plantin is printing, to the '*somnia*' of their friend Becanus, which, they hope, the disastrous times will prevent being paid attention to ²⁾); and they often touch questions which Pighius wants his correspondent to help him with, — such as the meaning of *Ser* in *Ser Galba* ³⁾), and the offices and attributions of the *quæstores* in Rome and the Provinces ⁴⁾). On September 13, 1570, Suffridus Petri ⁵⁾) wrote from Louvain, referring to Langius' scheme to provide *Castigationes* for all the works of Cicero : he offered some he had made on *De Officia*, and which had been waiting at a press in Basle ; or, if preferred, he would include those of Langius in his own work ⁶⁾). In reply, Langius sent, on September 29 following, one of the two volumes of Cicero's *Opera* (Basle, 1568) with his notes, keeping the second which he was just then using ; he allowed Suffridus to avail himself of his corrections for the general benefit ⁷⁾). He already complains that he is a *valetudinarius*, yet refers to his brisk connection with Cornelius van Auwater ⁸⁾) and with some of his pupils, William Canter ⁹⁾) and Victor Giselinus ¹⁰⁾) : it all proves that Langhe's erudition was fully appreciated and that he justified the great renown he enjoyed.

That renown is gloriously testified to by the fact that Justus Lips, on his way to Vienna, in June 1571, called on him : he was offered generously hospitality and the help of wisdom and experience. Not only did the elder erudite give wise advice to the younger for studies and literature, but the mature man consoled and strengthened the youth, who was hurrying away from war and calamity in a world of turmoil ; his words were the seeds which grew to the brilliant strength of the two books *De Constantia*, represented as two dialogues

¹⁾ Cp. PigE, 205, 213, &c, from Jan. 6 and 18, 1567, to Dec. 10 and 17, 1568 : PigE, 37, 39 ; MasE, 458, *sq.*, 490, 492.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 35, *sq.*

³⁾ No doubt, the abbreviation for *Servius* : PigE, 29, 31, 193.

⁴⁾ PigE, 34, 29, 31, 24, &c.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 563.

⁶⁾ Gabbema, 243-44.

⁷⁾ Gabbema, 245-46.

⁸⁾ Cp. III, 270-81, 317.

⁹⁾ Cp. III, 278.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. III, 278.

between the author and his host on that most necessary virtue in the tribulations of life ¹⁾).

In order to acquire that *constantia*, Langius used work : he was then busy at *scholia* on Seneca, Solinus and Suetonius, at notes on Pliny, Theophrastes and Dioscorides, as he told Lips ; he further found comfort in cultivating plants, which his young guest admired as well. He had arranged in his garden a large variety of flowers ; he was one of the first in this country to acclimatize foreign medicinal or ornamental species. He availed himself of the opportunity to ask Lips to provide him from the Emperor's garden some bulbs of tulips and hyacinths ²⁾, which Ogier de Busbeek had recently brought from Turkey ³⁾. In his correspondence with Pigge similar demands are expressed : on January 6, 1567, he asks him to 'pinch' a few 'semina', if the Cardinal, Pighius' master, sends any off ⁴⁾ ; about Easter of that year, he wishes for some small branches, which, he says, take root when put into the soil ; he wants his friend to envelop the ends 'in musco humefacto' before wrapping them up in paper ⁵⁾ ; in several letters he reminds him of that request, as well as of another, for a *pumilio*, and for more flowers ⁶⁾, which made his correspondent remark, on April 10, 1568, that he was becoming a real Triptolemus ⁷⁾).

Unfortunately Langius, '*quo fortasse radij Solis <illo> æuo meliorem nullum illuxere alterum*', as Miræus, 111, noted, died long before his time on ⁸⁾ July 29, 1573, and was laid to rest in the old Liège Cathedral ⁸⁾. His friend Torrentius bought from the heirs the great amount of Greek and Latin manuscripts and books, as well as the rich numismatic

¹⁾ Lips relates his visit in the introductory chapter to the *De Constantia* (Leyden, Plantin, 1584) : *BB*, L, 150, 3.

²⁾ Cp. Lips' letter to V. Giselinus in *Epistol. Quæst. lib. iv, ep. xvii* ; *BB*, L, 489, 3.

³⁾ Cp. III, 499, sq.

⁴⁾ PigE, 205.

⁵⁾ PigE, 244.

⁶⁾ PigE, 162, 126, 193, 31, 16.

⁷⁾ The hero, who, in the chariot which Demeter gave him, taught agriculture and its blessings to men : PigE, 31 ; the letter has : 'metuo... ne tandem ex Jeto fias Triptolemus' (: *Jeto* seems a badly copied name).

⁸⁾ Letter of Torrentius to Pighius, May 1, 1574 : PigE, 167, and of Justus Lips to Ghiselin : cp. before, III, 278, 482 ; *Epistol. Quæst. l iv, ep. xvii*.

collection; he largely made use of the corrections and comments on Suetonius for the edition he issued in 1578 ¹⁾; he urged the restitution of the volume of Cicero lent to Suffridus Petri, wishing, no doubt, to avail himself of his friend's notes ²⁾. He made use of Langius' manuscript corrections even for the text of Horace: he thus certainly recognized the value of Langhe's readings and emendations, which were far better than whatever had been accepted up to the time; for not without reason the humble Liège Canon was considered as one of the most judicious critics of his century by Lips ³⁾ and by Arias Montanus ⁴⁾; also, in a practical way, by Torrentius, although not even owning his great debt. Langius left, it seems, a collection of documents about the Church and the town of Liège, and, to an edition of his text of *Cicero* of 1615, were added *Carmina lectiora*, amongst which is one *De Laudibus Urbis Leodicensis* ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 172.

²⁾ There is a letter by which Suffridus Petri asks Torrentius either to let him have the second volume of Cicero's works with Langius' notes, as had been promised to him, or to accept his notes and publish them with those of the deceased erudite: it follows that the year 1571 is wrong, and that the missive should be dated Louvain, May 17, 1574: Gabbema, 252-55. Suffridus returned the volume lent to him, and when, three years later, he was appointed professor of Laws in Cologne (*Uni-Köln*, 465), he applied once more to Torrentius for the two volumes, wishing to publish Langius' grand work; to that letter of January 1, 1581, Torrentius replied, on April 8 following, pretexting the danger of the road, and insinuating that he intended following up Suetonius by an edition of Horace and by one of Cicero: Gabbema, 410-13. At any rate, Suffridus' edition, started in Basle (J. Oporinus), 1568, was not continued: *BibBelg.*, 821.

³⁾ *Epistol. Quæst. lib. I, ep. XIII*, sending notes on Seneca to Langius; and *lib. IV, ep. XVII*, to Victor Giselinus, at the news of Langius' decease: *magnum virum amisimus, ô Musæ! et maiorem opinione vulgi. Scholia parabat, vt ex ipso audiuius &c.*

⁴⁾ Paquot, VI, 157; *LiègeBiog.*, 253.

⁵⁾ *BibBelg.*, 121-122; Opmeer, II, 16, 22; Miræus, 111; Paquot, XI, 154-160; *SaxOnom.*, 406; PlantE, I, 111-IV, 47, *passim*; *GandErVir.*, 27-28 (where Langius is called a *Gandavensis*, although Justus Lips declared that his *patria*, his *genitale solum* was Brussels, as [his own was] Yssche: *De Constantia*, I, xi), 10; *LiègeBiog.*, 251-53; Henne, V, 42; G. de Nohac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*: Paris, 1887: 57, sq, 438, sq; *CollTorr.*, 83-88, 93.

5. ANTIQUARIANS AND HISTORIANS

A. MARK & GUY LAURIN

Like for de Langhe and Torrentius, study and erudition greatly influenced the lives and destinies of the brothers **Mark** and **Guy Laurin**. They were the sons of Matthew Laurin, Lord of Watervliet and Waterland, who was several times mayor of the 'Franc de Bruges' ¹⁾, and had married Frances Ruffault, daughter of John, Knight, Lord of Mauvaux, Neufville, Lamsaert, &c, his father's successor as Charles V's councillor and treasurer ²⁾, and Mary de Carlin. In their home they already found their first education in humanism, for their father had studied in Bologna in 1507 ³⁾, with two of his brothers : one, Mark, Dean of Bruges, became Erasmus' intimate friend ⁴⁾; and at the death of Peter, the other, his widow, Anne Isabella d'Onche, introduced by marriage the great Cornelius de Schepper into the family ⁵⁾; their mother's brother, on the other hand, Jerome Ruffault, Abbot of St. Vaast, at Arras, had been for several years Vives' favourite pupil ⁶⁾. After the preliminary studies at Bruges, the two brothers came to Louvain, where they matriculated as *minorennes* on June 14, 1542, their preceptor taking the prescribed oath for them ⁷⁾. That preceptor, most probably, was Louis Gens ⁸⁾, who had been their teacher for a time at Bruges, and who wrote from Louvain, on March 23, 1542, to his friend Andrew Masius, that, by the end of the Easter

¹⁾ *Cran.*, *xlvi*, *lviii*, 6, *a*, 41, *b*, 82, 21, 140, *c*, *e*; Allen, I, 201, 2, VII, 1870; Gachard, 505, 513.

²⁾ *Cran.*, 140, *e*; cp. II, 67-68; *LuChaV*, v, 509.

³⁾ Knod, 295-96 : Lawen.

⁴⁾ *Cran.*, 6, *a*, and *passim*; MasE, 13; Allen, I, 201, 2.

⁵⁾ *Cran.*, 249, *b*; Allen, v, 1271, 122; cp. II, 167-9, III, 557-8; his *privignus* Matthias is referred to, on July 17, 1545, in his correspondence as being in Gerard van Veltwyck's service; he also mentions his *privigna* Catherine in that letter : DantE, 456, 466, 471; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 366; Paquot, VII, 388.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 41, *a-b*, 171, 4.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 156, *r*: 'Marcus Laurinus — Johannes Laurinus': Johannes is probably a second name, if not a mistake for Guido.

⁸⁾ MasE, 14, 16; cp. before, III, 258-60.

holidays, he expected some well-to-do former pupils, and amongst them, the sons of the late Lord of Watervliet.

It is almost certain that they studied in the *Trilingue*, for the whole of their lives was devoted to the pursuit of the knowledge of Antiquity ; no doubt, they also owed a large part of their development to Martin de Smet, whom they probably took with them on a journey to Italy, and left there at work, gathering old inscriptions, which he put into order on his return, and was copying out for them at his parsonage at Oostwinkel, when, on January 13, 1558, a fire destroyed part of the collection ¹⁾. They then helped him to repair the damage by seconding his application to Stephen Pighius, who had made a similar collection for Cardinal Cervini, and who had recently entered Bishop Granvelle's service ²⁾. It led to a brisk intercourse on account of a common interest in Roman coins, which greatly contributed to the enriching of the collection of the two brothers ³⁾. In their zeal to repair the loss of some epigraphs in the Oostwinkel fire, they applied to the Utrecht canon, Maximilian of Waelscapelle, of Antwerp ⁴⁾, who was also highly interested in that matter, and who, probably, brought them into connection with the draughtsman, painter and engraver Hubert Goltz, Goltzius, who, in 1557, had published a collection of portraits of the Emperors, from August to Charles V, mostly from coins and medals, gathered on a journey through various countries from April 2 to July 9, 1556 ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 318-22.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.*, pp 201-2.

³⁾ On January 18, 1558, Mark Laurin requests Pighius' help to repair Smet's loss, and sends medals, to which he joins some mutilated ones and some marked indistinctly, adding the wise remark that they may help to complete or to decipher others. On October 28, 1558, he thanks for the loan of 21 coins, of which he made leaden casts, and explains how he cleaned them before taking the mould : FigE, 248, 134 (Laurin's letter of April 18, 1558), 152.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 320 ; MasE, 114, *sq* ; PigE, 171.

⁵⁾ Hubert Goltz, Goltzius, was born at Venlo on October 30, 1526 ; his father, Rutger, was a native of Würzburg : so the son often took the name of *Herbipolita*. He settled at Antwerp as draughtsman, painter and engraver, and after a journey from April 2 to July 9, 1556, he edited there, in 1557, a collection of portraits, *icones*, and short biographies of the Roman Emperors from August to Charles V, which was

Thanks to the financial intervention of the Laurins, the enterprising erudite, who, at Antwerp, had largely profited by the precious advice of the humanist Cornelius Grapheus ¹⁾ and of the geographer Abraham Ortelius ²⁾, as well as by the liberal patronage of the brothers Schets ³⁾, started another journey to visit the chief numismatic collections in the various parts of Europe, on November 19, 1558, from Bruges, whereto he had removed on July 21 before. He returned on November 14, 1560, with a wealth of information, which was put into order, by, or at least with the help of, the studious brothers, whilst he himself realized their grand scheme of publishing the ample collection of biographical and historical particulars,

at once translated in several languages. The fine volumes which he printed at Bruges for the Laurins, made him famous, in so far that he was shown all the treasures and collections wherever he came, and that Rome proclaimed him her citizen. He also wrote *Sicilia et Magna Græcia* (Bruges, 1580), and an *Itinerarium per Italiam, Germaniam ac Galliam*. He died at Bruges in February 1583, at the age of 56 and 4 months. The Henry Golz, who was in Italy in the winter of 1590-91, to buy coins for Mark Gheeraerts, the younger (Hessels, I, 459-60; *DNB*), was most apparently one of his children. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 392-3; Opmeer, II, 58; Lomeier, 291; *BrugErVir.*, 39; *SaxOnom.*, 361, 647, 660; Hessels, I, 64-68, 106-9, 253-56, & *passim*; VulcE, 82, 142, 497; M. Hoc, *Hubert Goltzius, Éditeur et Imprimeur*, in *AnEmBru.*, 1925 : 21-34; *BB*, c, 380-97; Paquot, III, 387, IV, 139, IX, 436, XV, 342, XVIII, 375. With all his pretended scientific probity, Goltz published with some collaborator who signed Stephen Lindius, forged sermons, full of obscenity and untruth, which were ascribed to the catholic protagonist, the famous Franciscan preacher Cornelius Adriaensen; hence perhaps his breach with the Laurins: *GoetLect.*, IV, 72-73. In 1567, Mark Gheeraerts, the elder, dedicated to him his famous *Fables*: Paquot, IX, 436.

¹⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 179, b-d; and *sup.*, I, 438.

²⁾ Abraham Ortelius, born at Antwerp on April 4, 1527, studied mathematics and geography; imitating Mercator, he issued the first modern atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, in 1570, which was soon reprinted; he published other geographical works based on information collected on voyages; he died on January 28, 1598: *BibBelg.*, 2; Miræus, 153; *SaxOnom.*, 460; Quetelet, 119-23; *GoetHist.*, III, 75-88; Henne, V, 51, sq; VulcE, 43, 46, 54, 495; *Itinerarium*, in *Divæ Opera*: Louvain, 1757. — Several of his letters are published in Hessels, I, *passim*; cp. Justus Lips, *Epistol. Miscel.*, I, 54, II, 37, 59, 99, 100, III, 11; *Epist. ad Belgas*, III, 12, 16, 41; *Epist. Quæst.*, IV, 4; also PigE, 148, 149, 264; *CollTorr.*, 76; Lomeier, 291; &c.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 358-61; *CollTorr.*, 76; *SaxOnom.*, 229.

revealed by the numismatic documents of Roman Antiquity. A printing press was set up with the approval of the town authorities, March 6, 1562; royal license was granted, and Goltz secured the assistance of all those who could cooperate to the great work. Thus three famous erudites, Francis Nans ¹⁾, Adolph van Meetkerke ²⁾ and James Reyvaert ³⁾, were engaged as correctors, whereas he himself was going to make, from box-wood, the dies and blocks for the medals ⁴⁾; Mark announced all that, on March 30, 1564, to Pighius, and requested him for matters to be printed at the new press ⁵⁾, under the symbol *Hubertas Aurea Sæculi*.

The allusion to an abundant harvest was fully justified; for, with the ample material gathered by the Laurins, or thanks to their means, the monumental *C. Iulivs Cæsar, Sive Historiæ Imperatorum Cæsarumque Romanorum ex Antiquis Numismatis restitutæ Liber*, was ready by September 1563 ⁶⁾; it was felt that the matter was far from exhausted, and the word *Primus* had to be added. Indeed the generous patrons looked for more material, and checked the information gathered, with a view to the second part of *Julius Cæsar*, and to the contemplated *Fasti Magistratum et Triumphorum Romanorum*.

That for those considerable undertakings a large amount

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 248-49; *FlandScript.*, 52; *SaxOnom.*, 355, 392.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.*, Ch. XXV, 5; Paquot, xviii, 250-51; *SaxOnom.*, 419.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 248, 482, and Ch. XXV, 3; Paquot, xvi, 109; *SaxOnom.*, 394.

⁴⁾ Help was further provided in the shape of laudatory verse by Arnold Baert, Bartius, a jurispudent, and John Gelrius, or Geldrius, a teacher, both of Bruges (*BrugErVir.*, 20, 73; *FlandScript.*, 21, 107; Paquot, xvi, 108); by the famous physician William Pantin, of Thielt, who, for several years, had been at work at Bruges, having promoted M. A. in 1533, in Louvain, being placed the seventh: *ULPromLv.*, 12; cp. III, 333-34; further, besides several others, by the Somerghem parish priest, the poet John Castelius, of Gheluwe, Ghelous: *FlandOHR*, I, 68; *BibBelg.*, 478 (where he is, unfoundedly, identified with the bitter criticizer of the famous preacher Corn. Adriaensen, Stephen Lindius, — for he still lived in 1578: Paquot, vi, 293); cp. further, p 191, and III, 514.

⁵⁾ *PigE*, 181; Mark had asked Pighius, on April 4, 1563, to provide some work for Goltz, probably through Caucius, the Utrecht publisher: *PigE*, 131.

⁶⁾ *AnEmBr.*, 1925 : 23-24.

of the work was taken up by the brothers, results from their letters : they had secured the help of a literary agent in Rome, Nicolas Florentii, of Haarlem ¹⁾, whom Mark praised as *humanissimus*, *officiosissimus*, and *amantissimus*, since he sent them, with every *veredarius*, newly found epigraphs, coins or books, besides his most interesting letters ²⁾. They regularly corresponded with another great numismatist and epigraphist, Stephen Pighius, who lent them both coins and documents ³⁾, procured them casts 'in cera hispanica' of Maximilian Morillon's ⁴⁾ *gemmæ*, discussed their views, indicated other manuscripts to be studied, — like those of Corbie Abbey, or those gathered by the Utrecht erudite Bruno van Cuyck ⁵⁾. In the spring of 1564, Mark was looking out for copies of inscriptions and medals from Spain, where his friend, Charles de l'Escluse, Clusius, was studying botany ⁶⁾, whereas the famous geographer Abraham Ortelius was consulted for the meaning of an epigraph relative to the crossing of Emperor Claudius to Britain, and for many other difficult problems ⁷⁾.

When, in March 1567, Goltzius brought out his *Fasti Magistratum et Triumphorum Romanorum*, and, in January 1575, the second book of the *Cæsar Augustus*, it was known and acknowledged throughout the world of erudites that they were indebted to the two Laurins for those indispensable means to study antiquity and its history. Nor did it last long before the importance and the reliability of that contribution to knowledge was universally recognized, as Pighius implied, when he wrote to Guy, soon after the appearance of his own *Themis* : 'nobis... satis est monstrasse studiosis, quam non multis parasangis a veræ philosophiæ fundamento hoc anti-

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 177-79.

²⁾ Letter of Mark Laurin to Pighius, October 10, 1564 : PigE, 168.

³⁾ Letters of Mark Laurin to Pighius, April 4, 1563, March 30, and October 10, 1564 : PigE, 131, 181, 168, besides those mentioned before.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 345-50, and before, pp 32, 35, 155.

⁵⁾ Letter of Pighius to Guy Laurin, April 15, 1568, and of Mark to Pighius, April 4, 1563 : PigE, 12, 131¹.

⁶⁾ PigE, 181 : letter of Mark Laurin to Pighius, March 30, 1564 ; cp. further, Ch. XXV, 3 ; and Paquot, xvii, 415.

⁷⁾ Letters of Guy Laurin to Ortelius, May 8, 1566, and July 30, 1580 : Hessels, i, 34-36, 228-29.

quitatis studium aberret' ¹⁾). Nor was appreciation lacking : James Reyvaert dedicated to Guy his *Tribonianus* ²⁾, and to Mark, his *Ad Leges XII Tabularum Liber Singularis* ³⁾ ; Adolph van Meetkerke inscribed his *Moschi Stculi, & Bionis Smyrncei, Idyllia* ⁴⁾, to Mark, and Hubert Goltzius, his *Thesaurus Rei Antiquariæ e Veterum Numismatum ac Marmorum Inscriptionibus*, a work to which he had himself given the title of his choice ⁵⁾. A letter of Mark, February 10, 1583, to Abraham Ortels, mentions that the great cosmographer had dedicated to him a map of the Universe, which seems to be lost ⁶⁾, and in two letters, the great English antiquarian William Camden ⁷⁾ expresses to Ortelius his great admiration for their work, adding that, after the Laurini, Lord Burghley, High Treasurer of England ⁸⁾, is the most indefatigable explorer of those times long gone ⁹⁾. The poets in Flanders celebrated the erudite brothers : the physician William Pantin ¹⁰⁾ and the councillor John Casembrotius ¹¹⁾, both of

¹⁾ Letter of April 21, 1568 ; PigE, 12.

²⁾ Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1561 ; the letter is dated Bruges, January 1, 1560 : Paquot, xvi, 111.

³⁾ Bruges, Hub. Goltzius, 1563 ; the dedicatory letter is of January 1, 1563 : Paquot, xvi, 110.

⁴⁾ Bruges, H. Goltzius, 1565 ; the letter is dated January 15, 1565 : Paquot, xviii, 250.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1579 : letter of H. Goltz to Abraham Ortels, February 21, 1574 : Hessels, I, 107.

⁶⁾ Hessels, I, 286-87.

⁷⁾ Camden, the great antiquarian and historian (1551-1623) : *DNB*.

⁸⁾ William Cecil, Baron Burghley (1520-1598), Lord High Treasurer from 1572 to 1598 : *DNB*.

⁹⁾ Letters of August 4 and September 24, 1577 : Hessels, I, 167-71.

¹⁰⁾ His *Carmen* is prefixed to the *Julius Cæsar* : *FlandScript.*, 71 ; cp. *sup.*, III, 333-34.

¹¹⁾ *BrugErVir.*, 48 : John Casembroot was the son of Leonard Casembroot, Casperotius, a friend of Erasmus : *Cran.*, 55, a. He was trained in Louvain, where he delivered an *Oratio in Quodlibeticis*, 1558, and studied law, for, besides orations and poems at the funeral of great personages, he wrote a letter printed as preface to Peter Peck's *In Tit. Juris de Re Nautica* : *BibBelg.*, 478. He had an office in Court, and became councillor to Lamoral, Count of Egmont, Governor of Flanders and Artois. He was accused of being the instigator of Iconoclasm in 1566, and consequently, was imprisoned by order of the Duke of Alva, and executed at Vilvorde : *FlandOHR*, III, 119-20.

Bruges, John Damasthius, of Ghent ¹⁾, and Arnold Motorius, of Blankenberghe ²⁾. Even the great Justus Lips wrote to the famous brothers : ‘Fateri debemus : Brugæ vestræ Belgij nostri sidus sunt, pariter vt olim Græciæ oculus, Athenæ. Nusquam a multis annis ingeniorum felicior prouentus : nusquam doctrinæ vberior seges. In qua eruditorum luce vos, Laurini fratres, sic eminentis,

Vt pura nocturno renidet
Luna mari Gnidiæ Gyges’ ³⁾.

Unfortunately the miseries of the time broke the activity of the zealous workers. It appears that Goltzius had some difficulties either in producing or in selling his books, or was in disagreement with his protectors. At any rate, he himself had his *Thesaurus* printed at Plantin’s office as early as 1574 ⁴⁾; after January 1575, his foreman, Giles van den Rade, *Radæus*, put his name on the books as printer, and started an office on his own account, for which the town granted him, on his request, a subsidy on January 18, 1577. On October 15, 1578, Mark Laurin bought from Goltz the books which he had printed with his help, as well as the type and the blocks ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ *GandErVir.*, 71 : John Damasthius, of Ghent, is recorded for his *Elegiæ et Epigrammata*; he wrote a ‘*Carmen heroicum in laudem Marci Laurini... et Huberti Goltzj Herbipolitæ*’.

²⁾ *FlandScript.*, 23 : Arnold Woelaerd, *Motorius*, a native of Blankenberghe, obtained, on January 19, 1558, the 20th prebend in St. Donatian’s, Bruges, and died on Febr. 19, 1570 : *BrugSDon.*, 166 : he wrote a fine *Carmen Elegiacum* in honour of the authors of *Julius Cæsar*.

³⁾ *Epistolicarum Quæstionum Libri V* : Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1577 : first letter of second book : cp. *BB*, I, 489, 2.

⁴⁾ In a letter to Abraham Ortels of February 21, 1574, he refers to the title of the book : Hessels, I, 107.

⁵⁾ By his editions Goltz had made his name famous; he had dedicated his *Fasti* to the town authorities of Rome, who granted him, in return, the title of Roman citizen. After the appearance of those *Fasti*, Bruges, 1566, there seems to have come a kink in his cable : for, in that year, he sold to Plantin the quires of *Leopardus’ Emendationum Miscellanæ*, that were ready. It has been surmised that, about that time, as mentioned before (p 187), he printed and even helped to compose supposititious homilies intended to throw hatred and ridicule on Cornelius Adriaensen, edited, in March 1567, as *Epistolæ Monitoriæ* by Stephen Lindius, a fanciful name, and even made a caricature of the popular friar, on account of which he may have lost the friendship of the

Maybe Mark Laurin sincerely hoped to continue the work when more favourable circumstances would permit; for that he was the main spring and the driving power of the undertaking, is clearly stated by Goltz in his preface to his *Thesaurus*. It was he, after all, who provided the chief body of the great works from his admirable collection of books and manuscripts, as well as from the hoard of coins and medals which he himself had classed in due order; he, besides, had supplied Goltz with the wherewithal to start on his journeys to the various public and private collections in Western Europe. After having reached such excellent result, he wished to continue the series of the Roman emperors and that of the imperial officials, and he was directing his researches and studies towards that end when, from 1578, the bands of Ghent Calvinists, helped by the 'Water Geuzen', and the men of the Scotch Colonel Henry Balfour, ransacked the neighbourhood of Bruges, and became masters of the town on March 26. Looking for a shelter, Mark, on his way to Ostend, was robbed of his hoard of coins and precious documents ¹), whereas, in his mansion, his belongings were

Laurins and, no doubt, had to abscond. Thanks, probably, to the favour which his editions gained from men in power, he resumed his work in the seventies, publishing a second part of *Cæsar Augustus*, in January 1575, and *Sicilia et Magna Græcia*, in April 1576; although he dedicated the former to Emperor Maximilian II, and the latter to Philip II, he seems to have been compelled to leave the printing office to Giles van den Rade, his foreman, — which allowed Mark Laurin to buy Goltz's stock of books and his working material in 1578. In the summer of 1581, there were still some questions undecided, like that about the money due to Livinus Steppe's widow, as results from a letter to Ortelius, June 22, 1581 (Hessels, I, 251-55). He died at Bruges on March 24, 1583, after some miserable years with his second wife, Mary Vyncx, leaving several children from the first, Elizabeth Verhulst; one, Henry, was active as agent in Italy for Mark Gheeraerts, the younger, in the winter of 1590-91: Hessels, I, 459; *DNB*; he, no doubt, was different from the Henry Goltz, 1558-1617, son of John, of Kaiserswerth, at work at Haarlem since 1577, already famous as engraver by 1580: O. Hirschmann, *Hendrick Goltzius*, 1919, and *Graphisches Werk von H. G.*: Leipzig, 1921 (pp 4, 83, sq); *SaxOnom.*, 524. — Cp. besides sources quoted on p 187, Guicc., 240; *BB*, 6, 380-97; *GoetHist.*, III, 56-74; *FlandOHR*, I, 180-82; Schrevel, I, 300-25; Lips, *Epistol. Quæst.*, II, 21.

¹) Amongst them was the famous collection of Epigraphs made by Smetius: it was taken to England, where, fortunately, it was bought

partly stolen and dilapidated; even his own servant took away the type used by Goltz. It caused the break in his admirable plan, and he was unable to take it up again during the last years of his life, which he devoted entirely to study: by December 1594¹⁾, he had died unmarried, and his literary hoard soon further dispersed²⁾).

His brother Guy, who had been his great collaborator, was a poet besides being an erudite. He left a good amount of verses; amongst them, some on Goltzius' edition, *Julius Caesar*. He also wrote comments on the works of the great Roman, *Julius Caesar*, himself, according to the now lost catalogue of Goltzius' publications. He further related the find of a hoard of gold coins of the time of the Emperor Vespasianus, dug up in 1561 at Auberchicourt, near Douai, in a *Dialogus Plutonis & Telluris*, which was also inserted in Goltzius' *Julius Caesar*. By 1574 he had acquired the title of Lord of Clinckerland, and, at his brother's death, he became Lord of Watervliet. By 1580, he married Frances, daughter of John de Deurnagele, Lord of Vroylant, who bore him a son, Mark, who died in 1609, and a daughter Frances, who married Maximilian le Bœuf, Lord of Baquerode. Guy died at Lille, and was buried there in St. Maurice's³⁾).

B. PETER OPMEER

Whilst the Laurins and Goltz were thus at work at their glorious *Julius Caesar* and *Fasti*, a series of short but fully

by the Curators of Leyden University, so that it could be published by Justus Lips in 1588: cp. Paquot, xvi, 19; cp. III, 320, sq; and Lips' letter to Clusius of January 14, 1589: *Epist. Miscell.*, II, xxiv.

¹⁾ On December 26, 1594, Arnold Mylius, Cologne printer, wrote to Abraham Ortelius: 'De Waterflieti hæredibus expectabimus quid dies dabit', Hessels, I, 611.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 597; *BrugErVir.*, 58-59; MasE, 13-16; Lips, *Epistol. Quæst.*, II, 1; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 364-65; *Guicc.*, 240; *SaxOnom.*, 413; VulcE, 82; Hessels, I, 31, 286-87, 365, and *passim*; PigE, 131, 134, 151, 152, 168, 181, 248; Lomeier, 291; W. de Haerne, *Rérection de la Paroisse de Waterliet en Flandre à la fin du XV^e et au début du XVI^e siècle*: Ghent, 1892-94.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 304; *BrugErVir.*, 34; *Brug&Fr.*, I, 364-65; MasE, 13-16; *SaxOnom.*, 400; Hessels, I, 34-36, 59, 228-29, 365, and *passim*; PigE, 12, 122, 243; Lips, *Epistol. Quæst.*, II, 1, IV, 14.

reliable biographies of great men of those days, illustrated by portraits in the size and form of medals, the *Opus Chronographicum Orbis Universi*, has made famous another student of the *Trilingue* **Peter Pietersz Opmeer**. He was born on August 20, 1526 in Amsterdam from a patrician family. His father, Peter Opmeer, died when the son was only a baby, and his mother, Maria van Ackersloot, devoted all her love and her care on their only child. He was entrusted for his instruction first to Alard of Amsterdam ¹⁾, and then to Nicolas Cannius ²⁾, to both of whom Peter remained deeply grateful. By 1543, he was sent to Louvain, where, for one year, he attended the lectures of Nannius ³⁾, — not those of Rescius, though : since, much later, on his return to his native country, he learned Greek chiefly from the Delft *Magister Scholarum* Peter Resenius ⁴⁾. From Louvain Opmeer went to Tournai, where the *ædituus*, — probably the sacristan, who in old cathedrals taught the choir-boys, — of Our Lady's, Claud Warin, gave him lessons in French, in mathematics and sacred chronology. His mother, having called him back about 1545, induced him to marry a Sophia Sasbout, daughter of Peter ⁵⁾; it did not prevent him from continuing his study under his master, Peter Resenius, who introduced him to Greek by explaining Euclid and other treatises, with the result that he became himself an expert mathematician, and that he was appointed by William of Orange as engineer.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 316-20, 490-93, &c ; *Cran.*, 96, a-f, especially e ; Opmeer, I, † 4, r, 481.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 139-42, 304, III, 229 ; *Cran.*, 242, a-e, especially e.

³⁾ In his *Opus Chronographicum*, he mentions his professor as 'eruditissimus, editis ingenii monumentis clarus', and offers a fine portrait in the form of a medal : Opmeer, 287, a, 496, b, 498, a.

⁴⁾ Opmeer, † 4, v. A Peter van Resen is recorded, married to Margaret Vos van Cortenbach, both belonging to the nobility, who had a son Peter, born at Tholen, Zeeland, who was secretary there in 1555, when he was appointed a member to the Zeeland States at Philip II's coming into power ; he afterwards joined the party of William of Orange, who appointed him Councillor, representing Tholen in 1579 ; he is said to have written a description of Zeeland of about 600 : Paquot, VII, 201-04 : there is hardly any indication about the identity of the Delft master with either the father or the son, except for the name : cp. *BibBelg.*, 758.

⁵⁾ Possibly a relative to the Sasbouts mentioned before, II, 199, sq, III, 234-36.

Opmeer secured the manuscripts of the physician Renier Snoy, Erasmus' friend ¹⁾, and even interested himself in the studies of John Sartorius, of Delft ²⁾, about their mother tongue.

When Calvinism and other heresies, however, became rampant in his native country, he considered it as his duty to apply himself chiefly to the confutation of those errors by investigating the writings of the Fathers and of the Doctors of the Church. He translated the *Commonitorium* of St. Vincent of Lerins, and published it in 1561 ³⁾. He started a controversy about the Mass with the apostate parish priest of Oudenburg, Leo Empacius, whose former works he translated to show their errors, and whose later creed and preaching he attacked in 1570 ⁴⁾. As some of his best friends, like Cornelius Musius, the poet ⁵⁾, like Quirinus Talesius, of Haarlem ⁶⁾, with his son Henry, parish priest of Spaarwoude ⁷⁾, sealed their faith with their lives in the dire persecution of the seventies, Opmeer wrote down the report of their martyrdom and those of the others that died in those days : it became the *Historia Martyrum Batavicornum*, which was edited posthumously at Cologne in 1625 ⁸⁾. He was then councillor of Francis Valdès, commander of the Lombard regiment at Leyden, and he followed him for some time in Hainaut. When things calmed down, he answered the request of the Amsterdam bailiff Peter de Langhe ⁹⁾, and tried to save there what he could

¹⁾ Renier Snoy, 1477-1537, of Gouda, became physician to Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Veere : Paquot xi, 64, 55-65 ; Allen, i, 190, 10 ; Opmeer, i, 457, b. ²⁾ Paquot, xviii, 194. ³⁾ Paquot, xiii, 193.

⁴⁾ Opmeer wrote an *Historica Assertio* that the *Officium Missæ* was already in use at the 4 first General Councils (Antwerp, Plantin, 1570), against Empacius ; that work has recommending verses by Cornelius Musius, Cornelius Frilatenus, Peter Apherdianus, Martin Donk, and Peter Baccherius ; when Empacius replied, Opmeer wrote a *Responsio ad VIII Articulos* : Antwerp, Plantin, 1570 : Paquot, iv, 35.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 196-202, 482, 515, III, 402-3.

⁶⁾ Cp. II, 310, 488-501.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 501 ; *Cran.*, 242, e ; V. Andreas wrongly identifies this Henry Talesius with Nicolas Cannius : Opmeer, i, † 4, v.

⁸⁾ That *Historia* contains most precious information about the friends that Opmeer knew personally, besides being a reliable report of facts which religious hatred and prejudice has disfigured far too long : Paquot, iv, 37-38.

⁹⁾ Peter de Langhe, Opmeer's friend, was famous as painter : Paquot, iv, 32, 34.

of the old faith, until he had to give way to the overwhelming power of the Calvinists. He retired to Delft, where he continued his work and his apostolate until his death, on Nov. 10, 1595. He was buried in St. Hippolyte's ¹⁾).

Opmeer had made the acquaintance of several great men, not only in the Netherlands, like Martin Donk ²⁾, and Michael de Bay, theologians ³⁾, like the historian Pontus Heuterus ⁴⁾, but also the Cardinal Stanislas Hosius ⁵⁾ and the erudite Benito Arias Montanus ⁶⁾. He was both a providence to the poor and a patron to artists, whose work he used for the illustrating of his *Opus Chronographicum*, giving biographies of all great men, from the beginning of the world to 1569. It was edited at Antwerp in 1611 ⁷⁾, by his son Peter, Councillor of H. M.'s Admiralty, together with its continuation by Laurent Beyerlinck, for the period from 1570 to 1611 ⁸⁾. Opmeer's second son Luke also continued working after the spirit of his father : he helped and protected Pontus Heuterus, and provided much information to the great bio-bibliographer of the xviith century, Valerius Andreas ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Opmeer, I, † 4, r-† 5, r, II, 216 ; *BibBelg.*, 751-52 ; Paquot, IV, 30-38 ; *HEpH*, 125, b ; *Cran.*, 95, g.

²⁾ Cp. III, 263-65.

³⁾ Cp. III, 264, 347, 577, and Ch. XXIV, 4, B.

⁴⁾ He wrote the *Rerum Burgundicarum Libri VI* and the *Rerum Belgicarum L. XV* : Paquot, VI, 1-12 ; Opmeer, II, 272, a, b ; Gabbema, 258-61.

⁵⁾ Stanislas Hosius, Cracow humanist, Bishop of Ulm, 1549, and of Ermland, 1551, was, till his death, 1579, the great opponent of Reformation in Poland : Opmeer, II, 48, b ; *HerMaur.*, 190, &c ; J. Lortz, *Kardinal Stanislas Hosius* : Braunsberg, 1931.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 288-89, 342, and before, p 32.

⁷⁾ Paquot, IV, 35-37 : it was printed by Jerome Verdussen, and dedicated by the author's son Peter to Albert and Isabella.

⁸⁾ Laurent Beyerlinck, 1578-1627, was a native of Antwerp ; he became professor of the College de Vaulx in the University, and then parish priest of Herent ; for his zeal he was appointed assistant Archdeacon of Louvain. In 1605, he was invited by Bishop Joannes Miræus to take the direction of his Seminary, and made canon of Our Lady's of Antwerp. He was a man of zealous work and incessant study : the admirable collection of books which he had gathered was bequeathed to Louvain University ; it became as the nucleus of the Library, which had revived after the dire years of the end of the xviith century : Paquot, VII, 437-46 ; *BibBelg.*, 618-20 ; *AubMir.*, 14, 33 ; *AntwKan.*, 163-74.

⁹⁾ Paquot, IV, 34, 239, VI, 5. His brother matriculated in Louvain on February 26, 1565, as rich student of the Porc : Petrus Opmeer Delphen-sis : *LibIntIV*, 411, r.

C. STEPHEN PIGHIUS

About that time there was at the *Trilingue* the future antiquarian Stephen Wynants, Vinandi, born about 1520 at Kampen, Overijssel, where he received his first instruction. He was the nephew of the great erudite and polemist Albert Pigge, Pighius, who helped and guided him in his studies, assuming even the expenses, in so far that, in gratitude, he took his name; it afterwards secured him the affection and patronage of many an outstanding man in Rome. In fact his uncle had given him, besides the very means, the grandest example of literary and scientific development.

That Albert, of the generation preceding that of Stephen, was also a native of Kampen ¹⁾; after the first training, he went to Louvain, where, in the Falcon, he met a friend for life, Francis de Cranevelt, of Nijmegen ²⁾. Albert was so proficient that he promoted M. A. in 1509, the first of his year ³⁾; he started studying theology under Adrian of Utrecht, and was the first inmate of the newly founded Houterlee College, 1510 ⁴⁾, where his other great professor of divinity, John Driedoens, was president ⁵⁾. From that clever man, he learned mathematics, in so far that when, by 1518, he left for Paris University, he at once started editing treatises about chronology and about the date of Easter, besides inveighing against the senseless predictions of astrologers ⁶⁾. He entered Adrian VI's service in Rome as chamberlain ⁷⁾, and managed to become most appreciated as attendant, as envoy and as trusty messenger by Clement VII and Paul III : he warned

¹⁾ He was born about 1490.

²⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, xxxix, 97, a-l, providing a detailed biography, supplemented by 220, a.

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 68.

⁴⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 168, sq.

⁵⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 181, 184; cp. *sup.*, II, 505-7, 543, III, 164, 372; *MonHL*, 423.

⁶⁾ *Adversus Prognosticatorum Vulfus... Astrologiæ Defensio*, Paris, March 18, 1519; *Defensio of the Alphonsina Positio*, against Mark of Benevento's *Nova Astronomia* : Paris, May 3, 1522. In 1520, he wrote *De Ratione Paschalis Celebrationis*, and other memoirs, offered to Pope Leo X : *Cran.*, 97, b; *RhenE*, 460; *Mol.*, 577; cp. *sup.*, II, 545. — Cp. for a document referring to Pigge's stay in France : *Cran.*, 220, pr.

⁷⁾ *Pastor*, iv, ii, 28, 83; *Opmeer*, I, 470, a, mentions that Pigge taught Paul III mathematics.

the Louvain divines in 1525 of difficulties caused by their criticism on Erasmus ¹⁾, and brought the Pope's presents, a hat and a sword, to King Ferdinand in 1531 ²⁾, whilst some of his writings, dedicated to his Masters, are still preserved in the Vatican ³⁾. As years advanced, he turned all his attention to the healing of the many evils that grieved the Church; unfortunately his health gave way, and he had to return to his native country, where he enjoyed some preferments ⁴⁾. He there continued his work: he published his *Hierarchiæ Ecclesiasticæ Assertio*, 1538 ⁵⁾, wrote against Henry VIII's ecclesiastical innovations ⁶⁾, and was requested, in the autumn of 1540, to take part in the Worms Colloquies, which were continued from January 1541 at Ratisbon ⁷⁾. He composed memoirs and treatises about the *Controversiæ* debated ⁸⁾, and thus had an occasion to formulate his views about original sin and the two modes of justification, either inherent or imputed ⁹⁾; they roused the opposition of John Eck, who even managed to have their publishing delayed by Cardinal Contarini ¹⁰⁾, at least for a time: for Pighius justified his views in several letters ¹¹⁾; men like Cardinal Gropper adopted them, and worked them out ¹²⁾, until the Council of Trent

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 267, 275, *sq*; *Cran.*, 97, c; *MonHL*, 124, 253, 469.

²⁾ *Pastor*, iv, ii, 449.

³⁾ *Codic. Vatic.* 4575, 6176, 7804: *De Progymnasmatibus Geographicis; Adversus Græcorum Errores*: both dedicated to Clement VII; cp. *Pastor*, iv, ii, 554.

⁴⁾ He was canon of St. Martin's, provost and archdeacon of St. John's, Utrecht, and possessed several more promotions: *Cran.*, 97, c, d, e; *MonHL*, 316-17.

⁵⁾ Cologne, 1538: *ContarE*, 108.

⁶⁾ *ContarE*, 107, 116, 158, 294, *sq*; *Jedin*, 271. There are letters from Cardinal Pole to Pighius, Nov. 20, 1537, Oct. 28, 1538, encouraging him in his apologetic work: *Pole*, II, 110, 116.

⁷⁾ *Pastor*, v, 282-85, 309, *sq*; *Laemmer*, 332, 334, *sq*, 341, 373, 376; *ContarE*, 142, 149, &c, 194-98, &c; *SchelAL*, xii, 579; *Jedin*, 304, 326, *sq*, 569.

⁸⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 97, f, g; *Paquot*, II, 184, *sq*; *MonHL*, 486, 583; *Jedin*, 572-79.

⁹⁾ *Pastor*, v, 601.

¹⁰⁾ *ContarE*, 156, 163, 167, 172, *sq*, 177, 179.

¹¹⁾ *ContarE*, 228-9, 349-53, 381-84, 387-89.

¹²⁾ *Gropper*, 11, *sq*, 51, 54, *sq* (though Pigge certainly did not lecture in Cologne: Gropper must have derived his opinions from his writings, or his arguing at Worms and Ratisbon), 77, 102-4, 212. Cp. H. Jedin, *Studien über die Schriftstellertätigkeit Albert Pigges*: Münster, 1931; *CorpCath.*, vii, xvii, viii, 39, 111, 141, xvi, xxxvii; *Constant*, II, 422; *PastReun.*, 167, *sq*; *Voigt*, 189, 551.

irrevocably defined the matter. On that occasion the great Augustine General, Girolano Seripando, called it a sad mistake to join in Luther's and Calvin's reprobation, men like Contarini, Cajetan, Pighius, Pflug, and Gropper, who had struggled fairly for the welfare of Church and of Faith; the Council, he declared, reproved some of their views with the more freedom, so as to prevent all doubt and, especially, the objection that the question had not been fully examined: it had, indeed, been judged with utmost maturity, thanks, above all, to the careful weighing and checking of those very theories ¹⁾.

Pigge was amongst those men, referred to by Seripando, who were not any longer amongst the living: troubled by illness and yet, full of care for his nephews, he died at Utrecht on December 26, 1542 ²⁾, leaving, besides several works in manuscript ³⁾, as well as most interesting letters ⁴⁾,

¹⁾ Pastor, v, 601; Pighius' writings were considered by friends and foes as some of the most authoritative expressions of the doctrine of the Church before the Council of Trent: Gough, 602; Wood, i, 175; Hurter, ii, 1442; M. Audin, *Vie de Calvin*: Louvain 1894, i, 337.

²⁾ In a letter of March 18, 1543, Gerard Kalckbrenner, of Hamont, Prior of the Cologne Carthusians (1536-66: *KölnKart.*, 88, 86-110; Paquot, iii, 204-7), replies to John Vorstius a Loonbeek, Dean of Utrecht (cp. *sup.*, II, 372, *sq.*), who announced Pigge's decease: *HEpD*, 115, a-116, a. Cp. Mol., 523-4; Opmeer, i, 480, b, with portrait; Miræus, 68; *BibBelg.*, 38; Paquot, ii, 175-187; *Cran.*, 97, a-l; Allen, vi, 1589, *pr*; *SaxOnom.*, 70; and *sup.*, II, 268, 275, 297, 372-3, 545.

³⁾ *HEpD*, 115, b; *Cran.*, 97, *g-i*.

⁴⁾ Besides the letters to and from Pighius, mentioned here, viz., to and from Cardinal Contarini (ContarE, 107-389), there are 22 letters edited in Friedensburg; two from Rome to Herman Lethmatius, 1525-26, in Almeloveen, 68-72; one to the Louvain Divines, July 12, 1525, is in the British Museum: Allen, vi, 1589; eight in the Cranevelt Collection, from April 1524 to Jan. 1527: *Cran.*, 97-220; moreover, a letter of June 30, 1538, to Henry Corbeeck, of Mechlin, is preserved in the British Museum: *Harleian MS* 7011, s. Four letters are published in Gabbema's *Epistolæ*: three are addressed to Gerard Kalckbrenner, Prior of the Cologne Carthusians, February 8, and March 3, 1540 and March 4, 1542, about the printing of Pigge's books; a letter of Cardinal Cervini of October 27, 1542, advises him to pass his preferments to his nephews: Gabbema, 31-3, 33-5, 177-78, 36. In a letter of February 5, 1542, Alard of Amsterdam highly praises Pigge and his *De Immensa Dei Misericordia*, and the most persuasive way of his controversy: Gabbema, 96-97. Finally there is a letter from Cardinal Sadolet to Pigge, February 27,

the magnificent example of study and devotion to truth and Faith.

Albert Pigge had recommended his nephews Henry and Stephen to Cardinal Sadolet, and, as late as September 1, 1542, to Cardinal Marcello Cervini, who advised him, on October 27, to transfer his prebends to them ¹). Consequently, the demand was made to Paul III for the approval of the transferring of Albert's prebend in St. Mary's, Utrecht, to Henry, and that connected with the treasurership in St. Martin's, there, to Stephen; still that arrangement was contested, in so far that, on January 22, 1547, a brief was sent to Mary of Hungary, requesting her to protect the relatives of the man who had so well deserved of the Church ²). The kindness bestowed upon them was certainly not lost on Stephen: for he added great glory to the memory of his uncle, whose name he piously and gratefully adopted.

After his preparatory training he had gone to Louvain, where, on August 28, 1540, he matriculated as one of the 'divites Standonicenses', or students of the Porc: 'Stephanus pigius Campensis' ³); in the course of time he became Master of Arts, and was placed the 113th amongst the 137 candidates at the promotion of March 15, 1543 ⁴). From the evident lack of success in the philosophical tests, it does not follow that the young man neglected his opportunities, being probably chiefly taken up by the study of languages and of philology, which he turned to excellent account during his stay in Italy. No doubt, Nannius initiated him in the way of collecting inscriptions from medals, coins and monuments, familiarizing him with the literature and culture of Rome, whereas Rescius and Balenus introduced him into their own domains. More than twenty years afterwards, on October 23, 1567, Pigge's friend of long standing, and his faithful associate in his researches in Rome, Nicolas Florentii, of Haarlem ⁵), requested him, as he was going to Louvain, to give his greetings to the whole

1539, whilst one from Pigge to the Cardinal is referred to in the latter's missive to Paul Sadolet of June 17, 1543: Sadolet, 1002-4, 1097.

¹) Gabbema, 36, — and the preceding note.

²) *Cran.*, 97, *h-i*; *Brom*, I, 142; *Friedensburg*, 259.

³) *LibIntIV*, 135, *r*.

⁴) *ULPromRs.*, 121.

⁵) *Cp. before*, pp 177, *sq.*

Collegium Trilingue : ‘professores nempe illos insignes... optimos patronos’, and to let them know the state he was in; for, after Nannius’ decease, he had not had any letter from any of them : ‘amo tamen’, he added, ‘eos probissimos viros magis quam umquam, cognoscoque ex multis qui inde Romam veniunt res eorum exacte, gaudeoque & lætor de eorum prosperitate’¹). From that and similar passages it is evident that Pighius was keeping in close connection with the Institute.

When he left it, he no doubt tried, with his brother Henry, to secure the prebends which their uncle had wished to transfer unto them; as has been said, difficulties were made, and before the satisfactory solution was requested in 1547 by the Papal Court from Mary of Hungary²), Stephen had left for Italy, where he was welcomed by Albert’s protector, Cardinal Cervini. He at once started noting down and sketching, — for he was an able draughtsman, — all inscriptions and monuments suggestive of the culture and the tradition of the great past. His protector encouraged him and requested him to form a complete collection of such epigraphs and records. After several years of conscientious labour, helped, or at least encouraged, by the work of congenial friends whom he met in Italy, like Antony Morillon³), and Nicolas Florentii⁴), Pigge could offer to his great protector, who, since 1548, was at the head of the Vatican Library, his *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Farrago, collecta atque illustrata per Stephanum Pighium, opus inchoatum absolutumque anno 1554 iussu auspiciisque Marcelli Cervini*. That *Farrago*, as is natural to works made at that stage of the development of sciences, does not show any systematic arrangement, and wants, at places, a critical test; yet in our days the great Mommsen judged that the *Pighiani apparatus longe uberrimi* are most precious : *quamquam reliquias tantum habemus, eæ utilissimæ sunt*; in fact many epigraphs and monuments described by Pigge, have, since then, disappeared for ever. When Cardinal Cervini, who became Pope Marcellus II, on

¹) PigE, 192^{bis} : letter of Nic. Florentii, Rome, October 23, 1567.

²) Cp. before, p 200.

³) Cp. *sup.*, III, 305-12, and before, pp 32, 35.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 177-79 and III, 311, 315-16.

April 9, 1555, died twenty-two days later ¹⁾, the very valuable *Farrago* was returned to its author, who treasured it and used it to help his friends, as he did Martin de Smet ²⁾; only a short while before his decease, he bestowed it on Janus Gruterus ³⁾.

Abandoned to his own resources at the sudden death of his great protector, who, by his election as Pope, had no doubt opened magnificent vistas to his expectation, Pigge returned to the Netherlands. He there was offered the position of secretary for Latin letters and of librarian to no less a personage than the all-powerful Cardinal Granvelle. In that service he found his fellow-worker of Italy, Antony Morillon, who unfortunately died on October 10 of the following year, 1556 ⁴⁾; he further became well acquainted with his brother Maximilian, the Cardinal's collaborator and future Vicar-General ⁵⁾; in 1562, Suffridus Petri joined him at his work, at least for two years ⁶⁾. Meanwhile he had started an intimate friendship with Mark Laurin who was gathering all coins available for his coming editions ⁷⁾, and he helped Martin de Smet to repair the damage caused by a fire to his *Corpus* of inscriptions ⁸⁾. He thus made excellent use of the leisure and of all the opportunities which his situation offered, and of all the advantages of the rich experience of his friends, as well as of the choice collection of books and documents entrusted to his care. He prepared a critical, or at any rate, a greatly

¹⁾ Cp. for the all too short, but most glorious and beneficent reign of that admirable and restless erudite, Pastor, VI, 323-356 : his activity as Librarian is sketched there, pp 336-39.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 186, 192, and *sup.*, III, 318-22; Smet's collection, though not as rich, is better and more reliable than Pigge's, as he did not include in it any of Pirro Ligorio's forgeries : cp. III, 322.

³⁾ After Gruterus' death, it passed through many hands, such as those of the Hellenist Luzac, of Leyden, until, in the last century, it was bought by the Royal Library of Berlin. Copies of the collection are preserved in the Libraries of Berlin, Leyden and Brussels (MS 4347-4350). The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* of the Academy of Berlin frequently refers to Pighius' work : I, 421, II, xi, III, xxxi, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 311.

⁵⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 345-50.

⁶⁾ Paquot, VII, 273; cp. Ch. XXV, 3.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 187, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. III, 318-22, and before, p 186.

emended edition ¹⁾ of *Valerii Maximi Dictorum Factorumque Memorabilium Libri IX*; it was dedicated to Prince Charles-Philip de Croy, Lord of Havrech, &c ²⁾, by a letter of August 13, 1566, and printed by Christopher Plantin, at Antwerp, in 1567. When, on September 5, 1585, Justus Lips finished the revise requested by Plantin for a new edition, he described the book in the dedicatory letter to Pigge: *Valerium tuum — iure tuum : qui valetudinem & colorem tibi debet, imo vitam !* ³⁾ — just as, two or three years before, Francis Modius ⁴⁾ had declared that Valerius was ‘ita in pristinum restitutus, ut nihil iam prope ei deesse ad integritatem suam videatur’ ⁵⁾.

In 1568 Pigge published his *Themis Dea, seu de Lege Divina*, a conversation between Antony Morillon, the imperial

¹⁾ Still, modern research and criticism has objected to several of his corrections as arbitrary.

²⁾ His father Philip de Croy, duke of Aarschot, was a valiant army leader, who distinguished himself in the war against France at Hesdin and Talmas, in 1552 and 1553 : Henne, ix, 341, x, 55-58. The Prince, a great favourer of literature and erudition, was absent when Pigge's edition appeared : letter of March 6, 1567, to George Guyot, physician to the Duchess of Aarschot : PigE, 242 ; on March 1, 1568, Pigge wrote to the Prince, who had been in Lorraine and Italy, and had not seen the book dedicated to him : PigE, 10. Philip of Croy was also Francis Modius' Mæcenæ : *Novant.*, 14 ; Peter Divæus dedicated to him his *Antiquitatum Belgicarum... Liber I* : Louvain, April 18, 1565 : DivRL, **1, r.

³⁾ Reproduced in the third edition by Plantin, Antwerp and Leyden, 1585 ; J. Lips had made use, in his emendation, of two manuscripts belonging to the brothers van der Burch, of Utrecht. Cp. BB, v, 149.

⁴⁾ Francis de Maulde, Modius, born at Oudenburg, in the ‘Franc de Bruges’, on August 4, 1556, studied at Bruges and in the Louvain *Trilingue* under Cornelius van Auwater, and served for a time Lævinus Torrentius at Liège ; during the troubled years of the seventies and the eighties, he stayed at Cologne, Frankfurt, and especially at Würzburg, where, thanks to the intervention of the physician and Latin poet John Posthius, he found leisure and means to devote himself to study and criticism of texts. He became canon at Aire by 1595, and died there on January 22, 1597 : MB, xii, 73-88 ; BibBelg, 234 ; SweABelg, 247 ; BN ; Orbaan, 145 ; AireSP, 108 ; Roersch, i, 111-35 ; A. Roersch, *La Bibliothèque de F. M.*, in *Bull. Histor. de la Morinie*, 192 : Saint-Omer, 1900 ; and *sup.*, III, 278.

⁵⁾ *Novant.*, 426-430 ; Modius suggests some emendations found in a Bamberg manuscript ; he refers to Palmerius' *Specilegia* of 1580, which shows that his letter was written after that book had appeared.

ambassador D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and himself, in the mansion of Cardinal Rudolfo Pio de Carpi, who had acquired a statue in white marble, which, with the help of the Cardinal's friend Antonio Agostino, they recognized as the goddess Themis ¹⁾). The monography on art and archeology, written on that occasion, is followed by *Mythologia εἰς τὰς ὥρας vel Anni Partes*, describing a 'basso-rilievo' then recently found in the neighbourhood of Arras ²⁾).

In the autumn of 1563 Pigge had visited at Zevenaar a friend, or at least an acquaintance of his Italian days ³⁾, Andrew Masius, the great orientalist, who was then in the Duke of Cleves' service as counsellor and occasional envoy ⁴⁾. A warm affection developed between the two erudites, who had so much in common. It was shared by Masius' 'frater' Henry de Weze, also a Cleves counsellor, who, from then on, was mentioned in the numerous letters that passed between them ⁵⁾. They furthered his plan to secure a prebend in Xanten, to which his friend in Rome, Nicolas Florentii, also helped ⁶⁾, and, for certain, they procured him the appointment of preceptor to Duke William of Cleves' elder son, Charles-Frederic ⁷⁾. Pigge consequently left Granvelle's service about 1570, in which he had been fourteen years ⁷⁾, and entered on

¹⁾ Cp. III, 309-10.

²⁾ Antwerp, Christopher Plantin; the whole book was reproduced in Jac. Gronovius' *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum*, 1697-1702 : IX, 1137-1204.

³⁾ Cp. III, 494; MasE, 187-88 (november 1554).

⁴⁾ MasE, 355; also III, 287-88.

⁵⁾ Cp. the long series of letters, from February 24, 1564 to November 8, 1572, MasE, 355 to 496-98 : in several, Masius' *uxor dulcissima* and *Sibyllula* are greeted : MasE, 491; also PigE, 3, 28, 30, 33, 101, 107, 111, 137, 159, 161, 191, 201, 212, 225, 227.

⁶⁾ Letter to Nicolas Florentii, November 14, 1569 : PigE, 112.

⁷⁾ It appears from his letters to Masius that Pighius had been displeased for a long time already with the insufficient wages which Granvelle paid; he attributed it partly to his master's niggardness, partly to Maximilian Morillon, the vicar-general's, envy : MasE, 356, 489, 491. He therefore had often thought of returning to Italy, and possibly he wished to secure Masius' help and interference when he went to visit him at Zevenaar in 1563; it led, no doubt, to the appointment at Cleves; for which Pigge tried to gain also the Duke's Chancellor, Henry Bars Olisleger, by dedicating to him the *Annales* at which he was working : MasE, 356; *UniKöln*, 461; and before, p 123.

his duties with the young Prince. He resided with him for some time at the Court of Vienna ¹⁾ and, whilst in that town, had frequent interviews with Ogier de Busbeek and Justus Lips ²⁾.

From Vienna Pigge was sent with the young man to Italy in the summer of 1574. They left in the first days of September ³⁾, and Henry de Weze, who had taken Masius' place as Pighius' protector at his decease, could announce him, by the end of November 1574, his appointment as Canon Scholaster and as Treasurer of St. Victor's, at Xanten ⁴⁾. Unfortunately the young Prince, from whom the greatest hope was conceived, died suddenly in Rome on February 7, 1575 ⁵⁾. Once more Henry de Weze proved a good friend by

¹⁾ On January 11, 1572, Pighius describes to Masius his journey with the young Prince to Vienna, and their life and studies there; he sends greetings from Busbeek, and requests his friend not to forget the question of the Xanten prebend: MasE, 478; cp. III, 508-9, mentioning the various friends met in the Austrian metropolis, or on the occasion of his journey.

²⁾ On June 13, 1572, Lips writes in Vienna to Pighius that he had dined with Busbeek and had started a conversation, of which, with his excuses for a meeting missed, he communicates the point contested, asking for advice, and inviting him for the next day to a *cœnula*, preceded by a walk '*ad siluulam nostram Querquetulanam*': *Epist. Miscell. Cent. I, v*. In his letter to Masius, Vienna, June 21, 1572, Pighius refers to Busbeek and Sambucus, who return greetings, as well as to Lips, who had served Granvelle in Rome '*eadem fortuna*' as he had done: MasE, 491. That those meetings were most agreeable and profitable to the great Lips, results from *Epistol. Quæst. lib. IV, ep. v*, in which he deplores the talks and walks and *cœnulæ*, of which Pigge's leave for Italy has deprived him. ³⁾ PigE, 141, 93; *Anima*, 332.

⁴⁾ Letters of November 29-30, and December 1, 1574 to Pighius: PigE, 238, 238*bis*, 255, 256.

⁵⁾ That untimely death was the more tragic since the young Prince had virtually become the successor of his father Duke William, who had been irresponsible since 1566; and Pope Gregory XIII had thus conceived great expectations for the restoring of faith in Germany; he therefore had been received with great pomp, and his funeral in the *Anima* was most solemn; in that church a monument was raised on his tomb, near to that of Adrian VI. His younger brother, John William, was mentally unsound like their father, and as he died without heir in 1609, the duchy became the object and the scene of a ruthless war of succession: *Anima*, 332-342; Rousset, *Histoire de la Succession aux Duches de Cleves, Berg & Juliers* &c: Amsterdam 1738: I, 11, sq.

his influence with the Duke, whose Chancellor he had just become ; he made the return of the preceptor and of the *funesta familia* less disagreeable to the bereaved father and to the dreading officials ¹). On his suggestion Pighius drew some fine sketches of the young Duke's last doings and sayings, as well as a report of the journey, which proved a thorough consolation to the father ; they were published in 1587, with several erudite digressions, in honour of his late pupil, as *Hercules Prodicus, seu Principis Juventutis Vita et Peregrinatio* ²).

Meanwhile Pighius had taken up his office at Xanten on August 31, 1575, and found it answering his pursuits. In the relative isolation of the old Rhine town, he worked at the detailed chronological list of all the dignitaries and officials in Rome and the Provinces, with the records of their employment, which he had started at Cardinal Granvelle's request, and for which Christopher Plantin had been ordering engraved representations of medals ever since 1563 ³). The immense work was as the result of the incessant labour of a whole life. On August 22, 1597, he signed the dedicatory letter to Philip II of the first part, which was published in 1599 by John Moretus, Antwerp, as *Annales Magistratum et Provinciarum S. P. Q. R. ab urbe condita* ⁴). Unfortunately he did not see the continuation of his work, as he died at Xanten on October 19, 1604. Andrew Schott directed the printing of the remaining part, the *Annales Romanorum* ⁵), with, as introduction, the biography of Pigge in the funeral oration by his colleague, John de Winter, Xanten canon ⁶).

Pigge left a most important collection of letters with Granvelle and Maximilian Morillon, with Andrew Masius,

¹) Cp. before, p 123.

²) Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1587. — Hercules, represented by *Prodicus*, a youth, has to choose, as in Dorp's *Dialogus* of 1509 (cp. I, 219-20 ; *MonHL*, 331-33) between vice and virtue ; he calls the latter's promoter, *Corona*, Στέφανος, and styles himself, his 'affinis'.

³) M. Rooses, *Christ. Plantin* : Antwerp, 1890 : 269, 273.

⁴) *BibBelg.*, 818 ; Sandys, II, 217.

⁵) Antwerp, widow & sons of J. Moretus, 1615.

⁶) *Vita Stephani Vinandi Pighii, Scholarchæ & Canonici Collegiæ Ecclesiæ S. Victoris Sanctensis in Ducatu Cliviensium* : Paquot, VII, 362.

Charles de Langhe and Nicolas Florentii, with Charles Rym, Plantin and Moretus, and with several others, who, in the second half of the sixteenth century were interested in antique culture and erudition. That *epistolarium* ¹⁾ does not include all the epistles that passed between Pigge and his friends ²⁾ : of those letters, of which the number must have been immense, only a few have survived, — besides those which Lips sent him on various occasions, and in which are echoes of the happy hours they spent in Vienna ³⁾. With Janus Dousa ⁴⁾, Victor Giselinus, Ghisselinck, and Janus Lernutius ⁵⁾, Pigge is introduced by the Louvain erudite in an interview, at his house, in December 1577, described in his *Saturnalum Sermonum Libri II*, treating of the fights of the gladiators ⁶⁾.

Another, and equally important, legacy of Pigge to posterity consists of the notes of a lifelong search, describing 134 monuments, of which a large part have since disappeared. They became the property of one of his colleagues Eberhard von Vollenhoven ; they afterwards enriched, at Gotha, the library of the Duke of Saxony-Coburg ; a transcript of that

¹⁾ The original collection belonged to the Royal Library of Berlin ; it now subsists in a few copies : e. g., in Hamburg Library, in Brussels Royal Library, MS 7400, and in the General Archives of Brussels : *CartMan.*, 187 : it ranges from 1558 to 1597.

²⁾ Gabbema, 110-11 : Pigge to his friend and protector Thomas Persols, of Utrecht : Rome, July 28, 1551. There are moreover several letters to and from Pighius in Plantin Museum, Antwerp, as the erudite was already in connection with the great printer in 1561, when, on October 10, Christopher sent him the last quire of *Commentaria in Tabulam Magistratum Romanorum*, which was as a forerunner of the great work, for which Arnaud Nicolaï was making engravings of medals from 1561 : PlantE, I, 16-17, &c. — to September 30, 1589, when John Moretus announces him his father-in-law's decease and recommends his service : PlantE, viii, 585-86.

³⁾ Viz., ep. 5 of *Epistol. Quæst.*, I iv ; cp., in the same *Epistol. Quæst.*, I, 9, iii, 22, v, 21 ; also *Epist. Miscell. Cent.*, I, 5 ; *Epist. ad Germanos & Gallos*, 31 ; besides the *Electorum Liber II*, cap. xi ; *Antiquarum Lectionum lib. II*, c. xiv ; and *Ad Valerium Maximum Notæ* (in the first volume of his collected works : Antwerp, 1614, pp 476, sq, 127 and 521-38) ; cp. before, III, 508.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 248, 320-21.

⁵⁾ Both of them were Lips' fellow-students : cp. III, 278, 482-83.

⁶⁾ Antwerp (*editio ultima*), John Moretus, 1604 : 7, sq.

precious collection belongs to Berlin Library : *Reliquiæ* 'Επιγραφῶν καὶ περιγραφῶν *Romanorum, quas aliquando collegit Romæ et alibi in Italia Stephanus... Pighius*. The device, which one of the former possessors of this precious copy wrote on the title-page : *Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos æternos in mente habui*, depicts the life of the most exemplary priest, of the zealous and clever erudite, whom, in his boundless admiration, Lips described as : *indefessi calami & stilli Livius* ¹⁾).

6. VAN DER BORCH'S LEAVING

A. INMATES & FOREIGN HEARERS

Besides those men, moving in the full light of history, crowds of hearers attended the *Trilingue* lectures, whose names are unknown ; on account of the absence of yearly accounts by President van der Borch, not even the inmates are recorded, except by accident, being mentioned for some repairs effected in their rooms, which are noted down in the two *Manuale's* of the expenses ²⁾). Thus it is known that James Suys, the future numismatist, who had entered the College under Goclenius ³⁾, staid, at least, until the summer of 1541 ⁴⁾ ; in which year there resided also a Vlaminck, or Vleeminck ⁵⁾, as well as a Machiel, — probably the Christian name of a hursar ⁶⁾). Of a fourth only his office of 'Prior' is

¹⁾ Cp. Pighius' *Vita* by Canon J. de Winter, in *Annales*, 11 ; Opmeer, 1, 515, b ; *SweABelg.*, 681 ; *BibBelg.*, 818 ; *HEpD*, 116 ; Paquot, 11, 187-91 ; *SaxOnom.*, 432-33 ; *ADB* ; *BW* ; *BN* ; MasE, 187-88, 355-6, &c ; A. Roersch, *Les Humanistes de la Renaissance*, in *Rev. Génér.*, 1906 : 54, sq ; Roersch, 1, 137-47 ; Sandys, 11, 217 ; *CollTorr.*, 127 ; &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 55-56.

³⁾ Cp. III, 454 ; *AccGocl.*, 3^{bis}, v ; *AccEdel*, 4 ; Roersch, 1, 122.

⁴⁾ Jtem x^a Januarij <1541> voer een venster op Jacop suys camer te herloden ; — <after August 9, 1541 :> Jtem eenen slotelle tot Jacop suys camer : *ManBorchI*, 54, r, 32, v.

⁵⁾ *ManBorchI*, 32, v : <after August 9, 1541,> Jtem op vlamick camer aen die vouzydele, ij haken... — 54, r : Jtem opde camer van vleeminck van de gelasen schoon te maken...

⁶⁾ *ManBorchI*, 54, r : < on, or after, March 13, 1541,> Jtem de gelasen aen Machiels des borsiers camer gerapareert...

noted down ¹⁾ : he may have been a Martin Lips ²⁾ or a Livinus Ammonius ³⁾, whom the love of learning led to Louvain for a stay of a year or two, of which his abundantly remunerated dignity could easily defray the cost ⁴⁾.

It is more than likely that the lectures of the *Trilingue* were attended by some students; then at Louvain, whose names recall some great friends of Erasmus and of humanism in general, or whose family was connected even with the Institute. Such were the 'Cornelius Schepperus nobilis', who matriculated on August 28, 1542 ⁵⁾, and the 'Lucas Sterck, ex Meerbeek', who was placed the 54th at the promotion of 1539 ⁶⁾; also the 'Florentius Herce, Rollariensis' ⁷⁾, who obtained the 32nd place in that same promotion ⁸⁾, as well as the 'bernardus botzheim badensis' and the 'Rochus botzheim hagatoconensis', most likely nephews of John, Erasmus' great friend ⁹⁾, who matriculated on April 19, 1542 ¹⁰⁾. Nor is it illogical to assume that John and Adrian Boisot ¹¹⁾, Francis,

¹⁾ *ManBorchI*, 30, r : Item opden xliij^e April <1540> gegeuen Gherden den gelaesmaker voer het verloon van eender vensteren staende opder prioirs camer...

²⁾ Cp. III, 71-75.

³⁾ Cp. II, 191.

⁴⁾ Erudition was then at a low level in many convents : thus Gerard Morinck had been appointed by 1533 in St. Trudo's Abbey 'vt religioso... Collegio numquam deesset, quem super quacumque re, præsertim literaria consuleret'. 'If an abbot has no love for good erudition, he cannot do any good to the flock entrusted to him', a friend, William Wolffs, Lupus (cp. *sup.*, p 90), wrote in praise of Abbot William Sarens, who had taken Morinck into his service : *MonHL*, 492-93.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 157, v.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 100 : of the Falcon ; a 'Johannes Stercke de Meerbeke, pauper Liliij, matriculated on August 31, 1539 : *LibIntIV*, 127, r.

⁷⁾ No doubt a son of the enthusiastic humanist Nicolas Herco of Florennes, who became Charles V's physician : cp. *Cran.*, 154, a-b.

⁸⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 99.

⁹⁾ Cp. Allen, I, p 1.

¹⁰⁾ *LibIntIV*, 155, r.

¹¹⁾ 'Joannes Boysot bruxellensis' matriculated on April 7, 1540 : *LibIntIV*, 131, v ; he obtained the 82nd place at the promotion of 1539 : *ULPromRs.*, 101 ; 'Adrianus Boisoet, Mechliniensis' was the 18th of the promotion of 1542 : *ULPromRs.*, 113. Cp. before II, 159, III, 507, &c.

John and Herman Horion ¹⁾, 'Corardus' Schetus ²⁾ and Hajo Cammingha ³⁾, who then were at the University, attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, as several of their brothers and relatives had done before them ; whereas the Charles and Cornelius Bomberghen ⁴⁾, members of the family of printers at Antwerp and Venice, could hardly have forgone the splendid occasion to learn the languages, on the knowledge of which their most prosperous trade was based ⁵⁾.

A similar conclusion may be drawn about the foreign students who resorted at that time to Louvain, with the exception, perhaps, of the English and Irish, who may have come to Brabant less for a special instruction than for a sure harbouring ⁶⁾. Indeed, it is safe to conclude that young men, who found near their native places every opportunity to be

¹⁾ 'Franciscus Horion leodien.', 'Joannes Horion, fil. Guilielmj de leodio', and 'Hermannus horion' matriculated on October 22, 1539, February 28, 1540 and in April-May, 1541 : *LibIntIV*, 128, r, 131, r, 144, r ; cp. before, III, 232-34.

²⁾ 'Corardus Schetus Antverp.' matriculated in June 1541 : *LibIntIV*, 144, v ; cp. before, III, 358-61 and 395, sq ; he afterwards became Lord of Hingene, commissary of finances, and head of the noble family of Ursel : III, 361.

³⁾ 'Haio Camminga phrysius' matriculated on September 14, 1540 : *LibIntIV*, 139, r ; *sup.*, II, 455-60 : he was, probably, a nephew of the Lord of Amnia of the same name.

⁴⁾ 'Carolus & Cornelius Bombergen Antverpienses' matriculated on December 23, 1541 : *LibIntIV*, 151, r. — In the summer of 1563, those brothers helped to build up again Plantin's concern : cp. *MasE*, 345, 364 ; and before, p 32.

⁵⁾ Daniel Bomberghen matriculated in Louvain on February 27, 1495, with his two brothers : 'Anthonius & Franciscus de Antwerpia — minorennes — pro quibus juravit Mgr Will. de Vianen' ; they were students of the Castle : *LibIntIII*, 48, v. Daniel became a great Hebraist : cp. before II, 120 ; *AntvAnn.*, II, 387 ; *AntvDiercx.*, IV, 116 (states that he died in 1549) ; *SweMon.*, 20, 74, 78 ; *CorpCath.*, XIII, *passim*.

⁶⁾ Thus the Louvain Matriculation Register (IV) records, for 1540, June 21, Oliverus Stercke, of London ; August 25, Edmund Alyn, Francis Goldsmet, and John Walker, of Cambridge : *LibIntIV*, 133, v-134, r ; September 20, Gregory Bottolphus : *ibid.*, 139, r ; — for 1541, March-May, Cesar Lodovicus Stephanus, nobilis : 144, r ; Sept. 20, William Brocus, Comes Cantiaë, & Dnus Stephen Tennand : 150, r ; September 22, Dns William Waram : 150, r ; — for 1542, January 16, Francis de Pigli : 151, v ; July 19-22, William Chersholmus, Dunblanensis, and M. Thomas & Richard Stranck, brothers, Scotchmen : 157, r.

fully trained, should have come to Louvain chiefly, if not only, to avail themselves of an advantage which their own Universities were unable to supply, at least, as yet : namely the efficient and progressive study and teaching of languages. It brought, no doubt, to Brabant the 'Viterus a Roosvelt Westfalus', who matriculated in June 1541 ¹⁾, and the 'Philip, Count of Waldeck', inscribed on the 14th of the following October ²⁾. Further the 'Hermann Adolph Rietesel nobilis' ³⁾, recorded on June 27 in 1542 ⁴⁾, the 'Rodolph Frankensteyn, Christian Clenghen, & Michael Witlich, Germani', on the following July 8 ⁵⁾; also the 'D. Johannes Mirus Lusitanus nobilis' ⁶⁾, on the first day of September of that same year; they, no doubt, studied at Busleyden College, as surely did Charles Perrenot, son of Charles V's Chancellor, who matriculated on August 25, 1540, on which occasion Maximilian Morillon took for him the prescribed oath ⁷⁾.

B. VAN DER BORCH'S RESIGNING

Thus the rivulet, the rill that bubbled up from the well in 1517, had grown to a mighty river, which did not merely benefit one small corner of the world, but had taken a lordly sway through a wide stretch of lands. In the then sad lacking of all rational method in teaching ⁸⁾, the magnificent example of the *Trilingue* was a revelation. It was closely followed and, before a few years elapsed, carefully applied in numberless schools in the country and even abroad, in so far that it secured fame to imitators, like Velsius ⁹⁾, and to systematizers

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 144, v.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 150, v.

³⁾ Probably for : Riedesel.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 156, v.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 156, v.

⁶⁾ *LibIntIV*, 160, r.

⁷⁾ 'Carolus Perenotus nobilis minor, juravit eius nomine Maximilianus Morillanus' : *LibIntIV*, 134, r ; cp. III, 346.

⁸⁾ Cp. e. g., *ErAge*, 34-48, 52-65 ; *Weinsberg*, I, 104.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 139, sq ; through the method introduced by him in the Cologne School of languages, that was to become the *Tricoronatum*, the way of instructing of the *Trilingue* became as the model of all the Jesuit Schools, especially since Rhetius managed to apply it most effectively : cp. before, pp 140 ; Duhr, I, 241-45 (: even the manuals by the Louvain professors were used) ; *UniKöln*, 201 ; Kuckhoff, 47-51 ; *Rhetius*, 31, 36-39 ; *Tricoron.*, 47-60, 70-82, 97-102, &c ; Chs. XXIV, 6, XXV, 4, 5.

and codifiers, like Sturm ¹⁾. To the new manner of lecturing was almost necessarily joined that of studying : instead of relying entirely on secular tradition, knowledge and science were made completely independent of it, and were founded exclusively on the object of the research, or on the attestation of documents of unquestionable authority. That inestimable method, heralding the modern times, was revealed, and practised for the very first time in the *Trilingue*, in the safe and sound explanation and criticism of literary texts by Goclenius and Nannius, that was to reach its climax in the interpretation of Cornelius van Auwater and his grand pupil Justus Lips ²⁾. It was applied at once to all branches of human knowledge, and realized marvellous results within a few years : it extended to Law and Jurisprudence, to Natural Sciences and Medicine, producing benefactors to intellectual understanding and to the physical as well as to the moral welfare of man, forming many a Mudæus ³⁾ and a Viglius ⁴⁾, besides Gemmas ⁵⁾ and Vesales ⁶⁾. That research spread in all directions, and developed such an impulsive strength that it tackled matters apparently beyond access, such as the study of Roman epigraphy, which, not only was properly started on the incentive of the *Trilingue* lectures ⁷⁾, but has been based, up to the present day, almost exclusively on the inscriptions gathered by Smet ⁸⁾ and Pigge ⁹⁾ who were being formed in the Institute under van der Borch's presidency.

Yet, neither those magnificent achievements, nor the growing number of students could keep that man at his glorious

¹⁾ Cp. II, 579-90, Although ascribing his formation to the Brothers of the Common Life, — no doubt, for the sake of his religious opinions, — Sturm was actually indebted for most of the good qualities of his pedagogy to the *Trilingue*, rather than to the School of Liège : in the latter he only remained two years as a boy, and the teaching there was at as low a level as it was at Deventer. In Louvain, he had the excellent lessons of Goclenius and Rescius, and he spent four years of his maturer youth there, to which he added a fifth, in which he worked in close connection with Rescius : cp. II, 589-90, where also the cause is pointed out of the short life of his School.

²⁾ Cp. III, 270, sq, 277-79.

³⁾ Cp. II, 210-18, 418.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 145-50, 153, 157, 378, 433-35, 449-50.

⁵⁾ Cp. II, 537, 542-65.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 323-33.

⁷⁾ Cp. III, 316, sq.

⁸⁾ Cp. III, 318-22.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 201, sq ; Paquot, II, 191.

post : disgusted, no doubt, at Rescius' vile lawsuit, he wished to devote his efforts to save, not some pelf, but the faith of his brethren in their dire need ; after all, he was not a pedagogue, and had certainly not become a priest to be turned into a college manciple. Circumstances made him take a decision, and set him free from an office which may have become a burden for him.

As all old students of the *Artes* at work at the University, van der Borch wished to benefit by the Privilege of Nominations granted to the *Alma Mater* ¹⁾). The first preferment to be disposed of by the Chapter of St. Mary's, at Utrecht, to which the President had been given a right, was a canonry in that very church. As was the custom in those first years after the Privilege had been extended by Adrian VI and Clement VII, the appointment was contested by the Chapter ²⁾), complaining that they were unjustly burdened in the months which they claimed to be reserved, and they threatened to oppose all nominations, even in the free months, if the Louvain Faculty did not exempt the *menses ordinarij* from her Nominations, for as far as their powers were concerned, which the Faculty refused to do ³⁾). Similar difficulties were regularly made to candidates nominated by the University to prebends in the Liège diocese, which, however, were mostly decided in their favour ⁴⁾). So it happened in this instance : Nicolas van der Borch was duly recognized as canon, and when the burden of the presidency of the *Trilingue* became particularly irksome through the professor, who had not the decency to break off with the Institute which he tried to ruin by his lawsuit, he must have longed for the life of a zealous priest,

¹⁾ Cp. VAnd., 20-28 ; A. van Hove, *Conflits de Jurisdiction dans le Diocèse de Liège... 1506-1538* : Louvain, 1900 : 56-76.

²⁾ Hardly more than twenty years later, another difficulty arose between the Chapter of St. Mary's, Utrecht, and Bartholomew de Gozée, who had also been appointed by dint of the Louvain Privilege ; his right was contested, and a lawsuit was started : still, on March 11, 1560, the King's Privy Council enjoined the Chapter to accept Gozée actually as canon, even whilst the question was to be examined in the Court of Appeal : FUL, 5292 ; *ULPrivCon.*, 117-18.

³⁾ *ActArtInd.*, 32 : the passage is quoted for the year 1535, on f 12, v, from the, now lost, *Liber Actorum Facultatis Artium VI.*

⁴⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 141, b-i ; FUL, 4693-4709.

to which all his studies had tended, rather than that of a dry-as-dust manager.

As a fact, van der Borch resigned his presidency soon after August 23, 1544, the date of his last entry into his *Manuale*, and went to fulfil the duties of his prebend of St. Mary's ¹⁾, probably on the advice of his master and friend Ruard Tapper, who, in 1543, had induced Francis Sonnius to abandon the professorial career that opened most invitingly to him in Louvain, for the canonry which he had been granted in St. Saviour's, at Utrecht ²⁾).

C. FURTHER CAREER

As could be expected, van der Borch did what he could by his example and by all his endeavours, to save what was to be saved in that period of religious and moral disaggregation. His efforts were highly appreciated, and, when Sonnius was made deputy-inquisitor in Utrecht diocese by Royal authority, he requested Viglius to be given a Castro as helper ³⁾, probably because he had been trained for that work by Tapper ⁴⁾ and by the other divinity professors, and had already acted as delegate in such matters. On that account van der Borch was given, about November 1556, as colleague to Sonnius ⁵⁾, and, from then on, he took an active part in several proceedings ⁶⁾, although against his will. He even wished that his appointment by Philip II should be represented as imposed upon him, and not as desired by himself, or suggested by the Louvain divines, so as not to rouse the people's animosity ⁷⁾. In March 1558, he was ordered to continue the proceedings begun against Henry Geldorp, the Delft teacher, who, already before, had had some trouble on account of his heterodox teaching at Leeuwarden; he had pretexted illness when summoned to The Hague ⁸⁾: in a letter of March 27, 1558, de Castro owned

¹⁾ *ManBorchII*, 33, r; Mol., 696.

²⁾ *SonnE*, xii-xiii.

³⁾ Letter of June 20, 1555 : *SonnE*, 8.

⁴⁾ Cp. *BN*; and III, 577, sq.

⁵⁾ *SonnE*, 16.

⁶⁾ *Et&Aud.*, 1177^t (1557); *SonnE*, 72, 74 (1560).

⁷⁾ Letters of Sonnius to Viglius, November 9 and 22, 1556 : *SonnE*, 16, 19.

⁸⁾ He became schoolmaster at Duisburg after having fled from Delft : *Heresbach*, 162; Gabbema, 189-205 (letters to John Tiara, i. c., a fellow-

that he had been outwitted by the sly invalid ¹⁾). In the spring of 1560, he was active in Groningen against Stephen Sylvius, the parish priest, and against his apostate curate ²⁾). He was also most preoccupied about all harm and danger, and heartily welcomed the help from zealous pastors, such as the one of Wormer, Martin Donk, Duncanus ³⁾), who may have known him in Louvain ⁴⁾), and who dedicated to him most gratefully his *Prætextatæ Latine loquendi Rationis per Colloquiorum Formulas... Pars Prima* ⁵⁾).

In consideration of the excellent services rendered to the Church, van der Borch was proposed as one of the candidates for the episcopal sees created by Philip II, and nominated, on March 10, 1560, as first Bishop of Middelburg by Pius IV. With Peter de Corte he was consecrated at Mechlin by Cardinal Granvelle on December 26, 1562 ⁶⁾), and he at once entered on his duties ⁷⁾). The event was duly celebrated in Louvain, especially in the Falcon, as is suggested by the distich com-

believer, 205-214 : cp. *Dialogus Epithalamicus, auctore, ut perhibent, Geldorpio, Scholæ Duysburgensis Moderatore*), 784-817, and 820-27 (letters to and from Hermann, Count of Neuenahr, Joachim Hopper, Philip Marnix, Janus Dousa and others).

¹⁾ *Et&Aud.*, 1177¹ C : autograph original.

²⁾ Letter of Sonnius to Viglius, June 27, 1560 : *SonnE*, 72 ; accounts for fees paid to de Castro and to Sonnius are found in *Et&Aud.*, 1177¹ C : February 20, 1555, &c ; *HoopSch.*, 313, 489.

³⁾ Cp. III, 263-65 : from Donk's accounts it follows that he received van der Borch as guest in the Delft presbytery in September 1559 : *Donk*, 23.

⁴⁾ *SonnE*, 74 ; *Donk*, 44.

⁵⁾ *Donk*, 22, sq ; *HEpM*, 20, b ; Bömer, II, 190, 198, quoting Donk's severe judgment on Erasmus' *Colloquia*. As already remarked (cp. III, 264), only the first of those famous dialogues were intended for boys and for classes ; all colloquies added after 1522 were criticisms destined for grown-ups, represented in an innocent-like fashion, as were the poems of the *Navis Stultifera*, and even the *Laus Stultitiæ*, so as to be understood by everybody ; unfortunately, criticism is a double-edged knife, since it necessarily mentions the evil that is to be eradicated, and the very fine shape was misused by badly intentioned masters.

⁶⁾ Bishop van der Borch related his consecration and the accompanying ceremonies to his friend Gislenus Schryvers, registrar of the Council of Trent, in a letter dated from Mechlin, December 28, 1562 : *HEpM*, 13.

⁷⁾ *GranClaess.*, 19 ; *SonnE*, xiiij, 77 ; *Fruin*, 526-32, 534, 537. He took as vicar-general John van Stryen, who afterwards succeeded him : *Fruin*, 528 ; *Guicc.*, 220 ; *HEpM*, 21, sq ; *BelgChron.*, 494, sq.

posed on that occasion, with its reference to name and place, and to the war-cry of the Pedagogy in the Promotions of the Arts ¹⁾ :

A Castro ad Burgum properat : Præsulque Zelandiæ
Est ; per terram æque ac per mare Falco volat.

Unfortunately the life of the Prelate in Zeeland could hardly be called a 'flying' : great difficulties were caused by the adversaries of the Old Faith, who were especially virulent there ; moreover, even the staunch Catholics in the country felt harassed by vexatious measures of Government ²⁾, and, most of all, a bitter struggle had to be fought against the Chapter of St. Saviour's, Utrecht, who, since centuries, had exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Zeeland. Provost Cornelius Mierop, who was also archdeacon, stubbornly held on that old monopoly, and when, on January 12, 1562, Margaret of Parma, on the Bishop's appeal, decided that jurisdiction should be provisionally shared, the Utrecht authorities ordered their proclamation of the decrees of Trent to be read in all the Zeeland churches as if no *Ordinarius* existed. The latter, however, apodictically asserted his claim, which was confirmed by a second decree of Margaret on September 6, 1563, and even by a third, July 24, 1564, which finally imposed authoritatively the Bishop's sole and unquestionable right ³⁾.

Fortunately, not all circumstances were unfavourable to the Bishop. As the Abbot Matthias Havenberch van Heeswyk, of the Abbey of Our Lady and St. Nicolas, of Middelburg ⁴⁾, whose successor he was by dint of the bull of erection, March 10, 1560 ⁵⁾, had died, he was invested almost at once with all the rights and emoluments connected with that dignity, of which he took possession on November 26, 1561 ⁶⁾ ; he accepted

¹⁾ NèveMém., 391 ; their attribution to J. B. Gramaye is not acceptable, as he was born four years after van der Borch died : NèveMém., 320.

²⁾ In after years Bishop van der Borch shielded his flock from some of Alva's rigorous measures, and objected to the 'tenth denarius' : RamCons., 20, 71.

³⁾ The story of the difference is related in *HEpM*, 13, b-20, with the text of several of the documents ; cp. Hoynck, III, i, 161-62.

⁴⁾ Cp. *HEpM*, 7-8 ; Hugo, II, 195 ; Fruin, 511 (Aug. 1549)-523 (June 1559).

⁵⁾ *HEpM*, 12.

⁶⁾ Cp. Fruin, 51, 61, 63, 74, 525-37 ; amongst the privileges was that of becoming 'Dijkgraaf', Warden of the Zeeland Dikes, for which the

the temporal advantages, in most cases, through his brother James ¹⁾. In 1565 he attended the Provincial Council under Archbishop Schenck, at Utrecht ²⁾, and he himself held a Diocesean Synod in November 1566 ³⁾. In that year some trouble arose at Middelburg, but he calmly and decidedly breasted it ⁴⁾. In fact, he ruled his diocese with great prudence and wisdom, preaching the example of virtue and fortitude, yet acting as a father in that most difficult period. He was spared the affliction of witnessing the ruin subsequent to the assault of the troops of William of Orange, for he died, seized by an illness, on May 16, 1573 ⁵⁾. He was buried in his cathedral without an epitaph : still he left the memory of his virtues and of his uprightness, to which even his adversaries brought homage ⁶⁾.

In grateful remembrance of the years of study and of his first lectures in Louvain, he had founded through his brother John, canon of St. John's, Mechlin, in 1566, a 'flying scholarship', not connected with any particular institute, which was to serve for the studies in the Falcon, and, further, in any of the higher Faculties ⁷⁾ : it was entrusted to the care and management of the actual professors — or what they called, the Strict Faculty — of Medicine in Louvain University ⁸⁾.

oath was taken in August 1565 : Fruin, 74, 530 ; there was also a fine residence, with tower and moat, at Westhoven, at his disposal, which he greatly enjoyed : *HEpM*, 36, b ; Hugo, II, 195.

¹⁾ Cp. Fruin, 525.

²⁾ He signed the conclusions on October 30, 1565 : *HEpM*, 17-18 ; Paquot, xvi, 166.

³⁾ The conclusions were printed that same year in Louvain (J. Welle) : *HEpM*, 18, a.

⁴⁾ Opmeer, II, 33, relates that, instead of hiding from the rabble as the town council proposed, he asked to be advised in time, so as to put on his episcopal vestments, and die as a bishop for his flock.

⁵⁾ Cp. *BelgChron.*, 493, sq ; *HEpM*, 12-20, and references quoted ; Opmeer, II, 33, with portrait ; Mol., 887, 696 ; Hoynck, I, ii, 728 ; Vern., 137 ; VAnd., 266, 278 ; NèveMém., 390, sq ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 498.

⁶⁾ M. Z. Boxhornius, *Zelandiæ Chronicon*, 55 ; cp. also *RamCons.*, 71 ; *SonRyth.*, 60.

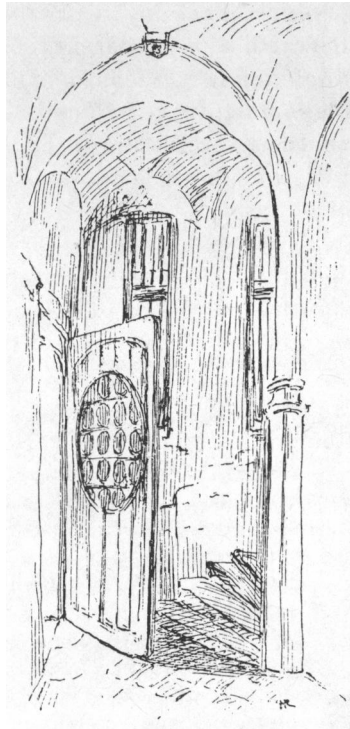
⁷⁾ *FUL*, 1385 ; *ULDoc.*, IV, 437 ; VAnd., 266.

⁸⁾ *FUL*, 4521, 4522 ; Mol., 645, 696. The two primary professors of Medicine were the administrators and 'collatores' ; the 'bedellus' of their Faculty was to act as secretary and receiver. On December 24, 1783, the Rector prescribed new regulations for that foundation, which,

By another foundation he wished to endow young girls for their marriage : by that double use which he intended for the fortune he was leaving, as well as by the lay management to which he entrusted it, he all but imitated the last dispositions of Erasmus ¹⁾.

by the Imperial decree of July 4, 1761, had been subjected, with all other 'flying scholarships', to the authority and control of the University : cp. FUL, 177-79, and p xx; it yielded that year a revenue of 120 *Rh. fl.*, although it did only 55 at first. It went lost in the turmoil of 1798, the last account being rendered on 21 Prairial vi (June 9, 1798) : cp. FUL, 6285-86 ; it is not recorded any more in Tarlier.

¹⁾ Mol., 696.



The
Wendelsteen
(II, pp 48, sq)

CHAPTER XXIV

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN REYNDERS

I. THE STAFF

1. THE PRESIDENT

A. HIS TRAINING

As successor to Nicolas van der Borch, the *Provisores* of the *Trilingue* appointed one of the professors of philosophy in the Castle, John Reynders, Reyneri (Reyniers), of Nederweert, near Weert, in the (now Dutch) Limburg Campine. He had come to study in Louvain about 1515, and had entered the Castle, where a townsman of his, Cornelius Brouwers, Braxatoris, Sculteti, was then *regens* ¹⁾. He was very successful in his studies, for he was placed the second of 158 candidates at the promotion of 1518 ²⁾. He then applied himself to theology, whilst teaching as *legens* in his Pedagogy ³⁾ with such a good result that he was appointed *examinator licentiantiorum* for the annual promotions of the Faculty of Arts ; in that quality his name is recorded from February 18, 1535 to March 18, 1540 ⁴⁾. On February 1, 1529 and 1530, he was elected procurator of the French nation, which comprized the students of Gelderland, whereto Weert then belonged ;

¹⁾ Cornelius Brouwers, or Schoutens, Sculteti, of Weert, was, by 1512, *co-regens*, and from 1514 to 1539, *regens* of the Castle, although he had taken a *co-regens*, as he had been entrusted on December 31, 1522, with the management of St. Jerome College, on the 'Leye' ; some time before his death, March 30, 1539, he suffered from dizziness : cp. *ULDoc.*, iv, 10-11, v, 98 ; cp. I, 363, III, 260-61, &c.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 71 ; *ULPromLv.*, 7.

³⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 32.

⁴⁾ The lists of the examiners for the period before 1535 are not extant, as far as is known ; Reyneri's name is mentioned for the dates indicated, as well as for March 28, 1536, March 22, 1537, April 9, 1538, and March 27, 1539 : *ULPromRs.*, 82, 86, 90, 98, 102.

on September 30, 1529, he was elected dean, and in the year starting with June 23, 1533, he acted as receiver. As one of the chief members of the Faculty, he requested to be nominated to the first vacancy to be disposed of by the Dean and Chapter of St. John's, Hertogenbosch, which procured him the eleventh canonry, dedicated to St. Margaret, in that church, on January 8, 1535, at the death of James Baillart, its last possessor, on January 5, 1535 ¹⁾. Similarly he had been nominated by the Faculty to the first vacant prebend at the disposal of the Dean and Chapter of St. Donatian's, Bruges, and, in consequence, he accepted, on March 1, 1544, the succession of the eighteenth canonry in that church, of which the last possessor, Philibert Willemont, had died on February 28, 1544 ²⁾. Meanwhile Reynders had promoted Licentiate in theology, and would have probably chosen the ecclesiastical career, when, by the end of 1544, he was appointed as President of the *Trilingue*.

B. HIS PRESIDENCY

The documents of the management of the College, which for van der Borch's regency are reduced to the manuals of the expenditure, have completely disappeared for the up-to-then longest presidency of his successor : its history has to be made from stray allusions in contemporary documents. The period, however, was not devoid of momentous events : certainly not in the beginning, when the disgusting lawsuit, started by Rescius in December 1539 ³⁾, was still dragging on. The defence was then most masterly and victoriously managed by the *provisores*, Tapper and de Corte, who, by their thorough study of documents, had broken down the seemingly invincible superiority of their adversary ; indeed, in the beginning of the contest, the Greek professor had made the utmost of their complete ignorance of the circumstances of the founding of the *Trilingue* and of the conditions that were as their natural result ⁴⁾. During the short interval in which he had been entrusted provisionally with the management of the *Trilingue* at Goclenius' decease, he had had an easy

¹⁾ Coppens, II, 89, 90, I, 373-75.

²⁾ BrugSDon., 160.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 70, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 69, sq, 77, sq.

access to the records of the Institute ¹⁾, which were just then enriched by several documents found in van Vessem's possession ²⁾. Fortunately not all the papers of that most active of Busleyden's executors, had thus been given up ³⁾ : they escaped purloining and destruction by Rescius, and served to build up the final and most effective *libellus*, which decided the issue of the long debate in favour of the College in the last weeks of 1547 ⁴⁾.

Rescius had died two years before the final judgment was pronounced in the Apostolic Court of Appeal ⁵⁾ : he had been replaced during his illness by Adrian Amerot, who had taught Greek to private students in the Lily as early as 1516, and had recently been entrusted with lectures in that language in the Castle. Although he was the most desirable successor, he was not appointed at once : the 'provisores' had requested him to continue reading the Dialogues by Lucian, which Rescius had started ; when they were finished, he explained a short text, Libanius' *Meletes*, as he wished to leave the 'Provisores' free in their choice of the successor ⁶⁾. It implies that they were not full masters of the decision at the time, and that they had to ask for the consent of the last of Busleyden's executors, Adrian Joseph, or Josel, the Antwerp Canon. He had never taken any particular interest in the College, besides attending the checking of the yearly accounts by the president, and only to 1536 ⁷⁾. He probably died before, or in the beginning of, January 1549, when Nannius dedicated his *Declamatio Quodlibetica, de Æternitate Mundi* to the three *provisores* of the *Trilingue*, which he named :

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 585, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 587, *sq.*, and before, *pp* 76, *sq.*

³⁾ Vessem died on April 29, 1539 : cp. before, *pp* 8-9 ; he had sent some time before a chest with manuscripts (III, 587, *sq.*) : still, some, which seemed his personal documents, had been kept, and were placed at the disposal of the *provisores* : cp. before, *pp* 77, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Cp. further, section 2.

⁵⁾ Cp. section 3.

⁶⁾ Cp. section 4.

⁷⁾ Josel checked an account by van der Hoeven on September 14, 1535 : cp. III, 378, but did not come to arrange about his successor at his death on September 10, 1536 : III, 380, 383. He paid a last — apparently unexpected — visit to the Institute in the week of the Louvain fair, September 1540 : cp. before, *p* 58.

Ruard, Peter and Hubert ¹⁾). Judging by the Founder's Will, the third was the Prior of the Louvain Carthusians ²⁾), the successor of Thierry Symons, of Heemstede, who died April 3, 1542 ³⁾). On account of the gap extending from 1525 to 1571 in the records of the Charterhouse ⁴⁾), only the Christian name is known for certain : Paquot gives *Knobbaut* as family name ⁵⁾), which, considering his frequent misreadings, may safely be corrected into the form *Knobbaert*, *Cnobbaert*, as more in accordance with the language : it was illustrated in those years by two generous men, probably relations, bestowing their kindness on Louvain town and University ⁶⁾).

On February 1, 1547, Reynders was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and that he, all the time of his regency, saw to the regularity of work and lectures in the College, results from a letter of May 23, 1557, in which the professor of Laws, John Vendeville ⁷⁾), exposes to Viglius his views as to how the newly instituted lectures of elementary jurisprudence ought to be given : he mentions as model the regularity in which the teaching is effected in the *Trilingue* ⁸⁾) ; after advising to diminish the great number of holidays, he wishes

¹⁾ The dedicatory letter is dated January 23, 1549, and the book was published in February by Serv. Zassenus : Polet, 302-5, 74-77 ; Paquot, xiv, 70 ; and further, section 4, A.

²⁾ *Test.*, 73. Cp. Mol., 295, sq ; Duchess Margaret of York had laid the first stone in 1489.

³⁾ He had as predecessors Theodoricus Persyn († October 21, 1532), and Francis of Edam, who died on December 2, 1539 : cp. III, 75, 580 ; *MonHL*, 258-61, 281, 284, sq, 471.

⁴⁾ *ULDoc.*, v, 565, sq.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xiv, 70.

⁶⁾ Amongst the scholarships of the Porc is mentioned, for 1589, the foundation of the brothers Philip, a priest, and Francis, Knobbaert, of Antwerp : probably the misery of those years prevented its being arranged into something more than a providential help to a ruined institution : *ULDoc.*, iv, 164 (probably that happened, too, for those following in the list, John Jaecx and Ger. Vlemincx). A far longer life was granted to the foundation of the brothers in favour of lying-in women of the five parishes of Louvain, which remained in actual use until 1804 : *LouvAssist.*, cii, 595, 620 (Cnobbaert).

⁷⁾ Cp. Ch. XXV, 2, A.

⁸⁾ In order to prevent that the students should be occupied too long with the elements of the science, Vendeville advises to suppress some of the holidays or half holidays that were numerous, and points out as model the regularity of the teaching of the *Trilingue* : VigliEL, 22.

'ea assiduitate isti elementorum interpretes <viz., the professors of law> doceant qua professores Collegii Trilinguis et cæsarei professores'. That mention indubitably testifies to the efficient direction of the President ¹).

C. LATER LIFE

Reynders managed the Institute much longer than any of his predecessors; he seems to have left it unwillingly, when he considered himself bound to answer the unanimous vote of the Chapter of St. John's, Hertogenbosch, electing him on April 29, 1559, as successor to Dean Gerard van Gameren, who, on July 18, 1558, had succumbed to the pest. After he left Louvain, he was replaced in the *Trilingue* by a relation of Augustine Hunnæus ²), the chaplain of St. Peter's Melchior van Ryckenroy, of Mechlin, who continued the fine work of his predecessor ³). The latter unfortunately, did not enjoy very long his office at Hertogenbosch: he died already on October 14, 1560, and was buried in the high choir of the magnificent church ⁴).

On the day before his decease, October 13, 1560, Reynders bequeathed by his will, a rent of 41 Rh. fl. to the *Trilingue*, with the request to distribute the proceeds amongst the poor students of that Institute ⁵). He also founded four 'flying

¹) Cp. *LibNomI*, & *ActArtInd.*, *passim*; VAnd., 278; NèveMém., 391; *ULDoc.*, iv, 498-99. ²) Cp. before, pp 152-57; and *AuwCar.*, 40.

³) Cp. before, p 157; he was placed the 15th at his promotion to M. A., March 21, 1549, from the Castle, and became Bachelor and licentiate of theology; he started his regency before the end of 1559; he was elected Rector on February 28, 1570, and was appointed, about that time, parish priest of Great Zundert, near Breda. He died in Louvain in 1571, and Hunnæus, in his will of September 5, 1578, expressed the wish to be buried in the same tomb as his relative in St. Peter's, near the altars of St. Yves and St. Elizabeth: cp. VAnd., 44, 278; NèveMém., 391-92; *ULPromRs.*, 153; *ULDoc.*, iv, 499.

⁴) Coppens, II, 89-90; cp. I, 373-75.

⁵) Amongst the documents recorded in the *College Inventory*, there was a bond for 41 fl. rent on the States of Brabant, bought in 1564 for that foundation, as well as a copy of the founder's will: 'ff f. 41 R. op Staten v. Brabant, quartier van Louen — voor de arme studenten deser Collegien met de penninghen gelegueert door Jan Reyniers pres. 4 Mei 1564'; also: 'G g. Het testament desselfs Heeren Jans Reyniers gecopiert by M. Nic. Berwouts': *Inv.*, 26, r.

scholarships', not grafted on any existing college ¹⁾, of which the management was entrusted to the two Ordinary professors of Divinity, canons of St. Peter's, and to the chief professor of Canon Law. The beneficiaries were to study philosophy in the Castle ²⁾; after their regular training, they were allowed to apply themselves to theology, to laws or to medicine, and to promote licentiates. That foundation became one of the chief 'flying scholarships' in use at the University of Louvain, to which it was incorporated from 1761 ³⁾ unto the French Revolution; it is still in existence, and doing its beneficent work after nearly four centuries, although severed from the Institution for which it was devised ⁴⁾.

2. RESCIUS' LAWSUIT

A. IN THE APOSTOLIC COURT

The three first years of Reynders' management were saddened by the contest which Rescius had started against the College in 1539. After nearly five years' haggling, and two or three sentences, the end seemed as far away as ever ⁵⁾. The secondary action, begun on November 19, 1543, by which the Greek professor wanted the President to follow out all the regulations prescribed in the Founder's Will, did not produce any result; so, on June 19, 1545, he repeated his claim in the Rector's Court for the extra pound to be requested from the inmates, as well as for a room for himself, similar to those of his colleagues ⁶⁾. Nonsuited as well in the Court of the V Judges as in that of the Rector in his request of an

¹⁾ The scholarships were to serve, in the first place, for students of the founder's family; then such as were originary from Nederweert and Overweert; further, of the county of Horn and the territory of Thorn; finally, those of places, with which Reyniers had been connected: Hertogenbosch, Bruges, Louvain, Geertruidenberg: Tarlier, 24, sq.

²⁾ FUL, 968.

³⁾ FUL, 4516-4519: also 158, 161, 176-80. A new regulation was drawn up in 1766 and was approved of by the University: cp. FUL, 968; VAnd., 255; Mol., 645.

⁴⁾ It is now entrusted to the Brabant Commission for scholarships: Tarlier, 24-25.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 86, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. *MotJurts*, 42, sq. 48.

indemnity, as if insufficient wages were paid out to him, he lodged an appeal, regardless of expenses and of chances of success. That appeal, properly, was made to the Pope ; since, as a foreigner, he could neither judge by himself, nor by his representative, the Nuncio, a *Judex Patriæ* was appointed and invested with full powers to hear and judge in his name. That *Judex Apostolicus delegatus*, generally a professor, or an official, who had graduated in Canon Law ¹⁾, was at the time Cornelius de Meldert, Dean of St. James's, Louvain ²⁾, and, before his Apostolic Court of Appeal, the lawsuit was introduced in its third instance in the summer of 1545. On July 4 of that year, Rescius submitted a 'libellus' in which he stated, as one of the grievances, that the College authorities had just admitted the insufficiency of the wages by paying sixteen Flemish pounds to Balenus as arrears for a yearly extra pound, besides board and lodging, and besides the eight Flemish pounds of the 'basic' salary. It was not difficult for the *provisores* to prove the falsity of that assertion by the College accounts and by Balenus' attestation ³⁾.

Rescius did not see the end of the lawsuit, for, after a short illness, he died on October 2, 1545 ; unfortunately the prosecution did not end with him, at least not the principal action ; for, by his decease, the secondary lost all relevance, and was resolved into the first. If, as it is most probable, the College authorities tried to finish the suit by a mutual understanding, they did not succeed, and Rescius' widow was eagerly bent on continuing to the bitter end the action in appeal before the Apostolic Court. Cornelius de Meldert, Dean of St. James's, was replaced — possibly, during the term of his Rectorate, — or, at least, assisted by the Abbot

¹⁾ Vern., 70, sq ; FUL, 6203-6253.

²⁾ Cornelius de Meldert, a native of Brussels, had studied in Louvain, and promoted Doctor of Canon Law, on February 7, 1503. He was Dean of St. James's there from 1499 until he died, aged 92, on September 18, 1556. He kept in close connection with the University, being elected Rector on August 30, 1518, August 30, 1533 and February 28, 1546 : Mol., 158, 478-79 ; VAnd., 41-43, 180 ; de Jongh, *9, *24 ; ULDoc., 1, 263-67.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 54.

of Parc, Louis van den Berghe ¹⁾, to whom some of the evidence was submitted.

As the *provisores* wished to finish the contention as soon as possible, they tried to produce apodictic pleas, and spent much more time in the preparation of the replies than was welcome to Anna Moons. They made a thorough study of all the documents available in the College, and of all the evidence brought forward in the earlier stages of the lawsuit ²⁾; fortunately, some precious papers and documents were found in the house of one of the executors at Mechlin, no doubt, Bartholomew van Vessem ³⁾; and inquiries were made about the life and the circumstances in the College, by applying to some old students and inmates who, after leaving Louvain, had become Councillors or Officials in Holland or Zeeland ⁴⁾.

In the course of the proceedings a *libellus* was submitted to the Court, on Monday, February 8, 1546, by the *provisores* of the *Trilingue*, pointing out as most suspicious that Rescius never expressed the least complaint, nor even mentioned any disappointment or surprise about the insufficiency of his salary, as long as men, fully acquainted with the conditions of his appointment ⁵⁾, as Goclenius was, were still alive; they remarked that he had missed the best opportunity to make a protestation, namely the time when they, as *provisores*, took in hand the management of the College; although they were the very persons to whom he naturally

¹⁾ Louis van den Berghe, Montanus, issued from a Louvain patrician family, entered the Premonstratensian Order in the Abbey of Parc. He became provost of Leliendael, near Mechlin; at Abbot Ambrose van Engelen's death, March 16, 1543, he was elected his successor. With the help of John Hessels, he worked earnestly and successfully at the renovation of the spirit of his community, and died on October 1, 1558, at Mechlin, on a visit to Leliendael: *Mol.*, 199, 691, 885; *Gestel*, I, 195; *Parc*, 36, 42, 67, 79, 125, 228; *MalGod.*, 59-62; cp. before, p 159.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 58.

³⁾ No doubt, van Vessem's account, *Rek.*, is described as the register of the College in which the admission of Rescius is recorded, according to a pact made; it is said to have been preserved by Bartholomew van Vessem 'et nunc coram Dño abbate percensi in judicio exhibit(us)': *MotJuris*, 33-34.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 50, 59-65; also further, pp 234, 237-38, and App. VI.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 39.

should have complained about what possibly had been withheld from him up to then, he never as much as mentioned any injustice of which he had been the victim ; nor did he utter any protestation, any complaint, or any surprise, at any of the renderings of the three accounts of Goclenius' management by Matthew Coggen, at which he was present ¹⁾, and at which was indicated the exact salary that had been paid to his late colleague ; on the contrary, he quite approved of the reckoning, and yet, he then had already a full knowledge of the stipulations of Busleyden's Will ²⁾.

Of more importance was the information which the *provisores* could supply about the circumstances of Rescius' appointment. All during the lawsuit he had kept assuring that he had been nominated according to the stipulations in the Founder's Will ³⁾, — which, however, he pretended to have ignored until after Goclenius' decease ⁴⁾. It was found, though, that he had been taken into service by the executors at the conditions which they had proposed after the changes they had introduced in the carrying out of Busleyden's scheme ⁵⁾. Amongst the documents found in Vessem's house, Mechlin, was the account of the execution of the Founder's Will, submitted to, and approved of by, his brother Giles de Busleyden on January 24, 1525 ⁶⁾ ; as it was rendered by Vessem in the name of the four executors of whom he was one, that most interesting document had not been sent to the *Trilingue*, but had been kept amongst his own personal papers : it thus escaped ransacking and destroying by Rescius. It was, no doubt, the most valuable *Rekeninghe ende bewijs*, which proved a unique source of information,

¹⁾ The account of Goclenius' second year was rendered on March 6, 1539 : *AccGocl.*, 39, r ; *AccEdel.*, 2, r ; that of the third year, on March 12, 1539 : *AccEdel.*, 2, r ; cp. before, p 9.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 39, 40.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 70, 74, sq, 79, sq.

⁴⁾ Rescius pretended never to have seen Busleyden's Will before Goclenius' death : *MotJuris*, 33. Cp. before, pp 79, 81, 87.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 75, sq, 78, sq, 81, sq.

⁶⁾ The last lines of the approval of the account of the execution of his brother's Will by Giles de Busleyden, are reproduced in *Busl.*, 159. Cp. for the execution, *Busl.*, 112, sq, 118-22 ; also I, 49 62, and Ch. III.

as abundant in extent as reliable in its value ¹⁾). It actually came as a godsend to the *provisores* : for it provided an incontestable proof about the payment of Rescius' wages up to 1522 ²⁾), with the definite stipulation that they were according to what had been arranged, '*ex pacto*', about the stipendium ³⁾) : on that account it was submitted to the Apostolic judge, the Abbot of Parc ⁴⁾).

The College authorities wanted, moreover, to clear up another matter which had been the cause of many contentions, namely, Rescius' residence at the *Trilingue* after his marriage. He himself assured that he had kept his room ⁵⁾), whereas the *provisores* had found out that, as all his belongings had been removed soon after 1525, and as there was a shortage of accommodation, the wide apartment that had been his, was let to one, and even for a time, to two boarders. A proof was found in his request of October 1539, when he urged the

¹⁾ Most probably it was given up to the *Trilingue* by Vessem's heirs on this particular occasion, along with the rough draughts of the Will (cp. I, 15-46) and the *Mutationes* of 1522 (cp. II, 103-7), which, no doubt, had been amongst the documents of the chief executor. They evidently were kept most religiously in the Institute, and may even have been transferred for safety's sake to Brussels at the end of the Austrian regime, and entrusted to the Brabant Council. With the records of that body, they entered the General Archives, in which they were preserved in the xixth century, until, in the very first years of the xxth, they were added to the documents of Louvain University, which, at its suppression in 1797, had been confiscated by the central administration. It was there that my colleague and friend Henry de Jongh, and myself, we found that *Rekeninghe*, for neither de Ram, nor Reusens had known it, and, consequently, its existence was ignored by P. S. Allen. My friend just mentioned it in his history of the Faculty of Theology, 1911 (de Jongh, xxi, 204); in quest of documentation for the first quarter of the sixteenth century, — which brought me to classify the entire store during the first World War : FUL, v-vii, — I spent months to study in all its details the account of Busleyden's succession (*Rek.*) : I thus could make it into one of the corner-stones of my study about the Founder, 1950 (*Busl.*, 90-125) and of this History of the first years of the *Trilingue*, 1951-55.

²⁾ *Rek.*, 91, v-92, v.

³⁾ *Rek.*, 92, r, mentioned in *MotJuris*, 34.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 33-34 ; cp. before, p 226.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 47 : he had repeated that assertion in his *libellus* of June 23, 1542.

College to pay an indemnity for the room, which he had not occupied ¹⁾; it found further confirmation in his demand of November 19, 1543 ²⁾, iterated on June 19, 1545 ³⁾, that a room should be provided to him as to the other professors ⁴⁾.

B. THE 'MOTIVUM JURIS'

When the *provisores* and their advisers had the whole case fully in hand, they introduced, on October 17, 1547, a series of articles against Rescius' widow, which they were requested to substantiate before November 14, 1547: it, no doubt, was the origin of the *libellus* which they handed in on the stated day, and which seems to have been final. In fact, the various elements of the case are represented so apodictically in it, that there does not seem to be left any possibility for a doubt ⁵⁾. It also shows that the lawsuit would have been decided from the first weeks, if the defenders of the College had known the full matter in 1539 as they did in 1547, after endless inquiries and researches. If such had been the case, Rescius would not have dreamed of claiming anything whatever, since his only chance of success was the complete ignorance of the *provisores* and of the president, not to mention his colleagues, about the history of the first years of the Institute ⁶⁾, especially since he had managed to rob and destroy all deeds and documents in what must have seemed to him the only source of information, the records of the College, to which even, apparently, all those of van Vessem had been recently added.

Of that last action, the ultimate *libellus* has survived: it is the only one of the long series of documents produced in the endless suit, left to brand Rescius' memory by the villanous purpose of robbing his masters and benefactors. It was

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 48; cp. before, p 69.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 48; cp. before, p 85.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 48; cp. before, p 86.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 47-49.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 55-56.

⁶⁾ Considering the frank opposition that seems to have been extensive in the first years, only very few, if any, outsiders were entrusted with the intimate history of the College, and they, probably, had gone the way of all flesh.

evidently composed by the *provisores* and their advisers, and written out by a secretary ¹⁾, probably in the first days of November 1547. It is divided into paragraphs, of which the first words are separated from what precedes by the space of a line, and by a larger writing used for the first word or words. Some titles of chapters on the seven first pages are also pointed out by a bigger letter, and so are important quotations, or some proper names in the text. The first writing seems to have been carefully checked and corrected, not only by the copyist ²⁾, but by one who was intimately interested in the matter, most probably a juridical adviser : — generally he wrote in a clear, broad hand, using an ink of a lighter shade. Some of his additions are rectifications in the text ³⁾, or in some dates ⁴⁾ ; more numerous, and more characteristic are the notes in the margin, indicating the matter treated in the text, as well as the interest it offers, or the conclusion it suggests ⁵⁾ ; in two cases the notes are in small writing, and mention the date at which the *libellus* was handed in (November 14, 1547) ⁶⁾ ; in four instances it refers to the six documents added as proofs to the *libellus*, by means of a capital letter, repeated on the corresponding deed ⁷⁾ ; an extract of the Founder's Will was also annexed to this *Motivum Juris*, as it is called in the title, added over

¹⁾ The writing is not that of Peter de Corte, and certainly not the bad, irregular hand of Tapper ; nor are the corrections or the marginal notes by them : the text may have been entrusted to a scribe, whereas corrections and additions, as well as marginal notes, point to the man intimately associated with the case, probably the advocate representing the *Trilingue*.

²⁾ The writer probably made the correction on p 22.

³⁾ E. g., pp 17, 50.

⁴⁾ E. g., p 49.

⁵⁾ E. g., statements : 'Repugnantia in verbis Rescii' (p 33) ; 'Nil debetur Rescio' (34) ; or conclusions : 'Rescius nulla affectus injuria' (27) ; or similar sensible remarks.

⁶⁾ Pp 42 and 48 : the ink seems the same, and between the writing may only be the difference that is natural between a note that calls for attention and a mere statement of a fact.

⁷⁾ The first deed, *A*, is referred to on p 17 : the text mentions 'Erasmi Roteroda. epistola de præsentī negotio ad Dñm Egidium buslidium scripta et data A' ; that sign A is repeated in the margin with the note : 'quæ in fine hujus alligata et signata lra A'. Similarly, reference is made to *b* on p 41, and to *C*, *D* and *E* on p 50.

its first line by another, and, most probably, much later, hand ¹⁾. That title runs :

Erectio et institutio Collegii Buslidiani
Moderationes Circa institutionem ac Profes-
sores, &a. Motivum juris in Causa Rutgeri
Reschii Prof. ling: graecae Contra provisores
et presidem Colleg: Copia testamenti Hîmi
Busleyden Fundatoris Moderationes et
mutationes Circa fundationem.

It is evident that this *libellus* was, for the College and its history, a document of the greatest importance ; it is now preserved in the Royal Archives, Brussels ²⁾. It had originally six annexes, besides the *Copia Testamenti Hieronimi Busleyden*, judging at least from the title. That copy of the Will, to which the text constantly refers, has disappeared ; so have, too, the two first annexes, marked *A* and *b*, both of which were autographs of Erasmus. The first, *A*, was the letter, dated Louvain, October 30 <, 1517>, to Giles de Busleyden ; it was evidently taken out of the bundle after it found its way into the Brussels Archives, where Pinchart († 1884) copied it, and indicated his source as : *Coll. d'Autographes*. It then was lost for at least forty years, until the archivist Hubert Nelis found it in 1928 amongst a '*varia*' of old papers.

¹⁾ Two other marginal notes added on p 24, explaining Mattheüs Adrianus and Barlandus, as 'primus professor Hebreus' and 'primus professor latinus', and on p 41, repeating that 'M. Joannes Campensis per administratores et executores extra Collegium ejicitur', are evidently of a much later date ; the ink and writing are quite different, and it is hard to understand how a man, occupied in 1547 with that lawsuit, should have thought it necessary to add those explanations, which must have been quite superfluous to contemporaries like de Corte, Tapper, Reynders and the judges.

²⁾ The document comprizes 58 pages written by one hand — except the corrections and marginal notes — on three folio quires ; the first counts six double leaves, with the *signatures* a b c d e f ; the second had originally eight double leaves : *sign.* : g h i k <l m n> ; the second half of leaf g was cut off, and replaced by another half leaf ; the third quire has only one double leaf, of which the 3rd and the 4th page is blank : it may have served as cover to the six documents that were originally annexed, and of which only four are preserved and kept with the *libellus*, as FUL, 1437.

P. S. Allen reproduced the text from Pinchart's copy ¹⁾, inexact in more than one place ²⁾; the letter is represented here on p 231 ³⁾ in phototype, which shows at the top the *A* that attests its origin ⁴⁾.

The second, *b*, is a letter by which Erasmus, advising the President of the College, proves that Rescius was tolerated in the *Trilingue* after his marriage, because he excused and protected him, whereas the President and the executors wished to dismiss him ⁵⁾; it is dated Basle, March 30, 1527, and addressed to Nicolas Wary. The Royal Library of The Hague acquired it, on September 9, 1927, from the collections of the Jesuit Fathers of Maastricht ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, III, 691 : he mentions, about the original of Pinchart's copy, that it was 'an autograph in the Royal Archives, but it cannot now be found'.

²⁾ Allen, l 1 et] MS. vt Allen, l 21 sacras] MS. suas &c. Underneath the last line of the epistle, there is written, in much smaller letters : 'Crastino die non lugebimus', meant probably as a consolation for the brother of the deceased Jerome on the coming All Saints' & Souls' Days.

³⁾ It is also reproduced on I, 248, and described there on pp 245-50.

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 246-56. The form of the *A* on the letter is identical with the one (a trifle smaller) on p 17 of this *MotJuris* : cp. before, p 230.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 41.

⁶⁾ The description, which P. S. Allen (VII, 1806^a, *pr*) gave of this letter soon after its acquisition by the The Hague Library, was used for my reference to it in this *History*, II, 321-23. Since then, through the kindness of Miss Charlotte Schaepman, I have been supplied with photographic copies of that document : it evidently was the second annex to the *Motivum Juris* : it has, in fact, at the top the mark *b*, resembling the form of the minuscule *b*, — which I had expected to have the (modern) shape *B* of the capital. Still the form *b* is indicated as the third amongst those of capital B, e. g., in Cappelli, 30. That quite identical special form is also used in the margin of p 41 of the *Motivum Juris* announcing it. It thus provides the conclusive proof of the identity of the letter of The Hague with what was the second annex of the *libellus* of November 1547. Further proofs are the stains and the state of the document : it was the first larger leaf following on the *Motivum*, which explains the black and frayed right side and lower border ; it has, moreover, a light brown waterstain on the lower part, showing on the reverse, — not on the obverse side, which is discoloured by the handling about and by the exposure to light ; it was even lately altered by a reagent ; that waterstain exactly corresponds with those on the last leaves of the *Motivum* and on the subsequent documents, C - F.

The other documents, which still are joined to the original *libellus* of 1547, are :

- C. A letter of Cornelius Suys to Ruard Tapper & Peter Curtius, dated from The Hague on April 30, 1547 ¹).
- D. A document containing a series of questions about the College and its customs, about Rescius, his coming to the meals, and his residing in the *Trilingue*, and similar matters, written out by the same hand that drew up the *Motivum Juris* of November 1547 ²). In the margin, which evidently was left wide on purpose, as well as in the space between the various paragraphs, answers to those questions were written down by Cornelius Susius, Arnold Sasbout, Peter Susius and Adrian Sandelin ³). That document was then returned to Tapper and Curtius by Cornelius Suys in his letter of April 30, 1547, Annex C, for the slits which were made when the folio sheets were folded up twice, and through which the wedge-shaped slip of paper was thrust to receive the seal and close them, coincide in both documents.
- E. A letter of Jerome Zandelin to Andrew Balenus, dated from Brussels, September 18, 1546 ⁴).
- F. *Copia ex Registro Jodoci quondam vander Hoeuen./ De mutationibus et moderationibus circa fundationem collegij per executores factis* ⁵). — This document, occupying three pages and a fifth of the fourth of a double leaf, comprises a report of those ‘*mutationes*’,

¹) *MotJuris*, 59 (letter) and 60 (address) : it is reproduced in (APP. VI) *StudAtt.*, 37.

²) This document is announced, with C, on *MotJuris*, 50 ; the form of capital D, used there and in this instance, is recorded as the first in McKerrow, 349.

³) *MotJuris*, 61-64 ; the questions are formulated on pp 61-63 ; the answers, in four different hands, are added in the margins and the open spaces, and at the end, to p 64 ; the text is reproduced as (APP. VI) *StudAtt.*, 1-36.

⁴) *MotJuris*, 65 (letter) and 66 (address) : it is reproduced in (APP. VI) *StudAtt.*, 38.

⁵) The two parts of this title are in a different shade of ink, apparently by two different hands ; the second copied the whole document ; the first wrote ‘*Registro*’ through the original F at the top.

decided upon on February 6, 1522, the letter of Nicolas van Nispen, dated Brussels, February 15, 1522, communicating those alterations to John Stercke, the President, as well as the text of the changes decided upon ¹⁾).

This *Motivum Juris* is of the highest importance for the history of the College of Busleyden, even though deprived of two of its most valuable annexes ; for it relates the difficulties which the executors of Busleyden's Will encountered in the task they had accepted ; with van Vessem's account, revealing the obstacles of more material nature that were overcome, it represents the unique and authentic source of information for the internal history of that great Institution in the first years of its existence.

C. ARGUMENTATION

The *Motivum Juris* of November provided the apodictic reply to the last of the accusations brought forward by Rescius and his widow. By one of them the Greek professor declared that, contrary to what was asserted by the *provisores*, he had never accepted the *Mutationes* of February 1522. Yet, if he had been treated according to the stipulations of the Will, Rescius would have been paid after the first ten years (from September 1528) at the rate of only eight pounds a year ²⁾ ; whereas he had been paid to his dying day at the rate of nine pounds, the salary fixed for each of the three professors in the *Mutationes* : the accounts proved that he had received that sum from 1522 ; he himself had owned to it when, in 1544, he declared in the Rector's Court that, from 1534, he had been paid twelve pounds a year : three of them, and not four, as he asserted, being an indemnity for his board, as follows from the note in van der Hoeven's account for 1534, stipulating the exact amount granted on that head by the executors on May 5, 1534 ³⁾).

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 67-70 ; the document is reproduced in II, 104-107, and commented upon on the pages preceding and following it ; reference is made to it in this *History as Mut.*

²⁾ *Test.*, 20.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 55-57 ; *AccHoevII*, 34, v.

The opponents had repeated the claim already made in 1540 ¹⁾ to Rescius' share in the extra pound Flemish, which the inmates were to pay according to the Will, and which, as he said, the College had received from 1518 to 1539. In reply the *provisores* handed in to the Court the text of a complaint formulated by Rescius in 1539 about the executors, for having abolished that extra charge, which was meant to be divided in shares among the professors ²⁾; they also pointed out that, in his secondary action, and particularly on June 19, 1545, he had urged the Rector to compel the College to ask from the inmates the payment of that extra pound Flemish ³⁾. He had thus testified himself that the supplement had never been either requested or received, as that stipulation of the Will had been altered from the very beginning by the executors by dint of their right to change it, or to cancel, or introduce, whatever they liked; nor was it done without reason, for full liberty thus was left to the professors to teach privately, and to accept what their students would give. Rescius was moreover reminded of the mistake made in claiming that profit from 1518, since the inmates only had entered the College when the building was ready, in October 1520 ⁴⁾.

A similar reply was given to the already contested claim to part of the profit realized on bursars and inmates, which the Will recognized to the professors ⁵⁾; that stipulation had been cancelled by the executors; it had been made in the supposition that Busleyden's foundation should have been grafted on St. Donatian's College, and the testator wanted to prevent that the advantage of an affluence of students caused by the services rendered by his three professors, should go entirely and solely to the old College, which had already the benefit of getting the wherewithal to exist and revive after having been as good as ruined. The executors rightly surmised that the Founder would not have been so liberal, if he had arranged the affairs of a College of his own, and not those of St. Donatian's ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. before p 71.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 42; cp. before, pp 68-69.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 43-44; cp. before, pp 84-86.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 44-45; cp. before, p 79.

⁵⁾ *Test.*, 41.

⁶⁾ *MotJuris*, 46-47.

Another grievance brought in by Rescius before the Dean of St. James, — and afterwards by his widow —, was that from his marriage until May 5, 1534, he had received neither board, nor its equivalent to which he was entitled. The *provisores* aptly replied that, after his marriage, Rescius had not been deprived in the least of his right to the board; he was left free to avail himself of it or not. If he did not partake regularly of the meals which were at his disposal as part of his wages, he could not blame the College. Indeed he actually proved that he was conscious of being entitled to them, and made use of them at his pleasure: he came to the table uninvited, and as often as he liked, and his place was always reserved, until the time that he lost the right to it by the agreement with the executors of May 5, 1534 ¹⁾.

Evidence had been provided in this and other matters, thanks to the attestation of old inmates, the Holland councillors Cornelius Suys, Arnold Sasbout, Peter Suys and Adrian Sandelin, who, having been told of Rescius' claims, declared themselves ready to give official testimony and evidence in all courts for what, from experience, they knew to be the truth, in a contest which they considered to be of the highest importance for the welfare of the *Trilingue* and even of arts and letters in general ²⁾. They declared that, from 1530 to 1534, when they were in the College, Rescius' place was always kept at table, and that, when he came, Goclenius gave up to him the first seat that he occupied in his absence; they could not help adding that, on account of Rescius' taciturnity, no student ever became a whit more eloquent by his company; it was also the custom that, when professors or inmates asked guests to a meal, they had always to think of the number of places at the board, for Rescius often came, and yet was never invited ³⁾. Jerome Sandelin, receiver general of Bewesterschelde, declared that he had often sat at table with the Greek professor at such meals, to which he had not been requested ⁴⁾. About the other

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 49-50: cp. III, 123-24.

²⁾ Letter of Cornelius Suys to Tapper and Curtius: The Hague, April 30, 1547: *MotJuris*, 59 (= *StudAtt.*, 37). ³⁾ *StudAtt.*, 24.

⁴⁾ Letter to Andrew van Gennep, Brussels, September 18, 1546: *MotJuris*, 65 (= *StudAtt.*, 38).

pretensions of Rescius, those old students certified that they had never paid the extra pound Flemish for the professors, and what they gave to Goclenius, was in return for his own personal help and his tuition. They also named the students who had occupied Rescius' room whilst they resided at the College ¹⁾).

As to the chief complaint made by Rescius, namely his insufficient salary, the defenders of the College could produce an evident proof that he had no right at all to the fees which Busleyden had set down for the Greek and for the Hebrew professor; twelve pounds Flemish, besides board and lodging, at least for the first ten years : for they were to be invited from abroad, *ex locis remotioribus, ex aliis Universitatibus*, provided there were not any equally well learned and qualified in Louvain or the neighbourhood ²⁾). On this subject, they could submit Erasmus' testimony : in a letter to Giles de Busleyden of October 30, 1517 ³⁾, he declares that he is ready to engage a Greek professor : *De greco accersendo... manda tuo Erasmo*', and adds that, although there is at hand '*Rutgerus juvenis optimus et eruditior quam pre se ferat*', yet he prefers that the teaching should be inaugurated by famous and unparalleled men : '*malim rem vt dixi, per celebres et eximios institui*' ⁴⁾. If the salary offered was intended as tempting for a man like Janus Lascaris, who had been the head of the Greek College of Leo X, and who had gained a world's fame ⁵⁾, what right then had a little assistant printer's corrector like Rescius to it ? Erasmus' letter to Lascaris did not reach him in time ; meanwhile, disappointed in their plans by the refusal of the authorities of St. Donatian's College to accept the foundation, the executors had decided

¹⁾ Thus Cornelius Suys declared to have inhabited it ; after him it had been used by Baltasar de Koenrinck, by Cornelius de Zegerscapelle together with Arnold Sasbout ; then by Charles Souastre and the brothers Sauvage : *StudAtt.*, 25, 28.

²⁾ *Test.*, 17, 18.

³⁾ Annex A : cp. before, pp 232, sq.

⁴⁾ Letter reproduced on p 231 ; Allen, III, 691, 14-17 ; no doubt this original letter was provided to the *provisores* of the *Trilingue* by the sons of Giles de Busleyden : cp. *ManBorchI*, 50, r, 52, r ; and before, pp 58, 62.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, I, 282-83 ; *MotJuris*, 24, 26.

to begin an autonomous institution, which required a ruthless cutting down of all expenses. That way Rescius, who had not the least claim to high wages, was offered the place of Greek professor at eight pounds Flemish, and he readily accepted it ¹). In fact, he then was so convinced of his lack of qualifications, that, at his own expense, he was taught and tutored by James Ceratinus, a far worthier candidate, who had not been appointed, probably because his requirements were expected to have been much higher than those of Thierry Martens' aid ²) !

If there could not be any question of shortage in Rescius' wages, there, certainly, was not of any shyness or thoughtfulness in him, which, as he said, had prevented him, for nearly twenty-two years, to utter any complaint ³) about the injustice that was done to him by cutting down his salary. The defenders of the College had no difficulty in showing that he had proved to be neither of a timorous, nor even of a feeling nature, since, as a young unfledged reader, just over a year in office, he stuck obstinately to a lawsuit against the late Rector John Calaber, a man who had grown old in his professorate, and was backed by the whole university ⁴) ; similarly, since he called all the theologians *matæologos*, in his public lectures ⁵) ; and since, a few years later, he ran counter the powerful Faculties of Laws and their privilege, lecturing on an author of their particular branch, the *Institutes* of Theophilus ⁶). Nor was it shyness or meekness that had made him bring in a long series of lawsuits throughout his life : not merely against perfect strangers, but even against a partner of several years' standing, Bartholomew de Grave, and even against his own sister ⁷) ! The *provisores* therefore rightly concluded that Rescius would not have refrained half a day from complaining about his reduced wages if he had thought that he had a right ; and that he never did complain,

¹) *MotJuris*, 17, 26 ; cp. before, I, 293-94.

²) *MotJuris*, 17, 26 ; cp. before, I, 281, *sq.*

³) On June 23, 1542, he declared in his request, article xxij, that he had constantly complained : *MotJuris*, 33.

⁴) Cp. before, I, 476, *sq.*, and *MotJuris*, 40 (for this paragraph).

⁵) Cp. before, I, 315, *sq.*, 473, 477.

⁶) Cp. before, III, 125-130.

⁷) *MotJuris*, 40.

is a certainty ; for, in that case, the executors would have silenced him at once, or got rid of him as easily as they got rid of his colleague John van Campen, whom they 'let go' for a much lighter offence ¹). They would have done so the more readily, since Rescius had often caused them great discontent, especially at his marriage, when they were quite decided to send him off, since he did not live any longer in the College, where he was to help the inmates by his talk at table ; it was only on the advice, almost the instant request, of Erasmus that they allowed him to continue in his office. That is apodictically proved by the letter of the great Humanist to Nicolas Wary, dated March 30, 1527, of which the original, probably bequeathed to a friend, had been offered to Tapper and Curtius, who appended it as annex *b* to their *Motivum Juris* ²) : 'ex his literis', they argued, 'manu Erasmi Roterodami ad presidentem collegij scriptis <in fine huius alligatis et litera *b* signatis> manifeste constet quod Rescius tantum ob vxorem ductam vix tolerabatur in sua professione et toto collegio per presidentem et executores excludendus erat, nisi Erasmi auxilio et patrocinio vsus et adiutus fuisset' ³). — 'Audio vos agere de nouando Græcæ linguæ professore', Erasmus wrote. 'Quod vt bene vertat opto...' Yet, he says, a new one may be dangerous if he is not otherwise known ; he may even bring 'secum mores, qui litterarum negotium omne subuertere possint. Si non habetis multis partibus antecellentem Rutgero', he concludes, 'consultius arbitror vxorculam ad tempus dissimulare. Procliuius est alium inuenire quam meliorem. Rutgerus iuuentuti jam notus et charus est. Et Collegij res adhuc tenuis est. Nouitas frequenter adfert aliquid inexpectati mali. Proinde si vos non mouent grauiiores cause quam vxor, nihil adhuc nouandum censeo. Sin alia sunt que vos ad hoc inuitant consilium, precor vt sit felix studiis et Collegio quod agitis' ⁴).

¹) Cp. before, III, 179, sq ; *MotJuris*, 41.

²) Cp. before, p 233 : the words between square <brackets> are written in the margin in *Motivum Juris*, by the side of this text, to which they are connected by a †.

³) *MotJuris*, 41 ; cp. before, II, 321-23.

⁴) Allen, VII, 1806a, 1-14 ; cp. before, p 233 for the history of that annex.

From that letter it is easy to deduce that the authorities of the *Trilingue* were not men to stand any groundless complaint or discontent, and, most probably, not about such a ticklish matter as the undue reduction of the professor's wages. Besides that negative proof of the absence of all complaint, which, after all, might have been inspired by the dread of dismissal, there were the undeniable notes added in the margin of the yearly accounts, attesting that Rescius had received the salary that was due to him ¹⁾, as was done for his colleagues : for Robert Wakefeld, the Hebraist, as well as for his successor John van Campen ; the two of them had been engaged on the same terms, and they received their wages without ever complaining ²⁾. The payment of the amounts due, certified by the authentic acknowledgment of the professors, was submitted by the president to the executors when the account was rendered ; it was marked in the margin next to the entry by a note such as : 'Satisfactum est Rescio de græca professione vt patet per quitanciam' ³⁾. Although similar accounts are accepted as proof positive even in court, Rescius expressed his diffidence, and cast a doubt on the uprightness of the College authorities, who, after all, were not handling their own money, but only that which had been entrusted to their care. No doubt he raised such misgivings, because he had destroyed the receipts, which generally remained amongst the papers of the one who renders the account, namely the President or his delegate : they were amongst the records of the College, to which he had had access in the days of his vice-presidency, and he probably had destroyed them ⁴⁾. Unluckily for him, the accounts of the very first years had been rendered by Bartholomew van Vessem, and two of the receipts signed by Rescius, were found amongst his papers at Mechlin. Those acknowledgments, which had been beyond Rescius' reach, are quite convincing ⁵⁾. One reads :

¹⁾ *MotJuris*, 34.

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 35, 36.

³⁾ *MotJuris*, 34-36 ; in some accounts is found : 'Satisfactum est Rescio professori græco', or : 'vt patet per quitanciam' ; or simply : 'per quitanciam' : *Rek.*, 91, 92, 93.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 585-93.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 35.

Ego Rutgerus Rescius fateor hac syngrapha propria manu scripta me accepisse a domino bartholomeo de Vessem Canonico Ariensi sex libras flandrie ad expensas soluendas ¹⁾, et octo libras flandricas in solutionem salarij professionis græcanicæ anni xix incipientis primo die septembris et finientis vltimo die augusti anno xx.

The other dates of the year following on that in which the stipulations of the Will, and those made when the College was started, were altered, and the salary raised from 8 to 9 pounds Flemish ²⁾ :

Ego Rutgerus Rescius fateor hac syngrapha me accepisse a Dño licenciato M. Joanne forti ³⁾ nouem lb flandricas in solutionem salarij professionis græcæ anni incepti primo die septembris anni dñi m. d. xxiiij in festo diui Cornelij.

The sense of those receipts, submitted by the defenders, although apparently unquestionable, was still misrepresented by the opponents, who tried to argue in court that they were mere instalments of a larger amount, of which part remained due ⁴⁾. Of course the defenders replied that there was no reason at all to doubt of the obvious meaning of words like *soluere*... Fortunately, they could submit a receipt for a payment of an instalment, and, by its different wording, prove the value of the others. That receipt, also found amongst van Vessem's papers some time after the lawsuit had started, ran as follows ⁵⁾ :

Ego Rutgerus Rescius professor grecus buslidiani Collegij, fateor hac syngrapha propria mea manu scripta, me accepisse, a Dño Bartholomeo de vessem

¹⁾ As the College was then building, the professors were paid 6 Flemish pounds for their board and lodging : Rescius was then living in the Lily : cp. I, 475, II, 81, and *sup.*, p 126.

²⁾ February 6-14, 1522 : cp. *Mut.*, 2.

³⁾ John Stercke of Meerbeke, first president, managed the College with the money advanced by van Vessem, as there was hardly any regular income : cp. before, II, 62-63, 225.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 36-37.

⁵⁾ *MotJuris*, 36-38 : Rescius is said there as well to have added, after the suit had started, words like 'ad bonum computum' instead of the definite 'in solutionem'.

canonico Ariensi, vnam libram flandriæ, in defalcationem salarij professionis meæ mensis martij die xxv. anni M. D. xxj.

Still the most effective answer to the objection raised by Rescius' party against the *provisores* of the *Trilingue*, was the item in the *Rekeninghe* of van Vessem about the execution of Busleyden's Will, for as far as it was concerned with the erection of the College, the account which Giles de Busleyden checked and signed on January 24, 1525. On page 92, *r*, the fact is recorded that to Rescius were paid for his wages and the expenses of his board and lodging, from September 1, 1519 for one whole year, 84 Rh. florins, namely 6 pounds Flemish for his expenses, and 8 great pounds 'ex pacto' for his stipend ¹⁾: the words 'ex pacto' in the entry, which was evidently found correct by the receipt, as the marginal note 'per quitanciam' shows, gave the final clinch ²⁾.

3. RESCIUS' LAST YEARS

A. HIS LAST EDITIONS

As can be expected the troublesome lawsuit was not only an ordeal for the *provisores* and for all those who had at heart the interest and the welfare of the *Trilingue* and its great aim, but, first of all, for the man who had introduced it and who stubbornly prosecuted it. Rescius thus gainsaid the effusive praise which had been given to him as 'omnibus virtutibus atque doctrinæ numeris absolutus', and as being as wise as he was eloquent ³⁾; for he certainly was intent on the ruin of the Institute, to the prosperity of which he

¹⁾ *Rek.*, 92, *r*: Item betaelt mgro Rutghero greco professorj voer zijn gagien ende kosten die begonsten prima septembris xix voer een gheheel jaer te weten vj £ vls voer zijn montkosten ende viij £ gro ex pacto voer zijn stipendien vz tsamen lxxxiiij £ — with, in the margin, 'per quitan.'

²⁾ *MotJuris*, 33; mentions that this account, *Rek.*, provided from Vessem's inheritance, was submitted to the Abbot of Parc 'in judicio'.

³⁾ *PF*, I, 508, referring to Rescius' edition of Francis de Cranevelt's translation of *Basili Magni Homiliæ Tres* (May, 1534: *Cran.*, lxxi, 272; *NijKron.*, II, 2382), bestows the same praise on translator and printer.

had for twenty years greatly contributed by his teaching. Even if he did not devote himself to his work to the same extent as Goclenius, he did not waste his time, however, by his typography ; for his activity as printer had largely benefited studies and erudition in general, especially by his carefully and neatly edited Greek texts. He continued that work until the last, although perhaps with less intensity than in the first years. In September 1544 he brought out Peter Nannius' *Deuterologiae sive Spicilegia... in quartum librum Æneidos Virgilii* ¹⁾; and, in December of that year, Damian a Goes' *Aliquot Opuscula*, an enlarged reprint of the three little books about Ethiopia, India and Spain which he had published from 1539 to 1542 ²⁾. To Rescius has been ascribed, for that period, a reprint of Julian de Havrech, *Aurelius, De Cognominibus Deorum Gentilium* ³⁾, as well as one of Laurent van de Velde, or *Campester, Dialogi Ethici sive Morales* ⁴⁾. More likely seems the attribution of a reissue of Alard of Amsterdam's *Institutio Dialecticarum Rodolphi Agricolaë Epitome*, which had appeared at Cologne in John Gymnicus' office in 1542 ⁵⁾; indeed, a friendly connection seems to have been taken up again between Alard and Rescius : in recent years, the latter had printed three of the works of his colleague of the Alkmaar days ⁶⁾. In a letter inserted in the second volume of his edition of Rudolph Agricola's *Lucubrationes* ⁷⁾, Alard even reminded him of the time when he

¹⁾ Polet, 134-39 ; Paquot, xiv, 69.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 11, 99-100 ; also III, 62-69, pointing to the history of their publication.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 597, records that an enlarged issue of that first edition, Antwerp, Antony Goynus, 1541, was printed 'Lovanii, 1569, apud Rutger. Rescium' : if so, the date is certainly wrong : Paquot, xii, 364-65 ; possibly *Rescius* stands for *Velpius*.

⁴⁾ Paquot, iv, 223, ascribes it to Rutg. Rescius, 1550 : which date is wrong ; possibly the name was misread for *Velpius*.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xi, 415.

⁶⁾ On October 15, 1537, Rescius issued Alard's *Dissertatio de... Eucharistiæ Sacramento* : cp. III, 536 ; NijKron., i, 54. In July 1542, he printed his *Oratio in Nuptias Jacobi Valeolæti* : cp. before, p 100 ; *CatSel.*, 558, and when Louvain was besieged, in August of that year, his *Sylvulæ Novæ Concionum Pœnitentialium* was brought out, at least the part that was ready : cp. *sup.*, 100 ; Paquot, xi, 408, 413-14.

⁷⁾ Cologne, 1539 : Agricola, ii, 171.

himself bought, at high prices, some of that great man's letters from Barbara de Vrye, Antony Liber van Soest's daughter ¹⁾ : *quam opinor Daphnen*, he adds, *tibi sic satis fuisse familiarem sub id temporis cum Alcmariæ perquam adolescens, Græce doceres* ²⁾).

One of the last works ³⁾ which Rescius contemplated printing, was the book of his old student Paul Liebaert, Leopardus, the *Emendationum & Miscellaneorum Libri XX* : when the ten first were finally published at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin, in 1568, the author declared in the dedicatory letter of November 1565, to the town authorities of Bergues-St.-Winoc, that, twenty years before, he had sent those *Emendationes*, the fruit of much labour, to Rescius, with the request to print them : unfortunately the professor died before he had taken the work in hand, and it was only after his death that the manuscript was handed back to the author ⁴⁾).

B. HIS DECEASE

On October 23, 1543, Rescius had started explaining the *Odyssey* ⁵⁾, and when, in the beginning of September 1545, he resumed teaching after the holidays, he began the *Dialogues of Lucian*. He had not proceeded very far when he fell ill so very seriously, that it was most likely that he should not be able for a long time to do his work. He therefore requested the help of the excellent Hellenist Adrian Amerot,

¹⁾ Cp. before, I, 278 ; Gelder, 83-86 ; *ErAge*, 197 ; — her father Antony was one of the great foremen of Humanism : cp. I, 278 ; *ErAge*, 22-25, 201, sq ; Gelder, 83-84 ; Lindeb., 66-70, &c ; Polain, II, 589-90, 431, 564, 628, III, 55.

²⁾ Gelder, 130, 84, sq, 106-107 ; also *sup.*, I, 278.

³⁾ It is also said that, on account of circumstances specified in § B of sect. 5 (*inf.*, pp 283, sq) — although it seems hardly possible — Rescius should have printed a theological treatise by Stephen Gardiner in 1545 : Roersch, I, 51.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 248 ; Paquot, IV, 3 : the ten last books of *Emendationes* were published for the first time in Janus Gruterus' *Fax Liberalium Artium* : 1604, vol. III.

⁵⁾ In a copy of Homer's *Odyssey*, now preserved in the University Library of Ghent, there are manuscript notes taken down during Rescius' lectures by J. Ægidius : Ghent Library, class. 451 : Roersch, I, 53.

who had already been teaching Greek for three years at the Castle ¹⁾. The explanation of Lucian was continued by Amerot for several days until, on October 2, 1545, Rescius died.

Notwithstanding the very great services he had rendered during his career of more than a quarter of a century, his decease must have seemed a relief to the College, on account of the ruthless action he had started. But for that ill-omened lawsuit, he would have been the venerated patriarch for a spreading younger generation of students, as well as a protector of the growing Institute, for he was the sacred link with the great Past, and the incarnation of the venerable traditions that had built up the famous College in the teeth of ill will, of hatred, and of stubborn prejudice. Instead of filling the lonely present with the magnitude of his soul, and making up with his radiant enthusiasm and his hearty remembrances, for the sad voids left by the parting of the great friends and promoters of Busleyden's grand scheme, Erasmus and Stercke, Goclenius and van Vessem, he shrunk within himself, and vilely availed himself of the monopoly of experience and acquaintance, to try and extort a handful of gold from the noble *Trilingue*, of which he knew better than anybody in the world the lofty spirit of self-denial.

The feeling of relief at the disparition of an adversary who ought to have been the truest and tenderest friend, may have been experienced by more people than just the *provisores* Tapper and de Corte, and some of the natural defenders of the College. At any rate, it is most significative that the introductory lesson by the friend and supply who was to be his successor, sounds very tame and cold even, compared with what Nannius and Cornelius Valerius said about their predecessors in their inaugural lectures. Besides a couple of superlatives : *eruditissimum ac lectissimum virum*, and the assurance which one expects from the mouth of one who replaces another, that Rescius would have explained the remainder of the text *non minori utilitate ac gloria sui nominis*, there is little more reference than a few words about his unforeseen decease. Amerot further declares that, for the greater honour of Rescius, he had been asked to

¹⁾ Cp. further, p 259.

finish the text which had been started; being requested to continue the teaching even before being duly nominated, he durst not disappoint the highest authorities of Louvain ¹⁾, and chose a rather short text, so as not to influence those who were to decide about the succession. It sounds as if, in his humility, he could not believe that his appointment was as good as an accomplished fact: at any rate he began reading the *Meletes* of Libanius the Sophist ²⁾.

The interest of the deceased in the printing office was bought out by his former partner, Bartholomew de Grave, who, on August 29, 1546, obtained a grant from the University to carry on the business by himself ³⁾. Rescius' wife, Anna Moons, was left with three children: John, for whose education Nicolas Beken had drawn up a plan ⁴⁾, Robert and Anna; she soon married a John Loncin, and, continuing the

¹⁾ He evidently meant Ruard Tapper, dean of St. Peter's Chapter, Vice-Chancellor and also Rector, of the University, having been elected on the last day of August 1545: *ULDoc.*, I, 267; and Peter de Corte, *plebanus*, or parish priest of the town.

²⁾ J. van den Gheyn, *Le Discours d'Ouverture des Leçons d'Adrien Amerot, deuxième professeur de grec au Collège des Trois-Langues à Louvain, 1545*, in *MB*, XIII, 1909: 57-64.

³⁾ Bartholomew de Grave continued the trade and reprinted several of the books which Rescius had issued, such as Driedo's works: de Jongh, 159; he brought out at least one book, the *Actionum Forensium Progymnasmata*, by John Oldendorp, on joint account with Martin Rotarius, in 1552. He carried on a considerable business as bookseller, and he had to prosecute the Antwerp *bibliopola* Gerard Spilleman, or Speelman, for books sent in 1553, and not paid yet in 1573: the list includes the works of Driedo, Latomus, a *Detectio Nugarum Lutheri, Tobias*, in 3 languages, German (<viz., Dutch>) Testaments, *Classes Oldendorpii*, *Syntaxis Vurennii*, *Institutiones & Meditationes Clenardi*, and a *Dictionarium IV Linguarum*: *FUL*, 5826-27. Gravius had also in his trade the manufacture of globes: on February 3, 1531, he wrote to John Dantiscus that the *sphera* which he had ordered, would be ready in eight days, so that Goclenius might take it to him in Brussels; he also thanked him for the marks of esteem he gave him, and apologized for not having accepted his invitation to breakfast, pretexting a bad night on account of a revel the preceding evening: *DantE*, 107. It may have been characteristic with him, for *Mol.*, 882, relates that, at a supper at Amerot's, he asked for *lac senum* in a glass; some of those present, not finding what they took to be one word, in their *Calepinum* or *Lexicon*, upbraided him for not having sold to them the last edition.

⁴⁾ Evora, March 28-29, 1535: *ClenCor.*, I, 62-64, II, 71, sq.

lawsuit, was certainly highly dissatisfied with the University, for her son John was sent to study in Cologne, where he matriculated as a student of the Arts on March 16, 1551 ¹⁾. Her second husband did not live very long, so that she married again : this time, John Waemis, Wamesius ²⁾. He had been an inmate in her house when he was a student, and having promoted licentiate of laws, he may have occasionally advised Rescius, although he studied in Cologne from August 1545 ; he afterwards became one of the most famous jurisprudents of his century, and one of the glories of the University. He had probably married Anna Moons before July 1549, for in the first days of that month, when Charles V passed through Louvain with his court, and stayed there from the 4th to the 8th ³⁾, Nicolas Mameranus, who accompanied him as a kind of reporter ⁴⁾, met John Wamesius, an acquaintance of the days of his own stay in Louvain ⁵⁾ ; he described him as *jurtum Licenciatus et Professor* — no doubt, private teacher of laws. That he was the husband of Rescius' widow, seems implied by the fact that, from the Greek professor's *librariam supellectilem*, Wamesius got and showed to his friend some of the letters of Clenardus, and, no doubt, the text of John Vasæus' *Nicolai Clenardi Præceptiones aliquot de Ratione docendæ atque exercendæ Linguae Latinæ* ⁶⁾. Mameranus realized their interest for pedagogical purposes, and he used them ⁷⁾ in his *De Modo docendi Pueros Analphabeticos exercendæque Linguae Latinæ Præ-*

¹⁾ Joh. Reschius Lovaniensis : i. ; art. ; et s. : Keussen, 645, 199.

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV, 2 ; VAnd., 191, 282 ; RamCons., 49.

³⁾ Gachard, 382 ; Mameran., 70 : Mameranus does not seem to have been with Charles V when he was on his way to Germany, May 31-June 2, 1550 (Gachard, 396), since he was still in Brussels on June 7, 1550.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 471-72 ; Mameran., 71, 241.

⁵⁾ He had matriculated in Louvain on May 18, 1538 : cp. *sup.*, III, 470.

⁶⁾ The only edition of that treatise is that of 1546, as sequel to Vasæus' re-edition of Clenardus' *Institutiones Grammaticæ*, of Coimbra. No doubt a copy had been sent to Louvain, where, unfortunately, Rescius was not any longer alive : cp. *sup.*, III, 471-73 ; and sources quoted.

⁷⁾ That edition of Mameranus is the first that published, on this side the Pyrenees, both Clenard's letters to Vasæus and to Rescius : those to the latter, were only inserted in the 2nd edition of ClenE, and the former in that of Plantin of 1566 : *ClenCorr.*, I, xvii-xix, II, 157.

ceptiones aliquot per Nicolaum Clenardum, which was printed by his brother Henry Mameranus at Cologne, in 1550, with a preface to Louis, the head of the Luxemburg School, dated from Cologne, June 20, 1550 ¹⁾. No children of the third marriage are mentioned; it is recorded that Anna Moons died on January 1, 1585, leaving only a daughter Anna ²⁾, whose descendants, it is said, long kept some of their ancestor's documents ³⁾.

C. HIS NONSUIT

Rescius' decease, and, in a sense, even more his nonsuit averted the danger that had threatened the very existence of the *Trilingue*. For although the final sentence is not mentioned at all in any of the still subsisting documents of the College, the *Motivum Juris* is so peremptory, that it does not leave any doubt about the final solution. Its conclusion ⁴⁾ leads to the assurance that: 'the declarations and documents submitted will make most clear to, and persuade, all righteous, prudent and clear-sighted men, that M. Rutger Rescius, foster-child of the *Trilingue*, had no regard at all to equity, or to truth, nor even to the oath against calumny which he had taken so often and so solemnly; but did his level best to cheat and spoil, by various falsehoods and illicit means, the very college whose bread had kept him alive so many years. He had expected to be able to do so easily, since, before the beginning of the lawsuit, all those had died, who knew and

¹⁾ Clénard, 105-108; Mameran., 70, 288; L. Philippen, *De Eerste Druk van Cleynaerts' De Modo Docendi Pueros Analphabeticos*, in *Nicolaus Clenardus* (ed. Museum Plantyn-Moretus): Antwerp, 1942: 56-67, 81.

²⁾ She married first Nicolas de Bouchout, and, afterwards, Adolph du Pret, an advocate, who, in 1597-98, lived with his wife and son in 'Rue des Récollets': *LouvBoon*, 338. It is said that the family long kept a copy of the inaugural lecture of Rescius: *NèveMém.*, 203.

³⁾ Mol., 604; Opmeer, I, 461, a; Vern., 145, 313; VAnd., 282, 401; VAndEx., 66; *BibBelg.*, 805; Miræus, II, 29; *SweABelg.*, 670; *OpMBoek*, 114, 117; Hoyneck, I, I, 67; MasE, 15, sq; OlaE, 167, 188, 199-200, &c; Krafft, 63-65; *Sleidan*, II, 1-3, I, 48; *PF*, 508; *BaxH*, VIII, 38; *RamCons.*, 46 50; *NèveMém.*, 202-7, 300, sq, 304; *ULDoc.*, IV, 515; *FG*, 410; *Iseghem*, 90, sq, 104-5, 140, &c; *Coppens*, III, 53; *Maittaire*, II, 63, v, 203; *Roersch*, I, 37-55; *Allen*, II, 546, *pr*; *Cran.*, 150, *e-i*, &c; *MonHL*, 411-23, &c; *ClenHum.*; *sup.*, II, 220-24, &c, III, 164-70, 185, sq, &c.

⁴⁾ *MotJuris*, 57-58.

had witnessed the affairs of the College and of Rescius, about which the controversy started. It is, indeed, as true as truth can be, that if either the executors, or Giles de Busleyden, Erasmus of Rotterdam, John Stercke of Meerbeke or Conrad Goclenius had been alive, Rescius would neither have dared think of, let alone decide on, bringing in this lawsuit against the College ; but since they all were dead, he treated the miserable and desolate Institute according to his whim ; for there was not one left who had been either a party in, or a witness of, the affairs, or knew the connections between the School and himself. On that account it has always been most difficult to defend Busleyden College against Rescius' injury and calumny. For whatever has been alleged during this third instance in defence of the *Trilingue*, had to be rooted up from numerous registers, from various accounts, and from the very writings and lawsuits of Rescius against the Institute, or it had to be gathered and learned from those who used to live in the College, and are now dispersed all over the world. Therefore the present-day authorities apologize for coming forward with their *lis et causa* with a greater delay than Rescius' widow might have liked, or they themselves even would have wished, and which certainly is not due to any fault or deceit of the College'.

No doubt Anna Moons was the last to have the right to complain : for Rescius, who used to be so dear to the nice man that Erasmus proved, that he was called his son ¹⁾, only started his mad quest for money after his marriage. On that account he undertook the printing business, and soon devoted himself to it with an all absorbing tenacity, which desolated not only his colleagues, but his old protector Erasmus, whose last sentence, put into writing before he entered eternity, was a supreme condemnation of his former favourite : *Sed ille totus ad quæstum spectat, et grauitèr perdit istud Collegium* ²⁾).

In fact the mania for lucre pervaded Rescius' thoughts and activity during the two last decennia. Even his correspondence, in which dry as dust erudites often show their 'other side', is marked all over by the *auri sacra fames*. Whereas the

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 588.

²⁾ Allen, XI, 3130, 37.

letter of Sleidan to him, May-June 1530 ¹⁾, — perhaps the only exception, — expresses gratitude for the intellectual training he had received, the ten written to, or received from, Nicolas Olah, from November 20, 1531 to March 11, 1537, all are given up either to book business or to the interest of the professor's boarders ²⁾. Of the three that are left of the correspondence with Clenardus, one, of 28-29 March 1535, is taken up by a program of the education for his little son ³⁾, whereas the others mainly reply to Rescius' endless lamentations about his so-called straitened circumstances : on March 23, 1535, the theme : 'certissimæ sunt diuitiæ, suis esse contentum', was developed ⁴⁾, and, on October 2, 1536, 'ne te crucient multorum diuitiæ !' ⁵⁾ As to the three with Erasmus, one, dated March 8, 1517, refers to the text and correcting of a book printed by his master Martens ⁶⁾, and the second advises him, by the end of August 1520, if he finds that he cannot give up the lawsuit started against the old and venerable John Calaber, to show calm and moderation in the prosecution ⁷⁾. The third, — and the only one posterior to the marriage, October 7, 1527 — is a hard, though soft-gloved, rebuke for Rescius' excessive love of *questus*: having received an offer for a professorship in Paris, he had availed himself of the opportunity to claim an indemnity for the board and lodging of which he did not partake, and threatened even the executors with a lawsuit : the shower-bath he got was so effective that no mention was made of wages afterwards for several years ⁸⁾. No doubt, Erasmus had as a presentiment of the coming evil, in which he was appallingly confirmed by the oral messages which clear-sighted Goclenius and other friends entrusted to home-going amanuenses, and which inspired the warning expressed in his ultimate message to his dearly-beloved *Trilingue*. He was spared the humiliation of the vile treason of the old favourite, who practically endeavoured to bring about the ruin of the Institute of whose prosperity he had been one of the first artisans.

¹⁾ Sleidan., II, 1-3 ; Kraftt, 63-65.

²⁾ Olæ, 167, 271, 386, 431, 520, 538, 565, 567, 598.

³⁾ ClenCorr., I, 62.

⁴⁾ ClenCorr., I, 45.

⁵⁾ ClenCorr., I, 88.

⁶⁾ Allen, II, 546.

⁷⁾ Cp. I, 476-78 ; Allen, IV, 1240.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 331-34 ; Allen, VII, 1882.

Fortunately every medal has its reverse. Rescius' lawsuit implies that in his opinion, — and he knew things from experience, — the *Trilingue* could certainly have, paid him the huge sum, perhaps not from its ready fund, but by making the numerous hearers and the many well-to-do favourers pay some fee for the lectures, whereas the Founder meant them to be free : it certainly attests to the prosperity of the Institute.

More gratifying even, and beyond all doubt, is the fact that the satisfactory result of the lawsuit was for a large part due to the generous and decided defence of the two chief divines in Louvain, Tapper and Curtius. Not only did they take upon themselves the large amount of researches in old documents and all inquiries, but did so at their own expense ¹⁾. Indeed since the College accounts were rendered in the presence of the professors, it would have been irksome if Rescius had had a right to know how much exactly had been spent on the action against him. It must have been a rejoicing encouragement and a most efficient approbation of the living symbol of Humanism, that it was thus saved and secured by theologians, whereas, twenty-five years before ²⁾, not to mention later dates ³⁾, they, most of all, were intent on hampering it and excluding it from the University. There could not have been given a more significative attestation of its excellence !

4. ADRIAN AMEROT

A. HIS STUDIES AND TEACHING

When in September 1545, Rescius felt too ill to lecture, he requested Amerot to continue in his place the reading and the explaining of Lucian's *Dialogi* ⁴⁾ ; at his unexpected decease, the *Provisores* of the *Trilingue*, Dean Tapper and *Plebanus* de Corte, begged the substitute to go on until the

¹⁾ They also helped the College in the recent war : Polet, 304, 3-9.

²⁾ Cp. I, 298-342, 348-58, 418-44, 506-25.

³⁾ Cp. II, 339-49, III, 131-40.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 221.

successor should be appointed ¹⁾. It implies that the last Executor of Busleyden's Will, Adrian Joseph, or Josel, was still alive, and had to give his advice. As the old Antwerp Canon probably could not come to Louvain, the nomination had to be done by messengers ²⁾; it took some days, during which Amerot finished the *Dialogi*, and started a short text, Libanius' *Meletes*, so as to leave full freedom to the Executor and the *Provisores* in their choice ³⁾. In due time, his nomination as Greek professor became an accomplished fact, and the *Trilingue* thus secured the collaboration of one of the best Hellenists, and one of the most devoted pedagogues of the sixteenth century.

Adrian Amerot, *Amerotius*, or Guennevelle, was the son of James Guennevelle, also called Amerot ⁴⁾, who had left Flanders to settle as a farmer in the neighbourhood of Compiègne, where he married Ysabeau Docosse. Their son Adrian ⁵⁾ was born at Soissons, or at least very near that town, of which he often took the name, *Suessionensis*, or *Suessonius*. The family was so very poor that the young boy was soon sent out to look for his living ⁶⁾. He managed to get to Paris and to study. During the years 1512 and 1513 ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ If the Prior of the Carthusians of Louvain had become *Provisor*, the nomination of Rescius' successor would not have taken much time. It is only on January 23, 1549, that Hubert Cnobbaut, or rather Cnobbaut, is mentioned for the first time as the third Curator of the *Trilingue*, in Nannius' dedicatory letter of the *Declamatio Quodlibetica, de Æternitate Mundi*: Louvain, S. Zassenus: February 1549; cp. before p 222; — and Polet, 302-5, 74-77; Paquot, xiv, 70.

²⁾ It was done for Nannius: cp. III, 581; Josel's last visit to the *Trilingue* was paid in September 1540: cp. before, pp 58, 221.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 221; J. van den Gheyn, *Discours d'Ouverture des Leçons d'Adrien Amerot*, in *MB*, xiii, 1909: 57-64.

⁴⁾ A deed of December 22, 1559, duly authenticated, attests that Jacques guennevelle (or quennevelle) 'dit Amerot laboureur', who had come from Flanders to Picardy, and Ysabeau Docosse, of 'Mollins', near Soissons, his wife, are the legitimate parents of 'Adrian guennevelle Amerot': *FUL*, 3074.

⁵⁾ Possibly Amoure or Amoury: see further, p 264.

⁶⁾ *Mol.*, 792.

⁷⁾ Letter of Amerot to Aleander, May 18, 1515: cum abhinc tres circiter annos præclarissimam Parisiensem Universitatem tua præsentia decorares, ad tuas lectiones audiendas protinus me contuli: *AleaE*, 22.

he attended the Greek lectures of Jerome Aleander ¹⁾, and, a few weeks before that scholar entered the service of the Bishop of Paris, Stephen Poncher ²⁾, Amerot resorted to Louvain as *pauperculus juvenis* ³⁾ : he matriculated in November 1513 ⁴⁾, and entered the pedagogy of the Lily. In order to gain what he needed, he started teaching Greek to his fellow-students. In gratitude for the advantage he had realized, Amerot wrote, on May 18, 1515 '*ex florentissimo lillianorum apud Lovantos collegio*' to his *præceptor semper observandus*, Aleander, who, by then, had entered the service of Erard de la Marck, Prince-Bishop of Liège. He expresses hearty thanks, and mentions that he had taught Greek for ten months ; he also refers to his own studies of that language in Theodore Gaza's *Introductivæ Grammatices Libri Quatuor*, and even requests his former master's help to solve two contradictions in the rules of accentuation formulated in Gaza's third book ⁵⁾.

In 1516, Amerot promoted Master of Arts, and was placed the first of 196 candidates ⁶⁾ ; he continued residing in the Lily, teaching in private, whilst attending the lectures of Laws, in which he promoted Licentiate. By that time he had gained the hearty affection of the Regent, John de Neve ⁷⁾, and, even more, of his late professor Josse Vroeye, *Lætus*, of Gavere, who, after having been a zealous student of Greek, was devoting himself to jurisprudence ⁸⁾. From those two pioneers, the young man learned what they had gained in their strenuous labour on unviably grammatical treatises ; for, several years before, de Neve had been at work on Alexander de Villa-Dei, and Vroeye had tried to do for Greek what his masters and colleagues, like John de Coster ⁹⁾ and

¹⁾ Aleander taught for the second time in Paris from June 19, 1511 to December 4, 1513 : *Aléandre*, 49.

²⁾ On December 4, 1513 : *AléaJour.*, 23.

³⁾ *Mol.*, 792 ; *ULDoc.*, 515.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIII*, 198, v ; *Adrianus de Suetione*, *suetionen. dyoc.*

⁵⁾ *AleaE*, 21-23 ; *cp. sup.*, I, 223, 272-74, III, 294.

⁶⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 70 ; *Mol.*, 607.

⁷⁾ *Cran.*, 26, a-f ; *MonHL*, 354, 366-67, &c ; *sup.*, I, 200-02, II, 82-87, III, 386, &c.

⁸⁾ *Cp. before*, I, 222-26, II, 82, &c.

⁹⁾ *Cp. before*, I, 200-05, &c.

de Spouter ¹⁾, had done for Latin, working on the principle so dear to Humanists and to Modern Science, that nothing must be accepted or proposed as truth except what is fully substantiated by facts and reality ²⁾. He therefore gratefully acknowledged his indebtedness to his masters in the preface to his '*Compendium Græcæ Grammatices, perspicua breuitate complectens, quicquid est octo partium orationis*', of 1520 ³⁾. The introduction does not only refer to his great *antecessores*, but mentions the Pedagogy and his fellow-students, such as the Benedictine Paschasius Berselius, who was his congenial friend ⁴⁾.

That *Compendium* is a systematic grammar, constructed by a clear-headed, 'matter-of-fact' man of experience, in agreeable contrast with the vague and orderless treatises of Theodore Gaza and Constantine Lascaris. It was evidently devised as a handbook to be used at his private lessons, and it thus testifies to the considerable number of students trained by him ⁵⁾. That popularity of Greek studies in Louvain must have been very great : it even caused Ceratinus to settle there ⁶⁾ ; for, although taught publicly and gratuitously in the *Trilingue*, there necessarily were some well-to-do young men who wanted to be trained up for those lectures, calculated for students who were already familiar with more than the rudiments. Others came during the year, or started very late

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 201-02, 206-14, &c.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 4, *sq.* and, for Amerot's teaching in the Lily, II, 84, III, 294.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 10. The book was printed by Thierry Martens, Louvain, on October 15, 1520 : Iseghem, 310, *sq.* ; NijKron., I, 115 ; NèveMém., 208-9 ; CarvMurça., 21 ; Allen, III, 956, 4 ; NèveMém., 209. On Amerot's *Compendium* Clenardus afterwards based his *Institutio in Linguam Græcam*, 1530 : cp. II, 223.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 497, 494-500, &c.

⁵⁾ Evidently, it was not worth while having the grammar printed for only a few hearers : cp. before, I, 273.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 257, a, 218, a ; Allen, IV, 1237, 28, *sq.* ; it seems that even Peter de Corte, who succeeded John de Neve as *regens* in November 1522 (at least conjointedly with John Heems), learned Greek from Amerot with such result that, as soon as he became sole master of the Lily, Nov. 1527, he instituted a lesson of Greek, which was started on January 1, 1528 by John van den Cruyce : cp. II, 84 ; *Cran.*, 83, b, 213, c, 257, a, 8 ; Allen, VII, 1932, 72, *sq.*, 89-94, 122-32.

with the elements, as often happened to those bachelors of theology or of laws who grew aware of their handicap ¹⁾ : instead of rendering private teaching superfluous, the public lectures of the *Trilingue* made it even reach a prosperity, which a few years before would have seemed incredible.

One of Amerot's pupils was the illustrious prince Antony de la Marck, Count of Beaulieu, 'Comes Belli Loci', Archdeacon of Brabant ²⁾, to whom he dedicated his *Compendium* 'ex Lilio', on October 15, 1520 ; he aims, he declares, at

¹⁾ It was, no doubt, such an elementary teaching which, later on, provided much profit and fame to Nicolas Clenardus, soon after he himself had mastered the rudiments : cp. II, 329.

²⁾ Antony de la Marck, born about 1495, was the fourth son of Robert de la Mark, Lord of Sedan, Bishop Erard's elder brother. At the death of Lambert of Oupey, Archdeacon of Brabant, on August 9, 1515, Antony was appointed his successor, and, as such, he started, in 1517, a contest against John Robbyns, dean of St. Rombaut's, Mechlin, about the jurisdiction on members of the secondary clergy, of whom the latter was 'conservator' : on which account Servatius Coelmont, dean of Our Lady's, Maastricht, and Conservator of the Liège Chapter, had to bring in an appeal before Leo X. His appointment was then disputed, since Leo X had granted that office to Antony Ciocchi de Monte, Cardinal of St. Praxedis, for whom the revenue was sequestered in 1516, by order of the Pope, and who was finally acknowledged Archdeacon in 1521. Antony had plenty of preferments to make up for it : he was Apostolic protonotary, probably through his friend Jerome Aleander, to whom he resigned, on March 18, 1516, his right to the provostry of St. John's, Liège ; his uncle, who had secured the episcopal see of Chartres, made him his great archdeacon there, on November 14, 1515, which prebend he resigned on July 11, 1523 ; on January 1515, he was made canon of St. Lambert's, Liège. Antony's best, but fatal, benefice was that of the Cluniac Abbey of Beaulieu-en-Argonne, which Francis I granted him in the years that he had not yet chosen the Burgundian allegiance : he was commendatory Abbot of the Abbey, which entailed the title of Count. Still his own licentious conduct, and the rapacity of his officials made him odious in the country ; before the help of the Imperial army could protect him, his Abbey was stormed by the French in 1523, and he was stabbed by a neighbouring landowner, whose daughter he had wronged. Erasmus, to whom he had tried to secure some preferment, had dedicated to him the *Paraphrasis* on the Epistle to the Galatians : Louvain, Th. Martens, May 1519. Cp. *MarckBrust.*, 56 ; *MarckConfl.*, 18, 67 ; *MarckHalk.*, 53, 104, 258, 269 ; *MarckChartr.*, 49 ; *AléaJour.*, 17, 31 ; *AléaLiège*, 48, 111, 120, 145, 166, 168, 357 ; *LiègeDoc.*, I, 43, 47, 56, 360, 400-1, 449-57, 466-69, II, 14-22 ; Allen, III, 956, *pr* ; *GallChrist.*, XIII, 1268-69 ; P. A. Lemaire, *Recherches sur Beaulieu en Argonne* : 1873 : 71-4, 148.

concentrating all his mind and his attention on Greek, which, in fact, was so efficient that his practical arrangement and his lucid exposition of the matter, must have largely helped his teaching and his study at that period, and in all subsequent years. He was thus occupied when Erasmus spent some time in the Lily with him, and was in a position to admire, to praise and to encourage his great ability in languages, his agreeable manners, and his remarkable proficiency in literature, philosophy and civil law, branches for which he had enjoyed the masterly guidance of Josse Vroeye ¹⁾. He also wrote a *Libellus de Dialectis diversis Declinationum Græcanicarum tam in Verbis quam in Nominibus, ex Corintho et aliis Grammaticis collectus*, which may have been issued in Belgium before it was printed in Paris by Christian Wechel in 1534 and 1536.

Soon after 1522 ²⁾, he was taken into the service of the Imperial Secretary Nicolas Perrenot, Lord of Granvelle ³⁾, to prepare his sons for the University. He thus resided near the Court, at least until 1528, when the eldest son, Antony, the future Cardinal, entered the Castle ⁴⁾, where he was rejoined, in 1532, by two of his brothers, Thomas and Jerome ⁵⁾. Without doubt, they, too, attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* before leaving Louvain, as results from the great interest which they, and, most of all, Antony ⁶⁾, displayed in Roman antiquities and studies, as well as in coins and medals and books ⁷⁾. The connection with the great Imperial minister

¹⁾ Cp. I, 223, 272-74; Amerot was one of the outstanding erudites and pedagogues, by whom Erasmus intended convincing Viglius' uncle, Bernard Bucho, to send his relatives as students to Louvain, writing to him from Anderlecht, on September 24, 1521: *Est in eodem collegio <Liliensi> Adrianus Suesionius, præter exactam vtriusque literaturæ peritiam, et philosophiæ gnarus et iuris Cæsarei non ignarus, moribus mire candidis*: Allen, iv, 1237, 29-31. Cp. *sup.*, II, 84.

²⁾ Cp. *LibNomI*, 171, v; and further, p 259.

³⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 273, a; also, III, 350.

⁴⁾ He matriculated on August 31, 1528: *LibIntIV*, 4, v; cp. III, 350-55.

⁵⁾ Thomas matriculated on March 4, and Jerome on July 13, 1532: *LibIntIV*, 44, v, 46, v; cp. III, 351.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 350-55, and before, pp 138, 141, 171, 186, 206, &c.

⁷⁾ Cp. Opmeer, i, 509, a-510, a; *GranClaess*; 55, sq, 58-60; Simonis, 7, 97-99, 103-5, 117, 119, and *Pl* vi.

and his family introduced Amerot into the acquaintance of all outstanding humanists, such as, e. g., Joachim Sterck of Ringelberg ¹⁾. It, no doubt, led also to his being engaged in the service of Charlotte de Brederode, Lady of Montfort and Abbenbroeck ; at her decease, he was the executor of her will, in which his juridical studies came to the good, for several actions in justice were started amongst the heirs : such as that between Henry de Montfort and Josse de Montfort, for some property at Abbenbroeck. Regnault de Brederode gave him full power to take in hand the interests of the family ²⁾, and by a deed, dated from Vianen, November 19, 1533, he expressed his gratitude at his discharge for the excellent way in which he had fulfilled his mission ³⁾. About that time, Amerot had established himself in a house in Louvain, where he probably lodged and helped Nicolas of Granvelle's sons in their studies, and kept other boarders to whom he provided instruction. In the late forties he taught Latin, and also Christian religion, to John Isaac Levita, whom Antony of Granvelle had taken under his protection ⁴⁾.

Having made Nicolas Olah's acquaintance at Court, the latter caused Livinus Algoet to write to him for some explanations on a Greek text ; Amerot replied on Ashwednesday, February 19, 1534, 'ex ædibus nostris Louanii', translating and commenting the passage about the definition and the meaning of art in Lucian's *Περὶ Πραξιῶν* ⁵⁾ ; he excused his delay, by saying that he wished to avail himself of the security as letter-carrier of his *contubernalis* Claud, who had to return to Brussels ⁶⁾. On receiving the reply, Olah requested the bearer to take an answer back, when leaving for Louvain ; he had, however neither called, nor advised, and on a visit to Brussels, Amerot himself had tried in vain to see the Queen's Secretary. The latter therefore wrote on March 5, 1534, profusely apologizing for his delay in answering, and regretting the visit missed ⁷⁾ ; he further expressed his thanks

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 195, 192, *sq.*

²⁾ Deed of August 28, 1532 : agreement between the Brederode and the Montfort families : FUL, 3074.

³⁾ FUL, 3074.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, sect. 6, B.

⁵⁾ That dialogue tries to prove that sponging on people is an art.

⁶⁾ OlaE, 467-71.

⁷⁾ OlaE, 471-72 ; cp. III, 39.

for the elucidation, and mentioned James Jespersen, the Dane ¹⁾. During the following years, Amerot continued his tuition, preparing young students for the University and, being a priest ²⁾, he often delivered sermons; he even gave a series, lasting over two years, to the clergy in the Chapel of the Augustines ³⁾.

By 1542 Amerot accepted to teach Greek in the Castle ⁴⁾, and in September 1545, when Rescius fell ill, he replaced him at his request for the explanation of Lucian's Dialogues ⁵⁾. It led to his appointment to the Greek chair in the *Trilingue*, to which he gave the advantage of thirty years' experience and lively interest in Greek and humanism ⁶⁾, and that of a thorough grammatical formation. What his predecessor lacked in that respect, was amply made up for; he based the study of Greek in Busleyden College, from that moment, on the accurate knowledge of its structure, even to the intricacies of the language and its dialects, as Goclenius had done for Latin. What Rescius had neglected in his desire to find attractive — and remunerative — readings, and most saleable editions, was abundantly corrected by the fulness of erudition, and the clearness by which the numberless forms, used in a seemingly arbitrary way, were reduced to a logical set of

¹⁾ Cp. III, 173, 244-47, 413-14.

²⁾ When still at his studies, which he probably contemplated continuing in Louvain, he had asked for a nomination to a benefice by dint of the Privilege of the Faculty of Arts: on June 12, 1522, 'Adrianus Amerotius, clericus Zwessionens. dioc., artium magister, in facultate graduatus docens', was, consequently, 'nominatus ad <primam> collationem Episcopi Morinensis': *LibNomI*, 171, v. Since he soon after left the University to enter the service of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (cp. before, p 257), the nomination remained without effect.

³⁾ Mol., 605.

⁴⁾ It was probably a result of the teaching of languages by the *Trilingue* imitated in the Louvain Schools: cp. before, pp 103, sq. Most probably, several students of the Castle may have wished for private Greek lessons, or were already attending those of Amerot: it was only natural that he should be requested to organize a regular instruction of that language in the Pedagogy; he referred to it in his first lecture after Rescius' decease: *MB*, XIII, 1909: 60.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 245.

⁶⁾ He thus could provide to his younger friends precious information of the first years of struggle through which the *Trilingue* passed: cp. sup., I, 255, 279, 371.

rules, to a methodical system, of which his *Compendium* of 1520 was the first to provide an admirable sketch ¹⁾).

Amerot's influence was most beneficial to the studies of the School. He actually revived the spirit by which Goclenius had lifted it to a very high level by his complete freedom from all concomitant intentions, as well from the want to eke out his wages by exercising some profitable trade, as from the wish to gain popularity by indulging in the undue likings of his hearers. Before all, as Goclenius did, Amerot aimed at the free and abundant communication of the True and the Useful, as irrespective of any personal advantage as of the enjoyment of a frivolous audience. And that the excellence of his work was duly recognized and appreciated from the very beginning, results from the fact that his colleague Nannius, who, always intent on pleasing his public, had to curry favour by his fanciful introduction in 1545, as, three years before, he had tried, with little success, to get the author of his choice accepted ²⁾). It is not recorded whether he was more fortunate this time, whereas it is certain that the *Trilingue* owed to Amerot a spontaneous efflorescence, a genuine and substantial lustre, such as the great Goclenius had realized before ³⁾) : he introduced, namely, the scientific study and teaching of Greek, which he developed with such power and intensity that it, at once, became one of its chief glories.

Amerot's authority must have been as considerable as his humility. The greatest men in Louvain, — such as Tapper, whom even the Monarch consulted ⁴⁾), — required his advice, and the discreet and sensible way in which the reply was given, characterizes as much the wisdom of the giver as the thoroughness of the counsel communicated. An example is left in a letter, by which the Greek professor replies to the question proposed by Tapper about censoring books and manuals, which in a certain way are objectionable for morals and religious opinions, although of an incontestable utility for the acquisition of language and literature ⁵⁾). It shows the

¹⁾ NèveMém., 209, 300 ; Hoyneck, II, i, 380. ²⁾ Cp. before, pp 95, sq.

³⁾ Cp. III, 538, sq, 570, sq. ⁴⁾ Cp. III, 578, 575-80 ; MasE, 105.

⁵⁾ Tapper's letter and its reply, which has no year date, but certainly belongs to the latter half of the forties, evidently referred to the books

wisdom of the Greek professor, as well as the prudence of the Louvain Dean, — whose memory has been mischievously burdened with all the discontent and misery of that unfortunate century ¹).

Here follows the text of Amerot's reply :

REUERENDE D.

LIBROS istos grammatices quos minister tuus ad me attulerat vna cum Literis perlustravi. In quibus nihil quod fidej nostræ aduersetur offendj. Quod autem ad supplicationem pertinet, potest videri esse in libera facultate
 5 Dñorum de Consilio hac in parte derogare Mandato Cæsaris, quod tamen exemplum alios multos ad eandem derogationem petendam allicere posset : rediretque tandem illa immensa grammaticarum varietas, et Legendorum sine delectu quorumvis Librorum Licentia, quibuscunque
 10 gistris permissa, quam Imperator suo mandato tollere volebat. Eiusque proinde mandatum inane sineque effectui redderetur, et libri minus boni minusque probatj, prætermis-
 missis melioribus, quos Imperator suo mandato complexus est, in scholis legerentur.

to be used in the Latin classes, which recently had been submitted to an Imperial Censure. Judging from Amerot's answer, Tapper had been requested to grant or, at least, to approve of, an exemption from the prohibition of using some manuals — most probably written by, or based on books by, Erasmus and Mosellanus. Dutifully approving of the censure, — no doubt, not so much for the works and the authors themselves (cp. ll 1-3) as for the bad use made of their other writings, — Amerotius, on the plea that the water straight from the source is to be preferred to that which had to pass through one or more intermediary vessels (cp. ll 16-29), strongly advises to stand by the decision taken by authority after due deliberation and considering all circumstances — with which he was acquainted, but of which a present-day author has little more reliable knowledge than we have about the atmospheric conditions of any of the planets. Still if Amerot does not advocate the use of those works in the lessons, he highly praises them as precious and effective helps for private study (ll 23, sq, 29, sq, 35, sq).

¹) Cp. III, 579, and before, pp 74, 149, sq, &c.

3 supplicationem] evidently the request for an exemption of the prescriptions of the censure enounced in the *Literis* (l 2) joined to the books.

15 Neque enim rationi consentaneum videtur Philelphi
epistolas, Ciceronis epistolis in docendis iuuenibus ante-
ponere. Neque dialogos Erasmj, Terentij Comedijs potiores
habere. Libellos autem Erasmi de Copia, tametsi pueris
admodum vtilis, sicut non vult Imperator, postposito
20 Quintiliano, et Libris Oratoriis Ciceronis, eiusque oratio-
nibus posthabitis, ex quibus quantalibet verborum copia
et vtilius a Magistris annotarj, et felicius a pueris ex ipsis
fontibus discj potest, ordinarie prælegj : ita non interdicit
et a iuuenibus eos haberj, et vice commentariorum priua-
25 tim legj. Idem statuendum censeo de schematibus Mosel-
lani, qui e Quintiliano decerptj videntur ; aut si qui sunt
alij Libelli, ab Autoribus non jmprobatis conscriptj, qui
ad interpretationem bonorum Autorum commodj esse
possent. Idemque de grammaticis varijs, quibus singulæ
30 scholæ hactenus addictæ videntur, dicendum est vt pro
commentarijs haberi legique priuatim possint. Ordinarijs
autem Lectionibus soli hi legantur quos Imperator suo
mandato comprehendit.

Sic enim fiet vt et mandatum Principis sua non frustretur
35 intentione, et jlli commoditate grammaticarum Libello-
rumque, quibus hactenus assueuerunt, frui permittentur.
Hæc habui, R. D. Decane, que in presentia de prædictis
grammaticis, deque supplicatione proposita dicerem.

Vale. Vltima septembris.

40 Tuus Adrianus Amerotius.

Reuerendo Domino meo
D. Decano Sctj Petrj.

15 Philelphi epistolas] Francesco Filelfo left many Latin, and even Greek, letters, which throw light on his studies and his attitude as a humanist, but are, on that account, less appropriated to the development of the *tyrones* : cp. Sandys, II, 56 ; also Symonds, 270, sq, 283, sq, showing how his correspondence is as the mirror of a most busy, but not always ideal, life.

20 Quintiliano] Quintilian was first introduced to modern erudition by Pietro Paolo Vergerio (c 1370-c 1445) : he thoroughly influenced both Renaissance and Humanism : Sandys, II, 48, 53, 67, 83, &c ; Symonds, 135-37, &c.

25 Mosellani] cp. I, 307, 306-12 ; Sandys, II, 265.

41-42 Reuerendo ... Petrj] on the reverse side of this original letter, — which is amongst the *Epistolæ Eruditorum 1538-1674* (Bibl. Harl. 7011 : Plut. XLVIII. 1.), preserved amongst the *Manuscripts* in the *British Museum*

B. HIS DEATH AND FOUNDATION

After a most laboriously busy professorate of fifteen years, which procured much glory to the *Trilingue*, Amerot died on January 14, 1560 ¹⁾, and was buried in St. Gertrude's Abbey Church. By his will of December 1, 1559, he bequeathed some legacies to nephews and nieces, and decided that the residue should be used for scholarships, of 30 Rhine florins each, for students of theology in a College to be founded and organized like that of Adrian VI. In the next days, he made some changes, for which he added codicils ²⁾; the most important is the one, dated December 15, by which he cancelled some of the bequests to his relatives, but divided his succession into two parts, one to be distributed amongst his family, the other to be organized into his foundation. On December 28, 1559, he made a legacy to the newly-erected Grammar School, the College of Ghent, started by Francis van den Nieuwlande ³⁾, whom he full-heartedly encouraged in his plans ⁴⁾; and he further stipulated that his own bursars were to preach in turn during one month on sundays and feastdays, either in Latin, Flemish or French, according to the choice of the curators. Unfortunately the executors of his will and *provisores* of his foundation, the Presidents of the Colleges of the Pope, of Savoy and of St. Anna, the professors of divinity

¹⁾ Cp. VAnd., 282 (where he is called J. V. Licentiatius), 182, 244, *sq*; *BibBelg.*, 854-55; FUL, 3074-75, 3323; Mol., 605, 627, 792; Paquot, iv, 442 (mentioned as a friend to Joachim Sterck of Ringelberg: cp. II, 192-95); *ULDoc.*, iv, 515-16; *NèveMém.*, 207-10, 300; Allen, iv, 1237, 29; *MB*, xiii, 1909, 57-64 (inaugural oration). Also, in this *History*, I, 69, 223, 255, 272-74, 279, 307, 371, 497, II, 10, 84, 195, 223, 239, III, 39, 294, 350, 578, 580; *ULAnn.*, 1871: 301.

²⁾ By the codicil of December 2, he bequeathed to Anna Dassonville a dress for an ape in blue damask with a tunic in green velvet, similar to the one he himself had received as a present from Nicolas, Lord of Granvelle: FUL, 3074.

³⁾ That College for preparatory studies in Greek and Latin, was begun in the first months of 1559: cp. I, 69-73, II, 239; FUL, 4364-67.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, I, 69.

Michael de Bay ¹⁾, Thomas Gozeus ²⁾ and Augustine Hunnæus ³⁾, had much trouble to collect the debts still owing ⁴⁾, and to defend the interests of the foundation against the relatives. The latter, led by Antony 'amoure' or 'amoury', Amerotius, started a lawsuit against them; not being rich, they hoped to inherit a fortune which they fancied enormous; they prosecuted the executors, first in Louvain, and after-

¹⁾ Michael de Bay, of Meslin-l'Evêque, near Ath, matriculated on August 29, 1532, as student of the Porc, and was inscribed as a native of Bauffe (*LibIntIV*, 50, r). He promoted the fourth as M. A. in 1535, studied theology, and directed the *Domus Pauperum* from 1541 to 1543. He then taught philosophy until 1550, when he became president of the Holy Ghost, and promoted Doctor of Divinity on July 15. On October 23 of that same year, he was appointed president of Adrian VI's College, and kept it at the expense of his own patrimony in the disastrous years of the religious troubles. He was famous as divinity professor, and attended the closing Session of the Council of Trent. He was censured in 1567 for his theory about grace, but he made a complete submission. The intensity of his intellectual work can be gauged from his notes and documents on the Bible and St. Thomas' *Summa*; he even attended the lectures of Francis Costerus and Robert Bellarmine, in the Jesuit Convent (1572-76 : FUL, 3714-31). He became Dean of St. Peter's in 1575, *Conservator Privilegiorum* in 1578, and died on September 16, 1589, being buried in the chapel of the College of St. Augustine on the 'Leye', which he had founded in 1578, but which did not survive the troublesome time : VAnd., 112, 117, 128, sq, 271, sq, 288, 305, sq, 363, sq, 371, 380; Vern., 34, 52, 92, 206, 277-78, 282, 284; Opmeer, II, 176; *BibBelg.*, 670-72; FUL, 2113, 2754, 3323, 3816, 3859-60, &c; *ULDoc.*, III, 17, 206, IV, 120, 460, 473, V, 140-55; Mol., 137, 479, 495, 627; *ULPromRs.*, 82; *Et&Aud.*, 1177¹ c : Bull of Pius IV, appointing de Bay as inquisitor; *GranClaess.*, 42-51; *Baius*, sect. 1.

²⁾ Thomas Gozeus, de Goze, Gouze, of Beaumont, promoted the third as Master of Arts on March 22, 1548; he became Doctor of Divinity on November 12, 1560, also professor and Canon of St. Peter's in that same year, succeeding Martin Hessels. He worked at the edition of St. Augustine; he had been appointed (first) President of the College of Savoy at the death of the founder Eustace Chapuys, and he remained in that office until he died from an apoplexy at the table in Parc Abbey on March 8, 1571 : he was buried in the Chapel of Savoy College, and left scholarships in that and in Adrian VI's College : Mol., 480, 917; Vern., 219; VAnd., 116, 44, 79, 310, 364; *ULPromRs.*, 147; *ULDoc.*, III, 235; FUL, 14, 2743 (notes re friends & editions), 2893, 3714, 3718.

³⁾ Augustine Huens, *Hunnæus*, was President of St. Anna College from August 1557 to September 1563 : *ULDoc.*, III, 248. Cp. before, pp 152-57.

⁴⁾ By order of the Rector, the creditors were summoned to a meeting on July 17, 1563 : FUL, 3075.

wards before the Brabant Council, where they were nonsuited on August 28, 1567 ¹⁾). The misfortunes of the times prevented Amerot's scheme from being put into execution, and whatever could be secured of the revenue, a yearly rent of about 70 florins, was used for bursars living in the College founded by Ruard Tapper on the 'Leye', and, later on, in that of St. Augustine, also on the 'Leye', by which Michael de Bay wanted to continue the scheme of his great colleague ²⁾). Amerot's foundation did not survive the wreck of the de Bay's College *super Leydam*, and its means were lost in the calamitous events of the eighties of that ill-starred century ³⁾).

C. HIS SUBSTITUTE AND SUCCESSOR

On October 6, 1550, Amerot was absent from Louvain, and had requested Thierry de Langhe, Langius, to replace him for his lecture, so as not to disappoint his hearers : the substitute did so well his work that, when he finished, the audience gave him a very hearty and most effusive applause for replacing so admirably the excellent Hellenist. It happened that the English Ambassador, on his way to the Emperor in Germany, passed through Louvain on that day ; his secretary, Roger Ascham, the literator, came to the *Trilingue* to see Nannius, but did not find him ; instead, he joined the students who gathered for the Greek lecture of one o' clock. When at the end, their admiration burst out into a loud approval, Ascham, ignoring, that it was a spontaneous homage to a worthy substitute of the regular professor, tried to console himself by comparing him — evidently disadvantageously — with the Cambridge Greek scholar Nicolas Carr, of Trinity College, who in 1547 had been appointed *regius professor* of that language ⁴⁾, and with his colleague of St. John's ⁵⁾ ; he

¹⁾ FUL, 3075.

²⁾ Mol., 627 ; FUL, 2929-30, 3323 ; *ULDoc.*, v, 106-21, 140-55.

³⁾ FUL, *Introduction*, p xix ; cp. II, 239.

⁴⁾ Nicolas Carr (1524-68), constantly adhered to Roman Catholicism : he became Medical Doctor in 1558, in Cambridge, and practised his art there : *DNB* ; Cooper, I, 262, sq, 555.

⁵⁾ 'At one of the clock Theodoricus Laudius read (whom I heard) Oed. Tyr. Sophocl. græce... If Louvain, as far as I could mark, were compared with Cambridge, Trilingue with St. John's or Trinity College, Theod. Laudius with Mr. Car, ours do far excel' : *ErAllen*, 161-62.

added to that note in his diary that Langius, — or *Laudius* as his name is mis-spelled — pronounced *o*., as they did in Cambridge ¹).

That Thierry de Langhe, Langius, a native of Enkhuizen, had been trained in Louvain, and had attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, especially those of Greek. He had worked for a time in the Alkmaar School under Peter Nannius ²), before being appointed to teach his favourite language and its literature, Greek, at Bordeaux, being engaged by John de Tartas, Tartesius ³), in the first weeks of 1533 for the newly founded *College of Guyenne*, with several Louvain students : amongst them were Joachim Polites, of Ter-Goes ⁴), Gysbert Kolen, of Louvain, Gerard Courselius, of Coursel, and Matthew Itterius, of Kinroy, who all had been trained at the *Trilingue* ⁵). No doubt, they mentioned their satisfaction with their position and their Principal when writing to their late professors and fellow-students, — which explains why, on December 1533, Peter Nannius dedicated to Tartas his edition of Aristophanes' *Βῆτρρχοι*, so as to take part in the *encomia*, which were just then resounding about him in Louvain ⁶).

¹) Diary of Ascham in the form of a letter, Augsburg, January 20, 1551, to Edward Raven : *ErAllen*, 161-62 ; cp. further, pp 285, sq.

²) Gelder, 116 ; Polet, 8.

³) John de Tartas (thus called from his native town in the *Landes* of Guyenne) was Principal of the College of Lisieux, in Paris University, from 1525 ; on December 10, 1532, he was invited by the Town Council of Bordeaux to start the College of Guyenne, which he did, so that it opened on May 15, 1533. He failed to give satisfaction, though, and was replaced, in April 1534, by Andrew de Gouvea : on which he again returned to Paris : Allen, vii, 2065, 10 ; *GlenCorr.*, II, 28 ; Polet, 240-42 ; *Maldonat*, 532.

⁴) Cp. II, 475-77, &c, III, 270, &c.

⁵) Cp. before, III, 270.

⁶) Polet, 211-42 : 'ita et ego quoque ex tot magnificis encomijs, quæ nunc Louanij de te resonant, paucula verba decantarem'. Nicolas Clenardus made his acquaintance in 1531, and wrote him from Louvain on July 28, 1531 : *GlenCorr.*, I, 20. Viglius sent him word from Bourges on March 5, 1530 : Royal Library Brussels MS. II. 1040¹ : 17. Cp. Ern. Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* : Paris, 1874 : Chap. II-IV ; P. Courteault, *Le premier Principal du Collège de Guyenne* (in *Mélanges A. Lefranc*) : Paris, 1936 : 234-45.

Langius served a long time under Tartas' successor, Andrew de Gouvea ¹⁾, until, after ten years' teaching, he returned to Louvain, where he, probably, gave private lessons. He naturally was asked to replace Amerot, for he was a townsman of *Provisor* Ruard Tapper ²⁾, and he was known for the excellence of his lectures and of his erudition. At any rate, when Suffridus Petri was sent by the University of Louvain to that of Erfurt, and wrote there a report to the academical authorities about the Brabant *Studium Generale*, on September 22, 1557, he mentions his *moecenatem unicum*, the *clarissimum græcæ linguæ professorem D. Theodoricum Langium*, besides the *clarissimum virum ac D. D. Amerotium Snessionensem patronum meum benevolentissimum* ³⁾. At Nannius' death, Langius proved a faithful friend, editing from his manuscript notes, his comments on Virgil's *Bucolica* ⁴⁾, which book, according to the wishes of the deceased, was dedicated to Sigismund-Frederic Fugger, in honour of his father John-James, Lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn ⁵⁾. Although his chief concern lay in Greek, he took an active interest in Nannius' Latin studies, as results from the letters which the latter wrote to Paul Leopardus, headmaster of Hondschoote School, mentioning that Langius had examined his manuscript of the *Emendationes et Miscellanæ* from the summer of 1550 to the following Christmas ⁶⁾. When William Zenocarus, Imperial councillor and librarian, described the

¹⁾ The Bordeaux authorities, who dismissed Tartas, invited the Portuguese Andrew de Gouvea, rector of St. Barbara College, Paris, where Montaigne had learned to appreciate him. He started his work on on April 11, 1534 : *BatGouv.* ; Ern. Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* : Paris, 1874, Chap. II-IV. Andrew was accompanied by his brother Antony, who, after being active some time at Bordeaux, returned to Paris, where he started a quarrel with Peter de la Ramée : A. Ribeiro, *Antonio de Gouveia, Em Prol de Aristoteles* : Lisbon, 1940 : v-x.

²⁾ Cp. before, III, 575.

³⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1848 : 203 : the title *professor* was then often used for those who gave private lessons with real success : it does not imply any connection with the *Trilingue*, nor even with the University staff.

⁴⁾ In *P. Virgillii Maronis Bucolica Commentaria docta & accurata* : Basle, J. Oporinus : February 1559 : Polet, 173-75, 191 ; cp. *inf.*, sect. 5, c.

⁵⁾ Polet, 328-29 ; cp. before, II, 433, 450, III, 366-68.

⁶⁾ Letters of October 30, and December 20, 1550, January 28, 1551 : Polet, 311, 313, 314 ; cp. III, 247-50, 444, and before, p 191.

Brabant University, which he favourably compares with that of Paris, he mentions, as its remarkable *Oratores*, Valerius, Langius, Lupus and Ramus ¹⁾).

In the first weeks of 1560, Thierry de Langhe was appointed successor to Amerot, whom he had occasionally replaced ; he showed great zeal in his work and was highly praised by Andrew Schott, who had been his pupil for two years ²⁾. When illness and old age, especially his fast declining eyesight, made teaching very hard for him, he was replaced for four years by Augustine Huens, Hunnæus, professor of divinity ³⁾ ; later on, after 1574, by Suffridus Petri, who is recorded to have explained Pindar's *Olympians* ⁴⁾, and finally, after 1577, when Petri went to reside in Cologne, by Pierius a Smenga, professor of Hebrew ⁵⁾. Langius died in Louvain on June 12, 1578, leaving to the *Trilingue* his well-stocked collection of books and manuscripts ⁶⁾. For a long time his documents were kept there ; they have since long disappeared, with the exception of a very small bundle, marked *Theodori Langij Schedia*, comprizing stray notes on Greek prosody and tragedy, on Euripides and *Iphigenia in Aulide* ⁷⁾.

5. PETER NANNIUS

A. HIS WORK

The professor of Latin, Peter Nannius, meanwhile, zealously and unremittingly, continued his work : by October 1544 he started commenting on the fourth book of the *Aeneis*, of which

¹⁾ VAnd., 403 : *Valerius* is evidently Cornelius van Auwater : cp. II, 112, 177, 236, 480, 565, III, 270-81, 317 ; *Lupus* is William Wolffs, professor of Rhetoric (cp. before, p 90), and *Ramus*, John Tack, professor of Laws (cp. Ch. XXV, 2, A). — Cp. for Zenocarus, II, 170, 563, III, 86, 307, 346.

²⁾ Letter to Christ. Plantin, May 5, 1581 : *ULAnn.*, 1847 : 236-37 ; *PlantE*, vi, 261, sq ; cp. Paquot, xii, 56.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 156, 152-57.

⁴⁾ Cp. Ch. XXV, 3.

⁵⁾ From 1569 ; cp. further, sect. 6, c.

⁶⁾ Vern., 145 ; VAnd., 282 ; VAndEx., 66 ; *NèveMém.*, 210-12, 98 ; *UL-Doc.*, iv, 516-17.

⁷⁾ They were acquired with some old scraps of documents by the author of this *History*.

he had edited the text ; the marginal notes, indicating sources, or meanings, or equivalent passages in literature, had proved too abundant, so that they were published as *Deuterologiae sive Spicilegia* in September 1544 ¹⁾. In that book and in his lectures, he corrected several scholia of the older commentators, introducing in his teaching the discussion of variants in the text, as his master Goclenius had done most efficiently before him for Donatus' commentaries on Terence and other authors ²⁾, and he thus trained his hearers to the proper philologic work, in which Stephen Pigge ³⁾, the brothers Laurin ⁴⁾, and many others illustrated themselves. His *Castigationes... in Titi Livii [Historiarum] Librum tertium decadis primæ*, 1545 ⁵⁾, is another example of his comparative method, for which he made ample use of the *Codex Busli-dianus* of T. Livius, belonging to the *Trilingue* ⁶⁾, and of the *Codex Atrebatensis*, of the College of Arras ⁷⁾, both of which were also studied by Guy Morillon ⁸⁾, — and of several other ' *vetusti libri, alia exemplaria, alii codices* ', as he called them.

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 96 : as introduction he composed and pronounced the *Oratio de Amore*, which he left in manuscript : Leyden Library MS Vulc. 98 F ; Polet, 68-70, 196-209, 282-83 ; the book was dedicated, on August 28, 1544, to his pupil Louis Stephen Cesarion : cp. Ch. XXV, 1, A.

²⁾ In 1526, Goclenius had realized so many corrections of the text of Donatus' commentaries on Terence that he wished to have them printed by Froben, when he heard that John Sichart (Allen, vi, 1660, 95) was preparing an edition by means of a *vetustus exemplar*. He therefore decided to wait, and, writing about the plan to Erasmus on November 7, 1527, he suggested that Froben should try to obtain the use of Sichart's *exemplar* ; at any rate, he offers to send his manuscript to Basle, when the printer should like to have it : Allen, vii, 1899, 27-56. The informant, who told Goclenius, no doubt made a mistake, as Sichart was then working on Q. Terentius Scaurus' *De Orthographia* and on some writings by Donatus : he never brought out an edition of Terence : Sandys, i, 210, 223 ; P. Lehmann, *Joannes Sichardus* : 1912 : 46-53. Unfortunately the always growing activity as teacher and tutor prevented the realizing of Goclenius' projected edition : cp. III, 545, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 200-208, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 185-93.

⁵⁾ Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1545 : Polet, 139-41, 194-95 ; the manuscript of the comments is preserved in Leyden University Library : MS Bon. Vulcanius, 92, F. II, ff 62-63.

⁶⁾ Cp. III, 49.

⁷⁾ Polet, 158-59.

⁸⁾ Cp. sup. III, 49, 44-50.

In fact Nannius' thoughts and attention converged on the text of the writings of the authors of Antiquity preserved in old manuscripts and early editions : thus on a visit to Ghent, where his brother was suffering from the result of a wild attack ¹⁾, he had examined the *antiquissimus Horatianus codex* of the St. Peter's Abbey in Monte Blandino, in which he found the *Vita Horatii* attributed to Suetonius ²⁾, and, moreover, ample notes on other old *opera*. Those and similar observations became as the warp and woof of his teaching, and provided the matter for his *Συμμίχτων, sive Miscellaneorum Decas una*, of June 1548 ³⁾, containing comments on Terence and Plautus ⁴⁾, on Horace ⁵⁾ and Livy ⁶⁾, on the *Aeneis* ⁷⁾ and on Cicero ⁸⁾, as well as a defence of Erasmus' translation of a passage of Diogenes of Laertius against Francesco Robortelli ⁹⁾. To that imposing collection of philological remarks, he added notes on astronomy, on Roman Law and on what he supposed to be the etymology of some proper and common Flemish nouns, which he connected, by sound or meaning, with Greek and Latin words ¹⁰⁾, — suggesting the great work of a Kiliaen ¹¹⁾, but also the vagaries of a Goropius

¹⁾ Polet, 151, 299, *sq.*

²⁾ Polet, 145, 150-58, 299-302 ; Sandys, I, 197, 638.

³⁾ Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, June 1548 : cp. III, 277 ; it was dedicated to William Paget, English ambassador (cp. further, p 283) : Polet, 144, *sq.*, 297-98.

⁴⁾ Lib. I & II : Polet, 145-50 ; a copy of Robert Estienne's Terence, 1536, and one of Plautus, 1530, both with Nannius' manuscript notes, were still in existence in 1753 : Paquot, xiv, 78.

⁵⁾ Lib. III & IV : Polet, 150-58 : in the preface to Lib. III, addressed to Henry de Weze, his former hearer (cp. before, pp 116-23), Nannius relates the circumstances of his visit to his brother at Ghent, which allowed him to investigate the treasures of Mont-Blandin : Polet, 299-302.

⁶⁾ Lib. V : Polet, 158-59.

⁷⁾ Ll. VI and VII : Polet, 160-61.

⁸⁾ Lib. IX : Polet, 163-65.

⁹⁾ Lib. VIII ; Francesco Robortelli, born in 1516 at Udine, held professorships of humanistic studies at Lucca, Pisa, Venice and Padua from 1538 to 1557 ; he then started lecturing at Bologna, where he had been trained ; he died there in poverty in 1567, chiefly on account of quarrels which, in his inordinate self-esteem, he picked up with most scholars. He had violently attacked Erasmus in his *Variorum Locorum Adnotationes* (Venice, 1543) : Sandys, II, 140-43 ; Polet, 161-63, 306-07, 313, 315.

¹⁰⁾ Lib. X : Polet, 165-68.

¹¹⁾ Cornelius Kiliaen : cp. Ch. XXV, 5.

Becanus ¹⁾). That most interesting volume ²⁾), which was often reprinted or partly reproduced in subsequent editions of authors ³⁾), provides an excellent idea of the interesting lectures of Nannius, and justifies his great influence on his hearers, as well as the judgment which Justus Lips pronounced about him, declaring that he *primus honestum ibi [Lovanii] ignem accenderat* ⁴⁾).

Another example of Nannius' method is provided by '*M. T. Ciceronis Accusationis in C. Verrem Liber V. Oratio VIII, cui addita sunt Scholia et Castigationes*', of 1546 ⁵⁾), which was the subject of his lectures in that year. He indicated ⁶⁾ the gaps and the mistakes in the edition of the great Italian scholar Petrus Victorinus ⁷⁾), of which only a part had been restored or corrected by the Leipzig erudite Christopher Hegendorf ⁸⁾) : still Nannius left his text intact, and only pointed out the corrupt readings in the comments with the corrections he suggested.

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 31-40, and II, 563, &c.

²⁾ It was dedicated, on June 1, 1548, to William Paget (cp. *inf.* pp 283-84), English ambassador : Polet, 297-98.

³⁾ Cp. Polet, 144-45 ; Paquot, xiv, 69-70.

⁴⁾ Letter to John van den Wouwere : Louvain, October 1, 1600 : *Epist. Select. Cent. Tertia*, lxxxvii (: Antwerp, 1605 : 92) : cp. III, 277.

⁵⁾ Louvain, Serv. Zassenus, 1546 : the copy of *BrsRL*, V. H. 10860, used to belong to the *Bibliotheca Martiniana Lovanii* : Polet, 141-44.

⁶⁾ In the dedicatory letter to Nicolas Wotton, ambassador (cp. before, pp 112-13), December 1, 1545 : Polet, 285-87, Nannius refers specially to the help provided by his *alter ego* Richard Brandisby (cp. *inf.*, pp 279, sq) and the edition by Martin Lips (cp. III, 71-75, 490), which is not otherwise recorded : it may have been a classical manual for St. Martin's Priory, edited by Lips, but without his name.

⁷⁾ Piero Vettori, born at Florence in 1499, where he died in 1585, was so great a scholar, both in Greek and Latin, that his time was styled after him the *Sæculum Victorianum*. He published xxv books of *Variae Lectiones*, paying special attention to Cicero : Sandys, II, 135-40, &c.

⁸⁾ Those corrections are found in the edition of Cicero by Michael Vasconius, Paris, 1539. — Christopher Hegendorf, Hegendorphinus, born at Leipzig in 1500, studied under Peter Mosellanus, and became a sound humanist as well as an able student of laws ; he wrote to that effect his *Libri Dialecticæ Legalis quinque*, 1531, which Mudæus corrected ; he died prematurely at Lüneburg on August 8, 1540 : Stintzing, I, 249-52, &c.

Whilst thus turning his students' attention to the intricate problems of Latin language and text criticism, Nannius also interested them in whatever could enrich their acquaintance with the civilization of Rome : such as in medals, of which he kept a fine collection ¹⁾, and in the old epigraphs, which several of his hearers, like Smet, Pigge and the Laurins, went to study in Latium ²⁾. Yet, besides that, he found the time to keep in close connection with his colleagues of the Faculty of Arts and to take his share in the discussion of all the questions which then were debated. In December 1548, he accepted the invitation of his former pupil Augustine Huens, Hunnæus ³⁾, to formulate an objection at the *Quodlibetæ* against his thesis of the corruptibility of the world. It occasioned an oration, in which he contended that the world had been initially eternal, but had become corruptible after Adam's fall ; he brought forward arguments derived from the Bible and from Aristotle ; from the principles of physics and from experience, in which there was nothing new except the literary and almost classic style in which they were couched. The oration was published in February 1549 ⁴⁾, and was dedicated on January 23, 1549, to the three '*provisores*' of the *Trilingue*, who had attended the *Quodlibetæ*, Ruard Tapper, Peter de Corte and Hubert Cnobbaert, the prior of the Carthusians ⁵⁾, as an expression of admiration, not only for the care which they took of the teaching in the College, but also for their generosity in safeguarding its interest during the long-drawn lawsuit, and even for advancing the money to redeem some of the College property from the enemy in the late Gelderland war, which made them as the greatest Benefactors of the Institute after its Founder ⁶⁾.

From the realm of Philosophy, Nannius soon returned to that of Philology. Having explained the fourth and the fifth of the *Orationes in Verrem*, 1546, he read the seventh in

¹⁾ *CollTorr.*, 77.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 177, sq, 185-93, 200-08, and III, 318-22.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 152-57 ; Polet, 303-5.

⁴⁾ *Petri Nannii Alcmariani Declamatio Quodlibetica, De Æternitate Mundi* : 'Lovanii... Serv. Zassenus Diestensis' : 1549, 'Mense Februario'. Cp. Paquot, xiv, 70 ; Polet, 74-77.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 222.

⁶⁾ Polet, 302-05 ; cp. *sup.*, p 252.

1550, using an edition printed in Louvain by Serv. Zassenus in that same year ¹⁾ : his copy with notes in the margins and on the blank leaves inserted throughout the book, belonged to the University Library of Louvain until its destruction in May 1940 ²⁾. Some months before, in 1548 or 1549, he had commented on Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and his notes were found in the *Trilingue* Library by Valerius Andreas, who edited them in the *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, printed by John Moretus, at Antwerp in 1608, together with Lævinus Torrentius' text of, and *Commentarius* on, the Satires, Odes and the *Epistolæ* ³⁾. The *Petri Nannii Alcmariani in Q. Horatii Flacci Artem Poeticam Commentarius*, as it is entitled, consists chiefly of a literary and technical interpretation, which was greatly appreciated by all those who were interested in that text in after times ⁴⁾.

About that period Nannius also turned his attention to the *Rhetorica* of Fortunatianus, and he published it for the use of his students in 1550 ⁵⁾. He reproduced the text of the *editio princeps*, which has neither name of editor or of place, nor date, as it had been reprinted by Andrew Haltmann Cratander, in Basle, 1526 ⁶⁾. He introduced, however, some divisions by putting a few words in the margin by the side of the place where they are found in the text. The latter, which was *maculosus & mutilus*, was corrected and emended by Nannius, and most of his alterations have become since long generally accepted, although the honour of the correction is not ascribed to him. He was also the first to point out that the third book is, for a large part, the work of St. Augustine, who is also the author of the *Dialectica* up to then attributed

¹⁾ *M. Tullii Ciceronis Accusationes in C. Verrem. Liber Septimus. Oratio Decima*; that edition may have been printed specially for Nannius' lectures : Polet, 13, 192.

²⁾ Polet, 192.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 172.

⁴⁾ As late as 1825, Nannius' glosses were quoted, along with those of Turnebus, Schott, Joseph Scaliger, Henry Estienne and William Canter, by Zeunius in his edition of Horace (London, 1825) : Polet, 179-86.

⁵⁾ *Consulti Chirii Fortunatiani Rhetoricorum Libri III. Castigationes iam redditi opera Petri Nannij...* : Lovanii apud Martinum Rotarium, typis Reyneri Velpij Diestensis : 1550. Cp. Paquot, xiv, 71-2; Polet, 168-71.

⁶⁾ Cp. Car. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* : Leipzig, 1863 : 79-151 : he does not mention Nannius' edition.

to Fortunatianus ; he did not doubt about the paternity of the *De Elocutione*, which he accepted as the work of Fortunatianus, although it is now assigned to Martianus Capella ¹⁾. Nannius dedicated the book to one of the old students of the *Trilingue*, Claud de Carondelet, Provost of St. Donatian's, Bruges ²⁾, by a letter dated November 13, 1550 ³⁾.

Occasionally Nannius indulged in writings of the purely literary kind. Thus, in the beginning of 1550, he published two imaginary colloquies, such as the *Dialogismi Heroinarum* of 1541 ⁴⁾, entitled *Dvarvm Sanctissimarvm Martyrvm Agathæ, et Lucie Dialogismi* ⁵⁾. They were dedicated on February 13, 1550, to his friend the poet Cornelius Musius ⁶⁾, rector of the Franciscan nuns of St. Agatha's at Delft, who contributed a hymn in honour of St. Agatha, and who expressed as judgment about this kind of composition : '*ex rebus Nannij alia alibi apparere, in Dialogismis totum Nannium existere*' ⁷⁾.

Without any doubt the *Dialogismi* appealed to Nannius, not only as belletristic product, but also for their religious character. He highly valued his dignity of priest and showed an unmistakable predilection for earnest and devotional texts, which, in a way, equally appealed to him in his quality of philologist. Already in the sunny side of the forties he had spent some of his time on a study of the text of Solomon's *Sapientia*. In order to supply the apparent deficiency of the text of the Vulgate, he wished to provide a rendering of the Greek version of that book ascribed to the great and wise King of the Hebrews. He used, he said, chiefly the Venetian and the Spanish manuscripts, meaning, no doubt, the Greek text published in the Bible of Alcalá, by John de Vergara ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ Polet, 168-71 ; AugO, I, 1439-48 ; Aug. Reuter, *Zu den augustinischen Fragment 'de Arte Rhetorica'* : *BeitReut.*, 321-51.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 48-49.

³⁾ Polet, 311-12.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 97.

⁵⁾ Louvain, Peter Phalesius, 1550 : Paquot, xiv, 71 ; Polet, 47-49 ; and before, p 93.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, II, 196-202, 482, 515, III, 402-3, &c.

⁷⁾ Polet, 47, 310.

⁸⁾ Juan de Vergara (1492-1557), one of the first students of Ximenes' University of Alcalá (cp. III, 79-80), revised the text of the Vulgate for the Book of Wisdom and the Ecclesiasticus, as contribution to the Complutensian Polyglot : Allen, v, 1277, *pr.*

and in the Aldine edition of 1518, which was almost exactly reproduced at Strassburg, in 1526, and at Basle, in 1545 and 1550. He found several passages where the Greek texts are not exact, and comparing them with those of the Vulgate, concluded that the latter was evidently made on a far more correct manuscript, unfortunately now lost ; he tried to restore the original wording, and provided the justification of his views in his *scholia* ¹⁾. That critical work on a book of the Bible was, at the same time, a considerable advance towards the minute investigation of the Sacred Documents before using them as depositaries of the Eternal Truth ; and also an authoritative sanctioning of the method inaugurated by Erasmus thirty years before : times and ideas had changed, and the great Humanist would have rejoiced at the Louvain theologians' insisting on Nannius' undertaking that piece of work. It happened that the English Bishop Gardiner, who was in the country as ambassador, showed great admiration for Nannius' work, and even offered to have it published at his expense. The Louvain divines, expecting to contribute as much as was in their power to help towards a return of England to the Mother Church by the influential Bishop, encouraged Nannius in his design, and examined the voluminous manuscript, which was consequently dedicated to the Prelate on September 5, 1546, as *Sapientia Solomonis una cum Scholijs*. Unfortunately circumstances made it impossible for Gardiner to do anything towards the printing of the work, as his time of disgrace and bitter persecution started at the accession of Edward VI. The manuscript probably remained amongst his papers, and was preserved in England until, in August 1930, Professor Dr Arthur Bernard Cook, of Queen's College, Cambridge, offered it to the renascent Louvain Library ; unfortunately it was burned there in May 1940 ²⁾.

Nannius did not abandon his scheme of issuing his rendering of the *Sapientia* : after touching up the text and adding

¹⁾ Cp. Polet, 110-12, 195, 287-94 ; and further, pp 282-83.

²⁾ Cp. Polet, 195. — The dedicatory letter was edited for the first time in Polet, 287-94 ; the text and the notes of the book were corrected and enlarged for the edition of 1552 : Polet, 110-15.

some notes, he had it printed in 1552 ¹⁾, with a dedicatory letter, of August 13, to Louis of Flanders, Baron of Praet and Woestyne, Governor of Flanders, who had been Erasmus' and Vives' *fortissimus patronus*, and was one of Charles V's most faithful and most influential councillors ²⁾. His interest in learning and literature had led to the writing of the famous *De Subventionem Pauperum*, and also of *De Consultatione*, of which he had encouraged, if not suggested, the composing during his embassy in England, from May 1522 to May 1525 ³⁾.

Solomon's *Sapientia* of 1552, based on Greek Manuscripts, was not the last of the series of works due to Nannius' thorough acquaintance with the language of Hellas ⁴⁾: it was followed by the rendering of St. Athanasius' writings. It was begun in compliance with a request from the Froben printing office: promised in 1551, the translation of all the *opera* of that Father was ready and issued in two folio volumes in 1556; a third contains some writings which are wrongly ascribed to him, and which, like the authentic ones, were rendered, for the first time, into Latin by Nannius. To those three volumes the editors added a fourth, containing the version which had already been made and published of other books attributed to the great champion of orthodoxy, who, however, is more interesting as man of action than as orator and author ⁵⁾. The important edition was the first to bring a complete Latin rendering; it was used and reproduced with a few enlargements for more than a century, until more and better manuscripts were found ⁶⁾. It was dedicated on August 20, 1556, to Antony of Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, Charles V's great minister, who had provided Nannius with

¹⁾ Basle, Jerome Froben and Nicolas Episcopus: Polet, 112-15.

²⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, I, 257, sq; *OlaE*, 414, 465, 498, &c; *Cran.*, 150, a-d, and sources quoted; *LuChav*, v, 499; *AuwCar.*, 6, 8, 10; Gabbema, 546; *AltRel.*, 112, 268, 298; *GemFrisius*, 411; Polain, iv, 205; Allen, iv, 1191, pr; Polet, 317, sq.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 150, a-c.

⁴⁾ Cp. Paquot, xiv, 62, 72; Polet, 91-110; and *sup.*, pp 89, 98.

⁵⁾ *Athanasii Magni, Alexandrini Episcopi, Graviss. Scriptoris, et Sanctiss. Martyris Opera*, in quatuor Tomos distributa: Basle, Jerome Froben and Nicolas Episcopus, September 1556.

⁶⁾ Paquot, xiv, 73, sq; Polet, 116-24.

a prebend at Arras, and was paying him a pension from his personal fortune in appreciation of his strenuous labour ¹⁾. A copy of it was offered to Viglius, who thanks the author on November 8, 1556, and, in return for the expression of Nannius' gratitude for the protection granted to Louvain University, announces that the King wishes to favour letters and learning; and he declares, for himself, his devotedness to the *Trilingue*: *Non sinam vero Collegii Trilinguis Professores munificentiae Regiae esse expertes, cum non ignorem quid illi Scholae debeam, ex qua non exiguum incrementum studiis meis accessisse confiteor* ²⁾).

The great fame which the Latin professor enjoyed, probably brought the Mechlin town authorities to request him to make a fine translation of their laws and regulations; it was published in 1552 ³⁾, and procured to the author, if not much glory, at least a rather generous reward ⁴⁾, which may have made up for several more difficult tasks which never produced him anything, except the satisfaction of conscientious and erudite work ⁵⁾. Such was the metrical paraphrase of fourteen Psalms, which were edited by James Latomus, junior ⁶⁾, in his *Psalmi Davidici Quadragintaquinque*, of 1562 ⁷⁾. Such were also the most valuable scholia ⁸⁾, which he wrote on two contradictory letters about faith and religion, one by Symmachus, and the other by St. Ambrose; those documents were found in a manuscript of Prudentius' works, which

¹⁾ Cp. III, 350-55; Polet, 324-25.

²⁾ Hoyneck, II, i, 379, sq; Polet, 325.

³⁾ *Leges Municipales Civitatis Mechliniensium*, e lingua Theutonica in Latinam translatae, interprete Petro Nannio: Louvain, Mart. Rotarius, 1552. The book was dedicated to the Senate and People of Mechlin: Polet, 18-20; Paquot, XIV, 72, criticizes some inexact terms which a lawyer would have avoided.

⁴⁾ He was paid 50 gold half-reals, worth 80 pounds.

⁵⁾ Cp. the list of his unedited works in Paquot, XIV, 77-78.

⁶⁾ Nephew of the professor of theology of that name: cp. III, 253.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, Gul. Silvius, 1562; cp. Paquot, XIV, 75; Polet, 86-90. Amongst Auwater's poems, there is one in which he insistingly requests Nannius to continue the rendering of the rest of the Psalms: *Auwater*, 84.

⁸⁾ They were reproduced several times, and are still found for a large part in Migne's edition of St. Ambrose.

belonged to the *Trilingue* ¹⁾; John de Coster, the great erudite of St. Martin's Priory, who had requested Nannius to edit those Scholia, mentioned them in his *Opera Sti. Ambrosii*, 1555, as one of his sources ²⁾; they were issued with the letters in *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Opera*, published by Victor Giselinus and Theodore Pulmannus, in 1564 ³⁾. Another work, that also was only printed after his death, was a short study, *De Claris Romæ Corneliis, ad Cornelium Musium Delphium* ⁴⁾, describing the *gens Cornelia*, and the illustrious *Cornelii*; it was inserted amongst the historical works of Cornelius Nepos, edited by Andrew Schott, at Frankfurt, in 1608 and 1609 ⁵⁾.

By his incessant studies on various authors and subjects, Nannius continued the glorious tradition of the professors of the *Trilingue*, devoting all their efforts to make their teaching as unobjectionable, as progressive, and as efficient as possible. Nor did he forget that he had young men before him, prone to waywardness and profligacy : he rendered his lessons as agreeable and attractive as possible, but chose subjects that had a moral meaning. He even availed himself of the texts he explained, to warn them for all evil, and, at times, let the moralist take the place of the Latinist ⁶⁾. He thus exposed the danger of lawless love in his introduction to his comments on the fourth book of the *Æneis*, the fine *Oratio de Amore*, in 1543 or 1544 ⁷⁾. In October 1542, he had tried to awaken the interest of his hearers in Lucretius, by relating a dream

¹⁾ That small folio manuscript on vellum of the xith century was still preserved in Louvain University Library (117 ff, n° 234), until it was destroyed by the fire of August 1914; it had on a fly-leaf the inscription : *Collegii Buslideani Louanij — ex Cubiculo Nānii Alcmariani* : J. B. Brys, *De Vita et Scriptis Aur. Clem. Prudentii* : Louvain, 1855 : x xi.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 303-05; *BibBelg.*, 750, mentioning Nannius' *Scholia Brevia*, edited by Coster.

³⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1564 : ff G 4, r-II 8, r : Nannius' work has as title : *Symmachi, & Ambrosii de Religione Epistolæ adversariæ, Petri Nannii Alcmariani, et Victoris Giselini scholiis illustratæ* : Paquot, xiv, 75-76; Polet, 177-79.

⁴⁾ Cp. II, 196-202, 482, 515, III, 402-3, and before, pp 93-94, &c.

⁵⁾ *Pp* 193-98; cp. Paquot, xiv, 76; Polet, 186-87.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 97.

⁷⁾ Now in Leyden Library, Vulcanius MS 98 F : cp. before, p 97; Paquot, xiv, 78; Polet, 196-209.

of a descent to the *Inferi*, and an interview with the author, before starting the second book ¹⁾ : in the middle of the explanation of the sixth book of the *Aeneis*, in 1545, he uses the same theme to urge the students to flee idle and dissolute love : in the *Somnium* — of which the text is reproduced further ²⁾, — he describes his journey to the *Inferi*, where Virgil shows him the sad fate of wayward lovers amongst the students, and urges the professor to do whatever he can to preserve his hearers from perdition ³⁾, — in a pregnant argumentation from the beginning up to the end, — where he advises returning to Louvain and study, not by *Bierbeek*, a rivulet of ale, but by an austere life, symbolized by *Parc Abbey*, in his verse :

Per Parcam recta carpe viator iter.

B. HIS ENGLISH FRIENDS

When, on December 1, 1545, Nannius dedicated his edition of Cicero's *Accusationis in C. Verrem Liber V* to the ambassador Nicolas Wotton ⁴⁾, he mentions that in his studies for that book, he made use of an edition by Martin Lips ⁵⁾, as well as of the help of a very learned countryman of his illustrious protector, Richard Brandisby, with whom he had become united in a friendship as close as that of Castor and Pollux, especially in a common pursuit of letters, in so far that the book offered might be considered as the result of a joint work ⁶⁾.

That Richard Brandisby had been, since 1530, a student in St. John's College, Cambridge ; his studies may have been paid by his brother John, who became M. A. in 1518, and D. D. in 1532, whilst enjoying several preferments ⁷⁾. He

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 95 ; Polet, 61, 64-68.

²⁾ APPENDIX VII.

³⁾ Polet, 61-64.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 112-13.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 271, and *sup.* III, 71-75, 490, &c.

⁶⁾ Cp. Polet, 285-87 : also called *Brandesby*, *Brandisbæus*.

⁷⁾ John Brandisby was rector of Wittering in 1517, of Sproatley, 1528, of Beeford, 1539, and finally of Settrington, where he died at the end of 1550 or the beginning of 1551, judging from his brother's letter of February 8, 1551 : AschE, 410. John had enjoyed also a preferment at Lincoln, and one in the church of York. By his will of December 7 (1549), he bequeathed £ 30 to his brother Richard, who apparently had some trouble with insincere, if not perfidious, relatives. Cp. AschE, 410 ; Cooper, I, 180, 550-51.

attended the lessons of Greek by the erudite 'fellow', John Cheke ¹⁾, with Roger Ascham ²⁾, a fellow-student, with whom he contracted a hearty friendship. In the latter thirties they separated, and whereas Ascham remained in the University and worked his way up, Brandisby left England for religion's sake, and settled in Louvain, like several others amongst his countrymen ³⁾. He matriculated between June 24 and Dec. 21, 1538 ⁴⁾, and gained his living by private tutoring. In 1540, Ascham wrote to him after a two years' silence ⁵⁾, and mentioned that he had heard from him through their mutual friend Stephen Tennandus ⁶⁾; he announced him the great improvement in classic studies in Cambridge, as well as the controversy between Cheke, seconded by Thomas Smith ⁷⁾, about Greek pronunciation ⁸⁾, which the University Chan-

¹⁾ John Cheke, born in Cambridge in 1514, studied in St. John's College, and started the tests for M. A. in 1533. He was entrusted with the teaching at the College, and soon became known for his knowledge of Greek. He was appointed lecturer of that language as Regius Professor in 1540, and Public Orator of the University in 1544. In that same year, he became tutor to Prince Edward, who, as King, granted him pensions and preferments; he had him made provost of King's College, 1548, and knight in 1552. He was imprisoned in July 1553, but let free in the following September. He went to the Continent and taught Greek for some time at Strassburg. Taken prisoner in Brussels, 1556, he was sent to England, where he abjured protestantism in the same year, and died, Sept. 13, 1557, in London: cp. *DNB*; Cooper, I, 166-70, 549; W. L. Nathan, *Sir John Cheke und der Englische Humanismus*: Bonn, 1928; Stone, 223, 414, sq, 421; Strype, iv, 240, v, 41-44, 150, &c.

²⁾ Cp. further, p 284.

³⁾ E. g., John Helyar, Reginald Pole's friend: *MonHL*, 587-608; and before, III, 371, 423-27; also, for other English students matriculating in Louvain, *MonHL*, 603, and *sup.*, pp 153, 210. — In November 1550, Nannius took the oath for 'Aur. guidecok Bolon. & Guil. Cesterus Lond. minorennnes': *LibIntIV*, 260, r.

⁴⁾ *LibRecI*, 228, v: 'Richard Brendisbe'.

⁵⁾ *AschE*, 73-75: the letter is not dated, but evidently belongs to 1540, judging by the two years' silence and the recent appointment of Cheke as professor of Greek.

⁶⁾ 'Tennandus noster hic apud nos fuit his proximis nundinis': *AschE*, 73.

⁷⁾ Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577), scholar, author and statesman, who became regius professor of civil law and vice-chancellor in Cambridge in 1540: *DNB*; Cooper, I, 368-73.

⁸⁾ Cooper, I, 369, 373; *AschE*, 74-5; *Cheke*, 14-24; Strype, I, 596, iv, 228.

cellor, Bishop Stephen Gardiner¹⁾, did not want to be changed. In the latter months of 1541, Tennand also came to Louvain²⁾, and so did, in 1547, a third friend, John Christopherson, who under Mary's reign became Bishop of Chichester³⁾.

The hearty connection that united Nannius to Brandisby and Tennand, was extended to several other erudites and scholars working in Louvain : amongst them to John de Coster, the canon regular of St. Martin's Priory⁴⁾, who was zealously busy at the study and the editing of the works of the Fathers. Brandisby procured him a fine manuscript of St. Ambrose, which allowed him to correct especially the books about faith and the Holy Ghost addressed to Gratianus Augustus. That manuscript was highly valuable : it attested the treasures and excellent learning in England's monasteries : 'ex hoc', he wrote in his preface to his edition of *Ambrosii Opera*, 1555, 'facile diuinare liceat quam olim fuerit Anglia literis exulta et eruditorum ac insignium virorum ferax'⁵⁾. On the other hand, that friendship with the English refugees was most agreeable to Nannius, who, in September 1543,

¹⁾ Cp. further, pp 282, sq.

²⁾ He matriculated on September 20, 1541 : *LibIntIV*, 150, r : 'Dns Stephanus Tannand anglus'. He probably went back to England under Mary's reign, but returned to Louvain, where he matriculated once more on August 17, 1563 : M. Stephanus Tennant anglus sacerdos pauper : *LibIntIV*, 394, r ; cp. *sup.*, p 210.

³⁾ John Christopherson, born at Ulverstone, studied in St. John's, Cambridge, and became fellow of Trinity College in 1546. He had to retire from the University, although supported by his College, and matriculated in Louvain on July 20, 1547 : *LibIntIV*, 228, r : 'Joannes Christoferson, filius Richardi, anglus'. Under Queen Mary, he became master of Trinity College, dean of Norwich, and bishop of Chichester. Under Elizabeth he was sent to prison for defending the Old Faith in a Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and died about December 27, 1558. He left several translations from the Greek, and a tragedy *Jepthah* in Greek and Latin : Cooper, I, 188-90, 551 ; *DNB* ; AschE, 6*, 31*, 212, 270. *Harv-Marg.*, 217-18, quotes Nannius' praise of him : cp. further, pp 287-88.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 303-05, 490.

⁵⁾ Basle, 1555 : I, A 3, v : 'Interim tamen vnicum exemplar in Anglia olim conscriptum mihi attulit Ricardus Brandisbæus, vir quo nihil est humanius : cuius subsidio plurima a nobis restituta sunt, in quibus priora exemplaria aut nihil aut certe parum contulerant, præsertim in iis libris quos Ambrosius de fide et spiritu sancto ad Gratianum Augustum conscripsit : vt ex hoc facile' &c ; Allen, VIII, p xliii.

had been greatly pleased by the gratifying visit to the *Trilingue* of his former fellow-student Nicolas Wotton, the English ambassador ¹⁾, to whom he had dedicated his *Oratio de Obsidione Lovaniensi* on September 13, 1543 ²⁾, as well as that of his colleague, Bishop Edmund Bonner ³⁾, to whom were inscribed the *Orationes Duce de felicis Caesaris... Aduentu*, on October 6, 1543 ⁴⁾. No doubt Brandisby introduced Nannius to the Cambridge Chancellor Bishop Stephen Gardiner ⁵⁾, when he was sent, in 1545-46, to the Emperor for some negotiations ⁶⁾. In 1541, that famous statesman, on his return from a mission to Germany, passed through Louvain in August, and wished to stay a few days; he had been honourably received at first; but when the professors of theology had been made aware of his public repudiation of obedience to Roman jurisdiction ⁷⁾, fully spoken out in his *De Vera Obedientia*, 1535 ⁸⁾, they openly attacked his schism, and refused him the vestments when he wished to say Mass

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 12-13; *MonHL*, 4, 16, 640.

²⁾ Polet, 279; *LibActVI*, 229, r-231, v.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 113-15.

⁴⁾ Polet, 280.

⁵⁾ Stephen Gardiner (c 1495-November 12, 1555), studied in Cambridge and took there the doctor's degrees in Civil and Canon Law in 1520-21. He lectured there, becoming master of Trinity Hall in 1525, until Wolsey made him his secretary. He took a considerable part in the royal divorce question, which provided to him the see of Winchester, 1531. He worked Parliament into a servile approval of the King's plans, and gave the baleful example of tearing away from Rome, 1535. He tried to move back in the last years of Henry VIII, but it caused his fall and imprisonment under Edward VI, which Mary heartily tried to make up for. Cp. *DNB*; Allen, vi, 1669, *pr*; *EdCoPB*, 44-62, 111-17, 274-89; Cooper, 1, 139-40; cp. I, 66, II, 17.

⁶⁾ Gardiner, arriving at Bruges on November 3, 1545, had there and at Antwerp some interviews with French envoys, thanks to Charles V's mediation; he accompanied the Emperor to Utrecht, and attended there the great Chapter of the Golden Fleece in January 1546: *MonHL*, 582; Gachard, II, 312-33. He can hardly have had any books printed by Rescius, who had died (Oct. 2, 1545) before he arrived: cp. before, p 245.

⁷⁾ Probably by some of the English emigrants who felt indignant at the kindness shown by the chief Catholic authorities to the abettor of Henry VIII's scandal and schism.

⁸⁾ *MonHL*, 569-70; Maitland, 251; SchelAH, 1, 33, 837-50; Gairdner, 326; Constant, 1, 223-26, 665, *sq*; J. O. Halliwell, *The Douce Collection*: London, 1860: 53.

in St. Peter's ¹⁾. When, a few years later, he passed once more through Louvain, he probably found there some of his countrymen who may have earnestly hoped that he would be the means of a return of England to the old obedience ²⁾. At any rate, Brandisby was most favourably disposed towards him, and called himself the *deditissimus cliens* of the man, who, through his influence, may have bestowed some help or kindness on his brother or on himself ³⁾; it resulted in Nannius' dedicatory letter of September 5, 1546, of the *Sapientia Solomonis* ⁴⁾ on the suggestion of Brandisby, whose familiarity, he adds, is never more rejoicing than when he describes his protector's excellence ⁵⁾.

Unfortunately Gardiner, for whom the days of trouble started at Edward VI's accession, was unable to realize his offer to have the *Sapientia* printed at his expense ⁶⁾; and it is quite possible that, in his desire to make up for the disappointment of his friend, Brandisby offered to try and interest in the professor's work another of his acquaintances, whose constellation was then fully in the rise, William Paget ⁷⁾. Most likely Brandisby knew him from the time that

¹⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 569-70: on that occasion, Dean Tapper explained that measure in a sermon which Francis Dryander's letter of September 22, 1541, quoted in the State Papers, described as 'famam hominis pro concione misere proscindit': *LPH8*, xvi, 1133; *Cranmer*, I, 580; *Constant*, I, 665-68; &c; cp. *sup.*, p 145.

²⁾ He probably tried to frighten Henry VIII from giving way to innovators by the danger of displeasing Charles V — for there can hardly have been a religious interest to guide the King, who seems to have favoured at the last the opinions of Catherine Parr: Gairdner, 214, sq, 227, sq, 241, sq; Blunt, II, 124, sq; *OrSchAnR*, 236-37; *Constant*, I, 214, sq. At Utrecht, Gardiner wrote his *Epistola ad Bucerum* (Ingolstadt, 1546, possibly reprinted in Louvain 1546) which implied a return to Rome: *MonHL*, 568, 582; *Constant*, I, 231, 674; *Cooper*, I, 139, b.

³⁾ Cp. Polet, 293 (*ll* 195-202). — The several preferments which his brother enjoyed, imply a kind and mighty protector.

⁴⁾ Polet, 287-94.

⁵⁾ Polet, 293, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 275 (and Polet, 110-12, 195) for the history of the manuscript to which the dedicatory letter was joined.

⁷⁾ William Paget, born in London about 1506, was trained at St. Paul's School and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge; he spent some time in Gardiner's service until he was taken into that of Henry VIII, in 1529, and used for various missions. By 1541, he was made Secretary of State, and became one of the King's chief advisers in his last years. His influence still

he was in Gardiner's service, and had not yet had the occasion to show his servile unprincipled character, of which it has been said that it had more of the willow than of the oak ¹). At any rate, on the suggestion of his friend, Nannius dedicated to Paget, on June 1, 1548, his ten books of critical notes, which he would have called *Coniectanea*, but which Brandisby had preferred under the name of *Collectanea*, Συμμιχτών *Decas*. He mentions that, in spirit, he goes with the book and with his friend to Paget's house, expecting to find there a 'multijuga rerum supellex' besides the owner's 'multijuga eruditio', and expresses the hope that the Comments offered will help his son Henry, who already is following the example of his great father ²).

Through Brandisby, Nannius made also the acquaintance of the English scholar Roger Ascham ³), who had been his

grew under Somerset's protectorate, being made Comptroller of the Royal Household and Baron of Beaudesert. Under Warwick's supremacy, he was arrested, condemned for embezzlement, and degraded in 1551. Queen Mary restored him into his title, and made him Lord Privy Seal on Gardiner's suggestion. At her death, he resigned his offices, and died at his residence at West Drayton, Middlesex, on June 9, 1563 : *DNB* ; Cooper, I, 221-24, 554 ; Tytler, *passim* ; Stone, *passim*.

¹) He inspired little confidence to the Imperial ambassador Francis van der Dylft (cp. *sup.*, II, 171-76, 301-2) ; when with his partner, Sir John Mason, on an embassy in the Netherlands, he enticed John Cheke and Sir Peter Carew from the safety of Strassburg into captivity : *Cheke*, 63 ; Constant, II, 36, sq. &c.

²) Polet, 144, sq. 297-98. William's son, Henry, succeeded his father in the title ; at his death it fell to his brother Thomas, who studied, in 1559, in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge : as a Catholic he had to shelter in France in 1583 : he died in Brussels in 1590. A third brother, Edward, died very young, and the fourth, Charles, who was a fervent Catholic, took part in several plots : he was attainted for treason in 1587, and died in 1612. Sir William Paget and his wife, Anne Preston, who died in 1586, also left six daughters : Cooper, I, 224 ; *DNB*.

³) Roger Ascham, born at Kirkby Wiske, Yorkshire, in 1515, studied in St. John's, Cambridge, where he knew Cheke (*Cheke*, 10, 13, 20, 38), and taught Greek. He gained Henry VIII's favour and a pension by his *Toxophilus*, which procured him the place of Public Orator of Cambridge University, as well as that of tutor to Princess Elizabeth, which he lost through a quarrel with her steward. Sir Richard Morison engaged him as secretary on his embassy to Charles V, 1550, and he returned by 1553, having been appointed, meanwhile, as Latin secretary to Edward VI. That office he never filled ; still it was continued to him, although a

fellow-student in St. John's, Cambridge, and in the lectures of John Cheke¹). After two years' silence, the old acquaintance had been revived chiefly through their interest in Greek studies²), which brought Ascham to the front, and caused him to be appointed preceptor to Princess Elizabeth in 1548. In September 1550, he was engaged as secretary by Sir Richard Morison³), sent on an embassy to the Emperor. They arrived at Antwerp in the first days of October, but, since Charles V had gone to Germany in June⁴), they proceeded to Brussels and left at once for Augsburg. On Monday, October 6, by midday, they arrived in Louvain where Ascham wished to meet Brandisby: the latter heard in Brussels, on October 4, of his arrival: he hurried to Antwerp to see him, and to pay his respects to the ambassador: he missed them and, following up the party, failed to reach Louvain before they left it⁵). Ascham had written a note when calling at Brandisby's lodgings, and decided on making the acquaintance of the staff of the *Trilingue*, especially of Nannius; unfortunately, he did not see him; but as, about that time, the one-o'clock lesson of Greek started, he stayed to hear it, which made him tarry 'so long', as he wrote, 'that my lord <the ambassador> was ridden out of the town'⁶).

Protestant, thanks to Gardiner, from May 7, 1554, by Queen Mary, who even doubled the pension her father had granted: yet he afterwards wrote a disgusting paragraph about her: AschO, 280-81. Under Elizabeth, he was granted a canonry in York Cathedral, 1560, and the difficulties it caused him, were put an end to in 1566 by the Queen. He died on December 30, 1568, in complete poverty through his love for dicing and cock-fighting. His chief work, *The Scholemaster*, was issued by his widow in 1570 (cp. before, II, 589-90); his other writings and letters were edited later on: *DNB*; Tytler, I, 305, 343, II, 120, sq; Cooper, I, 263-68, 555; *EdCoPB*, 41-45; *CHEL*, III, 291, sq, 327, 341, sq; AschO, 217; Snell, II, 119-25; Sandys, II, 231, sq; Stone, 374. Cp. further, p 291, sq, for his partiality and his lack of consistency.

¹) Cp. before, p 280.

²) Cp. before, pp 280, sq.

³) Richard Morison, prebendary of Salisbury, published, in 1537, a reply to Cochläus' *De Matrimonio... Henrici octavi Congratulatio disputatoria* (Leipzig, 1535); in 1556, he died at Strassburg, where he studied with Peter Martyr: *DNB*; *Cochläus*, 358-9. ⁴) Gachard, 396-97.

⁵) Letter of February 8, 1551: AschE, 409-10.

⁶) Cp., for the 'impression' made by the Greek lecture, before, p 265, and *inf.*, p 286.

In a kind of diary ¹⁾ addressed to Edward Raven, fellow of St. John's ²⁾, he described at Augsburg, January 20, 1551, his call at the *Trilingue* ³⁾ :

At Louvain, 11 a. m. to 2 p. m., 6th October 1550.

I went to P. Nannius' chamber, to have talked with him ; but he was either drunken at home or drinking abroad : for he was making merry and would not be seen, as an English boy, his pupil, told me. He reads Tully's Orations at nine of the clock ⁴⁾.

Ascham then proceeds to describe the Greek lesson ⁵⁾, which he had already mentioned in his letter to John Cheke, Augsburg, November 11, 1550 ⁶⁾ :

Lovanii fuimus : sed non diutius quam prandii apparatus postulabat. audiui tamen integram horam in *Trilingui Collegio* insignem, ut illi putant, virum *Theodorum Laudium* profitentem *Tyrannum Sophoclis*. sequutus est in omni nostram pronuntiationem. Si cum *Carro* nostro, aut *Lovanium* cum *Cantabrigia* conferretur, plane friget.

In his diary to Raven, Ascham adds a few details, as already pointed out ; he namely mistook Thierry de Langhe, whom he called 'Theodore Laudius', for the actual holder of the Greek chair ⁷⁾, and thus completely failed to understand the meaning of the applause wherewith the audience enthusiastically

¹⁾ Cp. Tytler, II, 120-40, I, 61, sq.

²⁾ Edward Raven, who promoted B. A. in 1546 in Cambridge, became foundation fellow of St. John's College, March 28, 1547, and senior fellow on September 10, 1551 ; he had started the tests for M. A. in 1549. Ascham greatly commended his sweetness of manner, his wit and prudence, his diligence and judgment. He signed the Roman Catholic Articles in 1555 ; in 1557, he was licensed by the University to practise medicine ; unfortunately he died in 1558 : Cooper, I, 196-97 ; AschE, 93.

³⁾ The description of Ascham's first call at the *Trilingue* is reproduced from P. S. Allen's *The Trilingual Colleges of the Early Sixteenth Century* (ErAllen, 160-61), being the second of the two illustrations : the first is a passage in a letter of 1521 from Nicolas Daryngton to Henry Golde, both also fellows of St. John's : cp. I, 78, 382, II, 404, 607-9.

⁴⁾ ErAllen, 161.

⁵⁾ That description is quoted and commented on before, pp 265-66.

⁶⁾ AschE, 233 : the Greek pronunciation, that of Erasmus, was used in the *Trilingue* from the beginning ; in Cambridge, Cheke *tried* to introduce it about 1540.

⁷⁾ Adrian Amerot : cp. before, pp 259, sq.

congratulated the occasional substitute of the regular professor ¹⁾; yet, in his conceited omniscience, he relegates him far behind 'their' Nicolas Carr — who, unfortunately, found so little appreciation in Cambridge for his lectures, that he saw himself compelled to turn to medicine to earn a decent living ²⁾. Equally presumptuous is Ascham's judgment on the comparative value of the Louvain and of the English college : in his paper on the Trilingual Institutes of the early sixteenth century ³⁾, Allen, who has hardly any more information than what Ascham provides, — Daryngton's is even less, — feels obliged to declare : 'For the actual working of the <Louvain> college the material available is all too scanty' ⁴⁾. And as to the scornful remark about the Latin professor and about the way he is occupied when his lecture is over, it sounds as if Nannius should have asked the nonentity of an 'English boy', what he should do or not do with his free time ; for all that is known, it may have been required by the great professor's presence at some academical function, which, with due deference to Ascham, though it started at the desk, was necessarily concluded in those days at a festive table as well in Cambridge as in Louvain ⁵⁾.

On his return from Germany, in April 1553, Ascham once more expected to see his friends in Louvain : Brandisby, who had been looking forward to an early return of the Court ⁶⁾, had just removed to Mechlin for fear of a French invasion in the southern part of the country ; whereas Christopherson

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 265 : Langius only succeeded Amerot as Greek professor ten years later, in January 1560 : cp. before, p 268.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 265 : though appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1517, he promoted M. D. in 1558, continuing his Greek teaching for four years ; in 1555, he subscribed the Catholic articles. He was obliged to resort to the study of medicine in order to maintain his wife and family : Cooper, I, 262-63 ; Cheke, 32, 55 ; AschE, *31, 39, 386.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 265, 286. ⁴⁾ *Er*Allen, 160-61. ⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 286.

⁶⁾ On February 8, 1551, Brandisby wrote to Ascham, thanking him for his visit in Louvain on October 6, 1550, when he was absent hoping to meet him at Antwerp ; he declared that he had abstained from writing, because it was rumoured that Charles V's Court was likely to return any day, and because he then expected to see him : *Malebam præsens cum præsentem quam per literas agere* : AschE, 410.

had gone to Antwerp to see his printer ¹⁾. Still he had an interview with Nannius, who was so deeply impressed, that, on June 11, 1553, Brandisby wrote to Ascham that he was afraid to have been completely supplanted in the affection of the professor, whose exuberant praise he imparted ²⁾. A few weeks later, the news of Edward VI's death reached Brandisby at Mechlin : whilst condoling with his old fellow-student on July 18, 1553 ³⁾, he applied insistently for help to Nannius in the complete reversal of policy in England. So did Ascham himself, and, at their request, Nannius wrote to W. Paget, 'suspensio...animo', as he announced on August 18, 1553 ⁴⁾, as well as to Gardiner ⁵⁾, that he might beg the Queen not to deprive the young erudite of the situation which had been granted to him by her predecessor ⁶⁾.

Notwithstanding his notorious partiality to Protestantism, Ascham actually became Latin Secretary of Mary the First on May 7, 1554, in spite of the opposition of several Catholics and especially of her Privy Councillor Sir Francis Englefield ⁷⁾: Through his acquaintance with languages, and, even more,

¹⁾ On April 23, 1553, John Christopherson expressed his regret to have missed his visit in Louvain : he had gone to Antwerp, where his translation from Philo was then printing (*Philo Judæus* : Antwerp, 1553), and he thanks Ascham for having inquired about him and Brandisby from Nannius : AschE, 388-89.

²⁾ From Mechlin, June 11, 1553, Brandisby declares that he regrets that Ascham came twice to Louvain for him in vain : 'sed', he adds, 'in ultima frustratione, id saltem læti, quod Nannium conveneris, non fratrem meum, hoc est, fere alterum, sed prorsus meipsum'. He then quotes a long passage from his letter, closing with the remark : Hæc ipsius de te verba, atque ista formula concepta fuere : AschE, 387-88.

³⁾ AschE, 411.

⁴⁾ AschE, 396-97 : Nannius regrets Brandisby's and Ascham's absence, as they would have been most helpful to write the delicate letter, which is not to betray that he has been asked for it. He returns Ascham's letter so that he should delete what he does not like to be seen by others.

⁵⁾ Gardiner's benevolence to Ascham on this occasion is quoted as one of the proofs of his humanity : Stone, 374.

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, p 284 ; on account of his stay abroad in Morison's service, Ascham had not been actually Edward VI's (Latin) secretary, although appointed as such.

⁷⁾ Cp. Cooper, I, 265, a ; Stone, 234, 203, 206, 211, 417 ; H. de Vocht, *Thomas Harding* (in *EHR*, xxxv), 240 ; *DNB* ; *NarRef.*, 90, 95, 152 ; Lechat, 45, sq, &c ; Sander, 680 ; Bellesheim, 277, 135, 238.

through his servile officiousness, Ascham helped Cardinal Pole in the preparing of his treatises *De Concilio* and *De Unitate*; he also translated the reports which were sent to Paul IV on the progress of Catholic Restoration in England ¹⁾. Yet little acknowledgment was shown to Nannius. To be true, Ascham expressed his gratitude to William Paget on November 14, 1553, and added the insolent decision to ask his friends to supply what was wanting to his thanks: 'hanc officii partem amicissimis meis, *Sturmio* et *Nannio* imponam: qui uti spero non minus ostendent se tibi lætos & gratos, in explicata mea fortuna & constituta: quam antea erant solliciti pro me, ac fortasse tibi molesti, in eadem impedita atque dubia' ²⁾).

The very Paget, made Lord, and Queen Mary's Secretary of State and Privy Seal, although rightly considered as the most dangerous of all those whom she had had to keep about her, whereas they had cruelly failed her under her brother's reign ³⁾, was indebted considerably to the intercession of the Louvain professor with Gardiner, who had, no doubt, been his most efficient promoter; yet that loyal help ⁴⁾, and the great honour bestowed by the dedicace of so important a work as the *Miscellanea* of 1548, the most scientific amongst his books ⁵⁾, was scantily acknowledged. When Nannius asked him to offer to the Queen a copy of his *In Cantica Canticorum Paraphrases et Scholia* ⁶⁾, dedicated to her and King Philip, in July 1554, on the occasion of their betrothal ⁷⁾, that '*paratissimus amicus*' Paget handed the book to a colleague when he left for an embassy to Brabant, during which he had not the time, he afterwards apologized, to call at the *Trilingue*. On his return, he found the book still waiting to be delivered to Her Majesty, and he made Ascham write a letter of excuses from Westminster, February 10, 1555,

¹⁾ The first was issued in 1562, the other in 1569 (Louvain, J. Fowler): cp. for the difficulties he met: *Pole*, 3, sq, 89-115, 223-41, 333-50; *Morone*, xvii, sq, xxii, xlviii, 164; *Pastor*, vi, 535-44; *Strype*, vi, 35, sq; *Kerker*, 53-55; &c. ²⁾ AschE, 267. ³⁾ Stone, 234.

⁴⁾ Stone, 234, sq: he did not long remain his faithful helper: *ibid.*, 251, sq; *Cooper*, i, 223. ⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 270-71.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Stephanus Gualteri & Joannes Batenii, 1554: Polet, 171-73.

⁷⁾ Polet, 321-22.

mentioning that the professor's *doctrinæ & humanitatis plena consuetudo atque familiaritas* was often praised in Brandisby's letters and in Ascham's talks ¹⁾).

That praise was, probably, only mentioned as a palliative ; for Nannius had incurred their profound displeasure by a memoir which he had composed about the recent religious and political changes in England ; he had submitted it for their approval in his unsuspecting sincerity and in his belief in their amenable side, which they always took good care to show him. In his letter of February 10, 1555, which he made Ascham write, Paget called it a *laudabile institutum* : ' *consilium tuum valde laudo*', he wrote, ' & studium etiam erga hoc regnum vehementer probo. Tractatio ipsa pererudita : sed materies omnis non ea fide, ad te comportata est quam res ipsa postulat ' ²⁾). Indeed, Nannius' information came from his *alter ego* Brandisby, who, probably, had then returned to England under Mary's reign, as certainly Christopherson had done ³⁾); although joined to Ascham and Paget in friendliness, he must have been miles away from them in his inmost heart. His information had been fully confirmed by the numerous refugees who had come to Louvain, and who, without doubt, belonged to the very choice part of the nation. Nannius' conclusions, consequently, greatly annoyed those whose utter misery and, for certain, dismissal, he had helped to prevent ; maybe they hoped that his gullibility might even be turned to their profit, so that the Louvain professor should become their advocate ; for they offered to touch up his memoir : ' *calamum ipse sumam*', the letter goes on, ' & certis quibusdam in locis, ut res feret, addam aliquid & immutabo, si tu ita vis : aut si tu non aliter sis per literas mihi significaturus ' ⁴⁾).

¹⁾ AschE, 279-80 ; Polet, 322-23.

²⁾ AschE, 279.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 281.

⁴⁾ AschE, 279. Ascham himself had not done otherwise when he was in Germany, writing a ' Report and Discourse... of the affaires and state of Germany and the Emperour Charles his court', at the end of 1552 or in the first months of 1553 ; being conceived in an anti-Catholic spirit, it was prevented from being issued after Edward VI's death. It was only printed in 1570 : yet it probably had *not* been submitted to the representatives of Charles V, or of Pope Julius III, nor any of the others criticized in it : not all the passages are like Tytler, II, 144.

There can hardly be any doubt about the answer Nannius gave to the offer; and certainly no trace is now left of the apparently obnoxious memoir. It may have been the *Gratulatio ad Mariam, Angliæ Reginam, pro felici Connubio, & instaurata Majorum Religione*, which Val. Andreas mentioned (*BibBelg.*, 751) as being still preserved in the *Trilingue*, 'sed mutila; digna tamen, quæ vel sic lucem videat'; unfortunately, a century afterwards, Paquot stated that it had disappeared with most of the manuscripts of that College ¹⁾).

At Elizabeth's accession Ascham recovered full freedom to vent his opinions, as he was kept as Latin Secretary by his former pupil. He showed to the full his abject character when, after having been most gratified by his appointment under Mary, far from loyally resigning, he waited for his Benefactress's decease to write in his *Scholemaster* that: 'All... miseries at length, by Gods providence, had their end 16 *Nouemb.* 1558' ²⁾! If the memory of his benevolent 'hera' found so little grace in his eyes, there was hardly any chance for that of Nannius: although there were several occasions on which he might have been recorded in his book as 'scholar', if not as 'friend', his name does not appear amongst the Latinists of those times, notwithstanding former declarations; of course, no word is breathed about the undeniable evidence of the help requested and received at Queen Mary's accession. That was no doubt owing to religious opinions, for there was in Ascham's judgment no shade of impartiality whenever they, in any way, were involved: he placed Erasmus, Bembo, Sadolet, Budé, even Melanchthon, below Luther as humanists ³⁾, and, for certain, a great distance lower than Sturm, just on account of his sympathy with the passionate proselytism of the Strassburg pedagogue, whom he considered as the 'acme of perfection' ⁴⁾. No wonder that, after 1560, he bitterly sneered at Louvain, from which he had deprecated help in 1553: in fact, at that University then flew, as from its

¹⁾ Paquot, xiv, 78.

²⁾ AschO, 282; cp. Tytler, II, 122, 294, sq.

³⁾ AschO, 215, 247, 249, 271; Sandys, II, 339; *EliCritEss.*, II, 248, 433.

⁴⁾ AschO, 250, 268, 272, 277; *CHEL*, III, 432, 435; *EliCritEss.*, I, lxxvi, 381; Sandys, II, 267, sq.

source, the opposition against Elizabeth ¹⁾, when he himself was composing the treatise, in which, under pretence of being helpful to teachers, he just poured out his bitter hatred ²⁾.

As a natural result of his wilful disfiguring of truth, notwithstanding even his valuable erudition and his fine style, Ascham would forfeit all confidence, were it not upheld by the blind belief of those who share his opinions ³⁾. His life was an uninterrupted series of inconsistencies, starting during his studies, when he readily accepted Archbishop Lee's beneficence, but, at least not in 1542, his doctrine ⁴⁾. His humanism, which largely helped him to make his way in the world, is strangely contradicted by his stubborn denial of any educative profit in a travel beyond the Alps ⁵⁾ by dint of his own experience, — although he spent only nine days there ⁶⁾ — and in the bitter censure of *all* Italian and Spanish literature, — without which Shakespeare would have been

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., H. de Vocht, *Thomas Hardyng* (EHR, xxxv) : 233-44.

²⁾ Referring to the licentious Italian tales, he declares that : Mo Papistes be made, by your mery bookes of *Italie*, than by your earnest bookes of *Louain* : AschO, 230 ; and treating of the strength of good examples, he states that in Cambridge, in St. John's College, in his time, Sir John Cheke and Doctor Readman, 'by their onely example of excellency in learnyng, of godlynes in liuyng, of diligencie in studying, of counsell in exhorting, of good order in all thyng, did breed up, so many learned men, in that one College of S. Johns, at one time, as I beleue, the whole Vniuersitie of *Louaine*, in many yeares was able to affourd : AschO, 219. All the same, even in the following paragraphs, he feels he has to blame Cambridge University for fostering ignorance rather than knowledge : CHEL, III, 419-21 ; Cheke, 83, sq.

³⁾ All Ascham's writings are characterized by an irreducible Puritanism and a blind Patriotism : CHEL, III, 433, 444, sq ; Saintsbury, 260 63 ; AschO, 223, 279, &c. A typical example is his judgment of the man who was actually brilliant as teacher, Justus Velsius, whom he heard in 1550 in Cologne, but belittled as : *Argentinensem olim, nunc metu factum Herodianum* : AschE, 233 ; cp. *ibid*, 230-34, 236 ; Sandys, II, 234-36 ; and before, pp 137-38.

⁴⁾ Cp. Cooper, I, 264.

⁵⁾ AschO, 223, 234, sq ; CHEL, III, 434-38, IV, 344, sq ; *EliCritEss.*, I, lxxxi ; Jusserand, II, 292, 352 ; Sandys, II, 236 ; Cheke, 61.

⁶⁾ Cheke, 61 : Ascham only visited the North of Italy on a few days' trip from Tyrol : AschO, 234 : yet it made him write pages about the danger lurking there : AschO, 223-34.

considerably less rich ¹⁾. The greatest inconsistency ²⁾, however, is found in his *Scholemaster* in which he constantly admires and enthusiastically proposes the pedagogical principles and methods of his great model Sturm ³⁾, whereas the Institute to which that very Sturm *owes those methods and principles*, as he spent five years in it as pupil and, in a way, as collaborator ⁴⁾, is doomed after an hour's attendance at a lesson by a substitute, and on the strength of a nonsensical remark by an indifferent English schoolboy ⁵⁾ !

As a proof of the esteem felt for Nannius, even by English erudites, may be quoted the note which Gabriel Harvey, the scholar, inserted in his *Ciceronianus* about Brandisby's countryman and friend : 'Christophorsonum ⁶⁾ non modo nostri populares, et græce latineque pereruditum, sed exteri etiam permulti, in iisque Petrus Nannius, et Achilles Statius, disertissimi illi quidem homines, atque doctissimi, ut disertissimum, doctissimumque virum celebrarunt. Ac Nannius quidem, Philonem, credo, eius objiceret, et Carmen illud crebro insusurraret suum ;

Nunc Ciceronizat Latio sermone disertus

Seque ex Hebræo, Romulidem esse stupet' ⁷⁾.

If Paget, on his embassy to the Emperor in Brabant in 1555, could not find the time to pay a visit to his benefactor of Louvain ⁸⁾, Henry Estienne ⁹⁾, son, and afterwards successor,

¹⁾ Snell, II, 89, sq ; *CHEL*, IV, 6, sq ; Ascham bitterly criticized the mediæval tales, even Chaucer's, and the *Morte d'Arthur* : AschO, 231 ; Snell, 88, sq ; *EliCritEss.*, I, lxiii ; Saintsbury, 260-63.

²⁾ There are too many to be pointed out. It may be remembered that he had, and amply used, a manuscript copy of Erasmus' *Antibarbari*, which did not excite any admiration for the great Humanist : Allen, XI, 3100, 30.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 589, sq ; AschO, 202, 261 ; &c. — Cp. about Ascham, *EliCritEss.*, *passim* ; Hallam, I, 349, 454, II, 41, 293, III, 369 ; Woodward, 242 ; Laurie, 28, sq, 58-85, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, II, 579-90.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 265, 285-87.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 281, 287-88.

⁷⁾ *HarvMarg.*, 217-18. Although Harvey praised Ascham in his *Marginalia* : 122, 127, 158, 169, 231, he also criticizes him : 111, 115, 117-18.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 289.

⁹⁾ Henry Estienne, probably born in 1528, was in Italy from 1547 to 1549 ; he visited England and Brabant, and succeeded his father in his business, in 1559, at Geneva where he had fled after the publishing of some editions of the new Testament. The son surpassed the father as

of the great Paris printer Robert ¹⁾, paid a call to Nannius in 1550, when returning from England, on which occasion he informed him of a second manuscript of Athenagoras' *de Resurrectione Mortuorum* he had found. In 1557, he edited the text of Athenagoras' Apology of the Christians and the Resurrection of the Dead, with references to a third manuscript, and added Nannius' Latin translation of the second treatise, along with a letter, dated Paris, May 23, 1557, beginning with this unequivocal praise : 'Annus agitur septimus, Nanni, quum ego ex Britannia rediens, uestram Louaniensem Academiam & te eius columnen celeberrimum inuisi : a quo tempore mihi non iam de nomine duntaxat, sed etiam de facie notus esse cœpisti' ²⁾).

C. HIS DECEASE

If Henry Estienne's letter and edition ever reached Nannius, it must have been on one of the last days of his life. Soon after editing his rendering of St. Athanasius writings, he was prevented from lecturing by illness. For several years he had complained of a headache which he used as excuse for not writing his letters himself ³⁾. He had, moreover, been suffering from 'morbis... lentis... sed perpetuis' and he had been replaced by his substitute Cornelius Valerius ⁴⁾, whom he had chosen as his successor. As Valerius, too, fell ill, he considered it his duty to take up the teaching himself and,

printer and scholar ; he edited the *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae*, 1572, and *Plato*, 1578, and, besides, 58 Latin, and 74 Greek, ancient authors, eighteen of the latter being *editiones principes*, in so far that he ruined himself : he died in 1598 : L. Clément, *Henri Estienne et son œuvre française* : Paris, 1899 ; Sandys, II, 175-77 ; Lefranc, 141, 358.

¹⁾ Robert Estienne, Stephanus, 1503-1559, started printing in Paris in 1527 ; he produced several *editiones principes*, besides the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*, of 1543 : Sandys, II, 173-74.

²⁾ Cp. Polet, 327, 101-3, 326-28 ; the introductory letter to the translation of the *Resurrectio* in Henry Estienne's edition of *Athenagoras*, 1557, comes on p 190.

³⁾ Letter to Masius, March 25, 1544 : *Aliena manu ob immensum dolorem capitis* : MasE, 18.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 112, 177, 236, 479, *sq.*, III, 270-81, 317, and before, pp 203, 212, &c ; also Opmeer, I, 480, a, II, 38. He started his lectures as professor of Latin on October 7, 1557.

not having the time to cause a text of his choice to be printed, he announced to his auditors in an introduction that he should explain the *Bucolica*, as they are in everybody's hands. He proceeded, in his introduction, to define that literary genre, to describe its style and character, and to sketch its history from Greek antiquity to his own days, mentioning Cicero's enthusiastic praise of that kind of poetry. Starting the commentary proper, he followed the text closely; making a judicious use of his predecessors' work, he corrected their views whenever necessary — thus for the mystery of the fourth eclogue, of which he identifies the *puer*, with the second son of Pollio, Saloninus, born in the year of the taking of Salonæ, in Dalmatia, by the father ¹). Nannius suggested several emendations for the text with the help of a *Codex Buslidianus*, a manuscript in the *Trilingue*, which unfortunately was not more fully described before its loss. That commentary was greatly appreciated, in so far that, when Nannius died on June 21, 1557 ²), his intimate friend, and almost his colleague, Thierry de Langhe, Langius ³), future successor of Amerot ⁴) as Greek professor, had it printed at Basle in 1559 ⁵). On August 29, 1558 ⁶), he dedicated it, according to the wishes of the deceased, to his favourite pupil Sigismund-Frederic Fugger, Lord of Kirchberg and Weissen-

¹) Cp. Jerome Carcopino, *Virgile et le Mystère de la quatrième Églogue* : Paris, 1930.

²) Cp. Opmeer, I, 496, b, 498, a (with portrait), 287, a; *BatawMart.*, 12, 74, 96, 122; P. Jovius, *Elogia Virorum Literis illustrium* : Basle, 1577 : 224; GoesO, T 1, v, T 2, r, m 3, v; OlaE, 565, 575, 595-97, &c; Mol., 605; Vern., 145, 309, sq; VAnd., 120, 279, sq, 361; VAndEx, 50-54; *BibBelg.*, 749, sq; Paquot, xiv, 58-79; *SaxOnom.*, 187, 355; Miræus, 44, 57; *NèveMém.*, 149-56, 305-7, 327; *NèveRen.*, 172, 218-23, 411; *ULD*Doc., iv, 506; *Cran.*, 283, 6; *MonHL*, 638, sq, 692-97, &c; *Busl.*, 201; Hurter, II, 1498; A. Polet, *Petrus Nannius (HumLov., 5)* : Louvain, 1936; and before, II, 150, 177-79, 557; III, 41, 277, 367, 405, sq, 537, 565-70, &c.

³) Cp. before, pp 265, sq; he had often lectured in Amerot's place before he succeeded him.

⁴) Cp. before, pp 252-65.

⁵) *Petri Nannii Alcmariani in P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica Commentaria docta & accurata, nuncque primum in lucem edita* : Basle, J. Oporinus, February 1559 : cp. Polet, 173-77.

⁶) Paquot, xiv, 75; Polet, 328-29.

horn ¹⁾), who, at the master's death, had a fine marble monument erected near his grave in St. Peter's with the epitaph which mentions the father's veneration for his son's preceptor ²⁾ :

D. O. M. S.

D. PETRO NANNIO, ALCMARIANO,
PRESBITERO AC CANONIC. ATREBATENSI,
VIRO DOCTISS., HUMANIORES LITERAS IN
CELEBERRIMO COLLEGIO BVSLEIDIANO
XVIII. AÑ. PROFESSO, SIGIS. FREDERI.
FVGGARVS, BARO ET DÑS IN KIRCHBERG
& VIANA, PRAECEPTORI B. M., & AMICO
PATERNO, MEM. ET VIRTUTIS ERGO, IVSSV
PARENT. OPT. POS. VIXIT AN. LVII. OBIIT AN.

M. D. LVII. DIE XXI IVNII.

Cornelius van Auwater, who, in the beginning of Nannius' illness, and on the day of his decease, Monday, June 21, had replaced him for his lecture, pronounced an *Oratio Funebris* in the *Trilingue* on Friday, June 25 ³⁾); he implies that the burial had taken place on Thursday, 24; he thanks the students for their numerous attendance ⁴⁾), as well as for their deep sympathy, expressed in the large number of epitaphs and funeral ex-tempore's which they had affixed at the valves of St. Peter's and at the very gate of the *Trilingue* ⁵⁾). He invited

¹⁾ Sigismund-Frederic Fugger was the grandson of Raymund (1489-1535) and Catharina Thurzo, and the son of John-James Fugger (1516-1575), who was a councillor of Augsburg, and who entered, in 1565, the service of Duke Albert of Bavaria; he was a great protector of learning and an ardent collector of books and objects of art, but did not keep the business firm at its old level: *FugZAlt.*, I, 170-77; he married Magdalene, Freiin von Königseck, and had by her twenty-one children: cp. *FugJac.*, 54, 137; *MünchHum.*, 55, 58, &c.

²⁾ *PF*, 481, v; *Paquot*, xiv, 60; *SweMon.*, 208 (wrongly reads 'xxi iulii', as is evident from the title of *NanOF*); there is even a mistake in the age, mentioned as 61 in *NanOF*, n. ³⁾ *NanOF*, a. ⁴⁾ *NanOF*, m.

⁵⁾ *NanOF*, b, m, q: of those epigraphs one is preserved in *SweMon.*, 208; it was made by 'Hadrianus Hecquetius Carmelita [qui] amico lugens poneb.'; — this is the text:

NANNIVS Alcmariis fuerat qui natus in oris,
Tectus arenoso conditur ecce loco.
Heu quanta probitate virum mors inuida strauit!
Heu quantum nostro sustulit orbe decus!

them also to the *septenariæ exequiæ* in the College, on Monday, June 28, and to the *tricenariæ* ¹⁾. That *Oratio* is far more personal and circumstantial than the commonplace one which Nannius pronounced for *his* master ²⁾: Auwater gives a sketch which brings many new details of the life, as well as of the teaching and publications of the man who was famous throughout Europe ³⁾; although he had reached the age of sixty-one ⁴⁾, he had not finished all the work he wanted to undertake, amongst which was an essay on the state and conditions of jurisdiction and of jurisprudence in the Roman Empire ⁵⁾. Still, in the latter part of his busy existence, he had devoted much attention to the study of the Bible, at which he worked after the method introduced by Erasmus, comparing with great care the texts of the Vulgate in various copies, and those of Greek codices, so as to bring out the original composition ⁶⁾. Of those studies, he edited two, on Solomon's Book of Wisdom and the Canticle of Canticles ⁷⁾; he also translated some Psalms, which rendering Auwater highly praised ⁸⁾: he was still engaged in that pursuit when death overtook him. Nannius found that the Latin Vulgate version, which was generally reputed as less correct, represented in many places a far better text than that found in Greek or in other languages, and he concluded that it had been made by means of a most exact original, now lost, of which several excellent readings have thus been preserved ⁹⁾. That scientific method, taught by the great inspirer of the school, character-

Hunc coluere olim Græcæ, Latiaque sorores,
 Hunc fouit gremio doctus Apollo suo.
 Hunc studiosa cohors sæpe est mirata docentem,
 Mirata est tanti labra diserta viri.
 Et nunc qui toties veterum monumenta relegit,
 Qui toties cecinit carmina prisca, tacet.

¹⁾ *NanOF*, v.

²⁾ *Cp. sup.*, III, 509.

³⁾ *NanOF*, p.

⁴⁾ That age is given by the intimate friend Cornelius van Auwater in his funeral Oration: *NanOF*, n: it contradicts the one on the epitaph (*sup.*, p 296), as well as the birth-year 1500, indicated by Polet, 3; — it makes the dates of his schooling and of his early employs much more acceptable: *cp. sup.*, II, 177, *sq*; *ULAnn.*, 1848: 203.

⁵⁾ *NanOF*, v.

⁶⁾ *NanOF*, s.

⁷⁾ *Cp. before*, pp 274, *sq*, 289.

⁸⁾ *Cp. AuwCar.*, 84; and *before*, p 277.

⁹⁾ *Cp. before*, pp 274-75.

ized all the studies carried on in the *Trilingue*, as the masters communicated it to their hearers; it explains the great number of old students who illustrated themselves by their philologic work ¹⁾, and it soon gained such general confidence, that, far from raising any suspicion, it was encouraged even for Biblical matters by the leading divines ²⁾).

6. ANDREW VAN GENNEP BALENUS

A. HIS STUDIES AND INFLUENCE

During the troublesome years in which the *Trilingue* was under the constant threat of the sad lawsuit, the lectures of Hebrew, with one only interruption, were given most regularly and carefully by Andrew van Gennep, Balenus. His profession as physician necessarily took part of his time : yet his living separate from the community, since he had married ³⁾, did neither influence his work nor his devotedness for he remained intimately connected with the *Trilingue*, to which he was a constant subject of pride and glory. He was a man of wide and exquisite culture : he is credited, not only with a thorough knowledge of medical art and its tributary sciences, like botany, but also with a most remarkable acquaintance with Hebrew and Greek languages and their literature, which was the more valuable since it was directed by an admirably prudent and efficient judgment ⁴⁾. The important results he reached by his competent and sagacious study of Bible texts, and his cautious and intelligent working out of the method which Erasmus exposed in his *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, had caused a complete veering in the opinion of the theologians about the importance and the indispensability of critical and comparative research of scriptural documents and attestations ⁵⁾. His great disciple Lindanus, whom he led and helped to become the first exponent of modern exegesis, called him *Lovaniensis Academiæ Decus* ⁶⁾, whereas his

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, Chs. IX, 5, XIII, 3, III, Chs. XVII, 1-3, XIX, 3-4, IV, Chs. XXIII, 4, 5, XXV, 5.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 28, 74 ; also Ch. XXIII, 3, and further, Ch. XXV, 4.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 215, 216.

⁴⁾ Cp. *ULAnn.*, 1845 : 206, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 303-4.

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 214 ; *NèveMém.*, 245.

colleague Cornelius Valerius styled him *Buslidiano Gloria Collegio* ¹⁾). In fact, through his useful and judicious teaching, he largely contributed to keep the right spirit, not only amongst the students, but even amongst the staff of the *Trilingue*.

If he did not produce any book that has come to us, Balenus was continually working and writing on problems, of which he was either too humble or too fastidious to publish the result. Lindanus, who thoroughly knew him, expresses not only a deep-felt gratitude to his Master, but also an admiration for the excellence of his teaching ²⁾, which, as a real erudite, he continually wanted to perfect and complete. He, moreover, was constantly occupied by his work as physician until his very last years, bearing his burden most lightly, as a native of the Campine, 'vegetus and hilaris, qui gentis illius genius est', as his countryman Valerius Andreas remarks ³⁾. In his simplicity and genuine generosity, he did not think of himself and of his right to glory, but readily suggested his solutions to others, and leaving them the pleasure of producing the result of study and research which he had inspired and shared ⁴⁾. For certain, Balenus gave an undubitable proof of that right spirit and of his unselfish love of knowledge and erudition, when, far from taking umbrage, he heartily welcomed to Louvain as teacher of Hebrew by his side the recently converted John Isaac Levita.

B. JOHN ISAAC LEVITA

That John Isaac, or Ytzig, of the tribe of Levi, *Levita*, a Jew by origin and belief, was rabbi at Wetzlar, when the prophecy of *Isaias*, *LIII*, convinced him that it applied to Christ, and to no one else. He retired to Marburg, where he matriculated in 1546 ⁵⁾, and was baptized a Lutheran under the auspices of Philip of Hesse, who proved a decided pro-

¹⁾ *NèveMém.*, 246.

²⁾ Lindanus, *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi Scripturas* : Cologne, 1558 : I, vii, viii.

³⁾ *VAndEx.*, 70.

⁴⁾ Cp. *PF*, I, 515, sq. and, for his writings, III, 213-14.

⁵⁾ *MatriMarb.*, 91.

tector of the generally persecuted sons of Israel ¹⁾. The accession of such a distinguished proselyte to the Lutheran community caused great joy, and was celebrated in a composition by John Drach, Draco, or Draconites, of Carlstadt, who was then professor in Marburg ²⁾. When things became rather desperate with John's protector, Landgrave Philip, Bishop Antony of Granvelle, Charles V's councillor, took a personal interest in him, and invited him even to Louvain with the prospect of a living by means of lectures in Hebrew ³⁾. Consequently, with his wife, and at least one child, the famous Stephen, born in 1542, John Isaac removed to the Brabant town, where the Emperor's powerful councillor had prepared him a hearty welcome. The professor of Hebrew, Andrew Balenus, received and helped him as a friend; since his knowledge of Latin was rather slender, Adrian Amerot became his tutor; with the language of Cicero, he also instilled into him Catholic principles, in so far that John was baptized as a Catholic, on which occasion Balenus' most famous pupil, William van der Lindt, *Lindanus*, was his godfather ⁴⁾. Isaac was not appointed as professor of the *Trilingue*, although he may have occasionally replaced Balenus; but he taught privately such students as wanted to be initiated to the sacred language or to Chaldaic.

The fact that he was not very familiar with Latin when arriving in Louvain, suggests that his classical formation had only been superficial: though the command he had of his native

¹⁾ Whereas Luther, and especially Philip's chief councillor Bucer, proscribed Jews and made life impossible for them amongst their adherents, the Landgraf of Hesse tried to make their conditions more bearable: Siegmund Salfeld, *Die Judenpolitik Philips des Grossmütigen*, in *PhilHessen*, 519-44.

²⁾ John Draco, or Draconites (c 1494-1566), studied in Erfurt from 1509, and became professor of (Lutheran) theology in Marburg, succeeding, in 1534, Erhard Schnepf, who went to Würtemberg; then professor in Rostock in 1551, and Bishop of Pomerania in 1560: cp. *MatriMarb.*, 45; *CorvE*, I, 162, sq, 207, 216, II, 85, 215-18; *Hessus*, II, 183, 200, 213, sq, 242, 260, 263, sq; and *sup.*, II, 32.

³⁾ Bianco, I, 770.

⁴⁾ *PF*, II, 339-40. Isaac's wife also became a convert, although she was harder to be convinced, and the Louvain divines Tapper, de Corte, John van der Eycken of Hasselt and Josse Ravesteyn of Thielt had to argue with her before she followed the example of her husband.

language was perfect, he lacked the technical ability to teach, or certainly to explain, its various elements and principles, and thus could merely communicate his knowledge in an empiric way. He was generously helped by Balenus, and the rules and observations which he was taught, were noted down, and were afterwards published, under his own name, as a grammar, of which a first edition may have been printed in Louvain in 1552 ¹⁾. It explains how, in after years, the Louvain professor could declare to one of his pupils, John Molanus, that Isaac's Grammar was his own, since he had dictated it to him ²⁾. With the proper method of teaching, the late rabbi also found in Louvain the scientific knowledge of the nature and structure of his own language. That explains how all other authors, whom he quotes or mentions, are contradicted and maliciously refuted, whereas Balenus is treated with the utmost respect, in so far that, instead of exposing and explaining at full length in his Grammar the theory of the accents, Isaac gives it only four of the 152 pages of his manual, because, as he adds, the Louvain professor intends writing a treatise on that matter ³⁾. That part was not enlarged in any of the editions by J. Soter, in Cologne ⁴⁾, but only in the fourth, that of Antwerp, 1564, since probably Balenus had then abandoned his plan ⁵⁾.

That getting acquainted with Latin, and being introduced

¹⁾ It is recorded by Paquot with the title *De Hebræorum Grammatica Liber, methodo dilucida admodum ac facili* a Jo. Isaac Levita Germano concinnatus : Louvain, Martinus Rotarius, 1552 : PF, II, 340 ; NèveMém., 335, 406.

²⁾ 'Dixit mihi <Andreas Balenus> suam esse grammaticam hebræam, quam Joannes Isaac edidit seque eam Isaaco dictasse' : Mol., 606.

³⁾ *HebStud.*, 138 ; Lindanus mentions Balenus' manuscript treatise on accents : cp. p. 299.

⁴⁾ James Soter, Cologne, issued an edition entitled as *Perfectissima hebraïca Grammatica*, commodo admodum ordine in tres libros distincta : those three books, divided according to the difficulties, contain, the first, *simpliciora* ; the second, *perfectiora et paulo graviora* ; the third, *difficillima* : NèveMém., 406. It was reprinted in 1557 by the same Soter, with some alterations, and with the help of Stephen Mumius, of Zwolle, for the Latin : *HebStud.*, 138.

⁵⁾ *Grammatica Hebræa absolutissima*, in duos libros distincta, necnon in ordinem studiosis commodiorem digesta ac pluribus in locis locupletata : NèveMém., 406 ; PlantE, II, 132 : cp. I, 49, sq, 184, 257.

into the scientific study of language, was not the only profit Isaac derived from his stay in Louvain; he also availed himself there of the very practically arranged tables by which Nicolas Clenardus had represented the chief rules of Hebrew: he edited them with some corrections in 1555¹). He, moreover, found there, most probably in the very *Trilingue*, three old manuscripts of the Hebrew treatise of *Physica*, ascribed to Rabbi Aben Tibbon, which, at the request of the Louvain professors, he edited in 1555, dedicating it to Adolph of Schaumburg, Archbishop of Cologne²).

Isaac's stay in Louvain soon came to an end: the number of paying students for Hebrew or Chaldaic must have been very small, and Granvelle's pension, if it was paid³), was most probably insufficient for his growing family. On the other hand, some of those who had attended his lessons, had become members of the Society founded by Ignatius of Loyala, and had settled in Cologne: a Gerard Cools, Brassica⁴), wrote on November 12, 1552, to a student of the Castle: 'Adr. Michaeli Gandavo'⁵), requesting him to secure some of his own books from amongst those belonging to Francis de Coster, for fear that the latter's father might take them away in his displeasure at his son's becoming a Jesuit⁶). Amongst

¹) *Tabulæ in Grammaticam Hebræam auctore Nic. Clenardo a Joanne Isaac Levita nunc recens correctæ*: Cologne, H. Birckmann, 1555: they were reprinted several times by Birckmann, and, in 1564, with the *Scholia* of Gilb. Genebrard, by Martin Lejeune, Juvenis, Paris: Nève-Mém., 406; Clénard, 165-67.

²) *Physica Hebræa Rabbi Aben Tibbon, ut fertur, quæ Spiritus Gratia, inscribitur, nunc primum edita et latine facta J. Isaac authore*: Cologne, J. Soter, 1555: NèveMém., 406.

³) Judging by St. Pigge's experience with Granvelle: cp. bef., p 204.

⁴) Gerard Cools, a native of Dordrecht, promoted M. A. in Louvain on March 19, 1551, being classed the 10th (*ULPromRs.*, 165); he entered the Society of Jesuits in May 1552, and started the study of theology in Cologne where he matriculated with Francis de Coster on February 7, 1553; in that same year he left for Rome, and died on his return at Neuss, Nov. 6, 1555: Keussen, 654, 155; *JesRheinA*, 195-96; *JésNécr.*, 2.

⁵) Possibly the *Adrianus Dumeus Gandavensis*, who promoted 'gratiosus' in 1553: *ULPromRs.*, 183.

⁶) He entered the Society of Jesuits in May 1552, with Cools, through Leonard Kessel's influence, and matriculated with his friend, on February 7, 1553, as divinity student: *JesRheinA*, 197-99; Keussen,

those books Cools mentioned 'Joannis Isaac biblia', probably a Hebrew Bible, lent by the teacher of the sacred language ¹⁾. In fact John Isaac was on such friendly terms with the young 'Jesuits', that he followed them to Cologne, where Leonard Kessel, also an old Louvain student ²⁾, noted down in his report for February 1553, that the 'Professor hebreus et alii plures ubique, si non haberent uxores, iam diu se Societati resignassent : a quibus... affectum pro effectu accipient speramus' ³⁾).

The wish of those young Jesuits to get Isaac to remove to the Rhine town, — apart from the interest a convert naturally inspires, — was the certainty that the Cologne authorities, and especially the mayor John von Rheydt ⁴⁾, the father of one of their most influential 'confratres' ⁵⁾, contemplated enriching their town with a *Trilingue*, in imitation of Louvain ⁶⁾. The young brotherhood was even hoping to have a share in it. On that account they made the most of Isaac's disappointing situation in Louvain, and induced him to follow them to Cologne, where he actually matriculated on July 16, 1552 ⁷⁾, and where, by the end of October 1552, he had already found some lessons ; as they were not sufficient to keep him and his family, he made an appeal to the town authorities for a modest salary ⁸⁾ ; in November it produced at least a

654, 156, where his eventful life is sketched : he died on December 6, 1619 : *JésNécr.*, 29 ; *UniKöln.*, 431, 557 ; *DébEnCo.*, 195-207 ; *JesHist.*, I, 116, sq ; *BibBelg.*, 226-27 ; Miræus, 204. ¹⁾ *JesRheinA*, 204, sq.

²⁾ Leonard Kessel, a priest, was one of the first to join the Jesuits (1542) ; in 1549, he became the head of the house of Cologne, and, as such, the 'Father' of many Jesuits and many houses : he died at Cologne on October 26, 1574 : *Mol.*, 727 ; *Duhr*, I, 34, sq, &c ; *JésNécr.*, 2 ; *JesRheinA*, xlvii, & *passim* ; Keussen, 620, 57 ; Bianco, I, 295, 301, 307 ; *DébEnCo.*, 194-208. ³⁾ *JesRheinA*, 219.

⁴⁾ *Cp. sup.*, II, 193, &c, III, 81, sq ; Keussen, 489, 132.

⁵⁾ John von Rheydt, Rhetius, the mayor's son, already was teaching philosophy and Latin in the University when he joined the Jesuits by December 1550 : Keussen, 626, 139 ; *JesRheinA*, 164 ; *UniKöln*, 556, sq, 431, 498 ; *DébEnCo.*, 199-201.

⁶⁾ *Cp. before*, III, 81, sq ; *UniKöln*, 113, sq, 371 ; Kuckhoff, 47, sq ; *Rhetius*, 37, sq ; *DébEnCo.*, 200, sq.

⁷⁾ Keussen, 654, 101 : 'ob paupertatem inscriptionis ius remissum'.

⁸⁾ On October 24, 1552, he requested a salary on account of his public lectures : Keussen, 654, 101.

beginning of help in his bitter need : indeed, he was described as 'badly clothed in his poverty' ¹⁾).

Eventually Isaac obtained a salary ²⁾ and started most successfully the work by which, like Velsius, he brought to Cologne the spirit and the organization of Busleyden College ³⁾ : his lectures were well attended ; he himself was greatly honoured, and his Grammar was used, not only by his own hearers, but in many schools ⁴⁾. On October 4, 1553, he went for a time to Louvain, probably for the preparing of his editions ⁵⁾. In 1563, Plantin applied to him for help in the checking and arranging of the Hebrew lexicon, based on that of Sanctes Pagninus, which was to be part of the 'Royal Bible' : on that account he had him as guest in his house from November 10, 1563, to October 21, 1564 ⁶⁾. Probably on that occasion, Isaac's Hebrew grammar was reedited there ⁷⁾. During that absence the Cologne town council paid him his wages as *professor ordinarius hebraicarum literarum*, although the plan of erecting a *Trilingue* had since long miscarried, and had been replaced by a wider and better organized *bursa*, the *Tricoronatum* ⁸⁾.

Being thus freed to a certain extent from financial solicitude, Isaac turned his attention to all recent publications referring to Hebrew Study. As has been mentioned, he showed utmost deference to his great Master Balenus, as well as to the famous linguist Andrew Masius ⁹⁾, but he was the bitterer in his vituperation of all others in the touchy matter of the honour due to his mother tongue. As instance may be pointed out his criticism of the posthumous *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum* (Basle, 1557), by John Forster, who had been Hebrew

¹⁾ *UniKöln*, 113.

²⁾ No doubt thanks to the interference of John Rhetius, his friend and, in a way, his pupil : on June 26, 1553, he sent to Isaac from Rome his warm greetings in his letter to Henry Sudermann : *JesRheina*, 209, 235 ; *Rhetius*, 23.

³⁾ Cp. *Tricoron.*, 76.

⁴⁾ *Tricoron.*, 74, 115 ; *Rhetius*, 47.

⁵⁾ Keussen, 654, 101 ; cp. before, p 302.

⁶⁾ *PlantE*, I, 49, 50, 184, 257 ; Plantin took care, however, to have the text checked afterwards by Francis Raphelengius, his son-in-law : *PlantE*, I, 184, 257.

⁷⁾ *PlantE*, II, 132 ; cp. before, p 301.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 140, sq.

⁹⁾ *MasE*, 373.

professor in Wittenberg ¹⁾ : it was ruthlessly condemned, since it wanted to replace the purposely obscure comments of the Rabbis, accepted too long most submissively, by the study of the language and of the sense of the Bible ²⁾. That theory was only a repetition of what had been proposed by Balenus' great disciple, William van der Lindt, Lindanus ³⁾ in his *De Optimo Scripturas interpretandi Genere Libri III*, dating from 1552 or 1553 ⁴⁾. He explains in it that, although the Vulgata seems wanting corrections, it is based on a text, now lost, which was far better than any of the then known Hebrew or Greek codices ; although not indispensable for the preservation of Faith, those codices may offer a most valuable help for the understanding of the Latin version. Whilst in Dillingen, Lindanus had composed another important treatise, *Panoplia Evangelica, sive de Verbo Dei Evangelico Libri V*, 1558 ⁵⁾, in which he contests the character which heretics attribute to the Bible, that it *must* contain all and each of the revealed truths ; on the contrary, he states that Tradition, as attested by the Church, is another and equally reliable source of Divine Revelation ⁶⁾. It seems as if Isaac took that denial of the primal authority of the Hebrew text as an insult, and, notwithstanding the reverence he owed to his sponsor, he attacked him in his *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicæ contra Wilhelmum Lindanum qui videlicet Libro de optimo Genere Interpretandi parum tribuere Hebræo SS. Bibliorum textui videtur* ⁷⁾. He found encouragement with several of his friends amongst the Jesuits ⁸⁾, particularly with John Willems, of Haarlem ⁹⁾, and even Arias Montanus, especially when afterwards Lindanus expressed the suspicion that the Jews had

¹⁾ *HebStud.*, 97-102, 136-38.

²⁾ *HebStud.*, 136, sq, 138, sq.

³⁾ Cp. Ch. XXV, 4, A.

⁴⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1871 : 303 ; 1852 : 310-12 : allusion to it in the letter of Peter Canisius — an old student of Louvain : *Canisius*, 16, — to Lindanus, then in Dillingen, consequently earlier than 1557.

⁵⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 317 ; referring to the *Panoplia*, which Canisius wishes to see soon printed.

⁶⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1871 : 303-4.

⁷⁾ Cologne, 1558 ; *NèveMém.*, 406.

⁸⁾ Even Canisius — who was not properly a theologian — did not whole-heartedly approve of Lindanus : *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 310, sq.

⁹⁾ Cp. § c of this section.

altered the Bible text ¹⁾, and when he was believed to have wrongly appealed to a reading of Psalm xcvi, *Beati immaculati*, in an 'English' Manuscript, belonging to John Clement ²⁾.

By 1573, Isaac started translating, into Hebrew, Peter Canisius' Catechism, both as a manual to study the language, and as a means of converting his former fellow-believers ³⁾. He died at Cologne on February 27, 1577 ⁴⁾, and left sons who were no honour to him : one, Bertram, became barber in 1575 ; another, Stephen, was trained at Zwolle, Cologne and Louvain ⁵⁾, from where, thanks to Maximilian of Berghes, Archbishop of Cambrai, Francis Richardot, Bishop of Arras, and Joachim Hopper, the Councillor, he was appointed professor of Hebrew in Douai. He left his post to accept a prebend at St. Ursula's, Cologne, and, entering orders, turned controversialist ⁶⁾, until, by 1586, he became a champion of Calvinism ⁷⁾ : he naturally had to resign ⁸⁾, and he published an apology of his apostasy in 1586 ⁹⁾.

C. BALENUS' SUCCESSORS

The generous spirit of study, which inspired Gennep's encouraging welcome to John Isaac as Hebraist, characterized him till his very last days, which, as already related ¹⁰⁾, were troubled by infirmities. He thus had to accept the willing help of his disciple Augustine Hunnæus, who replaced him about 1562 for one whole year ¹¹⁾, as also that of another

¹⁾ Cp. PlantE, v, 30, sq, 33-37, 44, sq, 62 (1575), 273-74 (1577).

²⁾ Cp. further, Ch. XXV, 4, A ; PlantE, v, 8-9, 40, where Lindanus is even said to ignore Hebrew.

³⁾ *JesRheinA*, 639.

⁴⁾ PlantE, v, 273 ; Mol., 725-26, 797 ; PF, i, 339, sq ; NèveMém., 405-6, 246, 335 ; Keussen, 654, 101 ; Harzheim, 182-83.

⁵⁾ He matriculated for the study of medicine on June 20, 1560 : *Litb-IntIV*, 361, v : Stephanus Isaac filius Johannis Isaac Judei.

⁶⁾ *Rhetius*, 148.

⁷⁾ He had as chief opponent the renowned preacher Michael Brilmacher : Paquot, viii, 419-22.

⁸⁾ *JesRheinA*, 639, 659, 663.

⁹⁾ PF, i, 340 ; ADB ; NèveMém., 406-08 ; Mol., 726, 797 ; *CollUffWolf.*, 54, 226 (letters to Joannes Jacobus Grynæus, 1586-89).

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 216-19.

¹¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 216, &c, and before, pp 155-56.

conspicuous student of his, Bucho de Montzima : the latter promoted doctor of divinity in 1564, and died as Provost and Archdeacon of Utrecht, where his portrait is adorned by an inscription, praising him for his linguistic knowledge, and for his teaching of Hebrew in Louvain ¹⁾.

When Gennep died an octogenarian on February 10, 1568 ²⁾, he could boast of having contributed in a very large measure, not only to the fame of the *Trilingue*, but also to the development of the study of Hebrew : in fact, its lectures, which were as good as deserted in the beginning of his career, had become so desirable that his students did what they could to secure an extension even of the teaching of that difficult language ³⁾.

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* * *

At the decease of Andrew Balenus, the Rector Cunerus Petri ⁴⁾, as Plebanus of St. Peter's, had offered his succession to John Isaac's son Stephen, who, most fortunately, declined, taken up as he was with his controversies ⁵⁾. It caused the appointment of an old pupil and a good friend of Gennep's, John Willems, Gulielmi, of Haarlem ⁶⁾, who was then an inmate of Arras College, and who, applying himself to divinity, had made a most elaborate study of the old languages. He only kept his place until, by June 1569 ⁷⁾, he entered the Society of Jesus ; yet he continued his studies, and promoted licentiate in theology. With Augustine Hunnæus and Cornelius Reyneri of Gouda, he was afterwards delegated by the University to check the texts of the Royal Polyglot Bible ⁸⁾, to which he rendered great services by his knowledge of the old languages, as Plantin gratefully acknowledged on Febr. 14/21, 1573, in a letter to Peter Canisius ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. III, 214, *sq* ; *NèveMém.*, 247. ²⁾ Cp. III, 216.

³⁾ Cp. III, 218-19.

⁴⁾ Cp. Ch. XXV, 4, c.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 306.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, *pp* 156, *sq* ; *PF*, I, 515 ; *NèveMém.*, 247, *sq* ; *JésNécr.*, 6-7, identifies him with the *Joannes... Haerlemensis*, promoted the first as M. A. on March 6, 1568, who is called there 'Joannes Pistorius', 'de Backer' : *ULPromRs.*, 283. ⁷⁾ From the first months of 1568.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 156 ; *PlantE*, III, 60, IV, 187, V, 282, &c.

⁹⁾ *PlantE*, III, 308. As mentioned before, Hunnæus highly valued Willems, who had become rector of the Jesuits in Louvain ; he bequeathed to him some of his most precious documents when he died of the pest on September 7, 1578 ; unfortunately his friend followed him a few days later, on October 1, 1578 : cp. before, p 157 ; *JésNécr.*, 6, *sq*.

Already on July 10, 1569, the succession of Balenus, which John Willems could not keep any longer, had been granted to Peter Pierius a Smenga, born in Friesland, who had proved better than a competitor ¹⁾, and was moreover favoured by the protection of the youngest of the Founder's nephews, William of Busleyden, Lord of Guirsch and Everberg, Licentiate of Laws ²⁾. Pierius was esteemed as an *acri et vivido vir ingenio*, and proved a most active professor ³⁾. He wrote a *Prosodia Hebræa, seu Ratio Accentus Grammatici* ⁴⁾, and several other treatises, which his countryman Suffridus Petri highly praised, but which seem to have been lost since ⁵⁾. One amongst them was a list of texts of the Greek and Hebrew Bible, which were badly understood, and had consequently been altered unduly. Another was consecrated to the study of the Prophets, which he endeavoured to elucidate by literal and historical explanations in his lectures ⁶⁾.

Pierius seems to have been a man to whom life meant study and research. He was interested in philosophy as well as in philology : in the latter branch, he is credited with *Emendationum Chiliades* in Pliny and other authors ; in the former, with a *Mercurius seu Hermathena, de Harmonia Mundi*, of which only a sketch or plan was published ⁷⁾, dedicated to the Brabant Chancellor Didier van 't Sestich, Sexagius ⁸⁾. No wonder that when, through the misery of the times, the attendance for the Hebrew lectures was irremediably dwindling, he turned to the study of Medicine ⁹⁾, in which his master Balenus had also illustrated himself. He passed the tests, and promoted Doctor on October 19, 1578 : the practice of the new art explains the *Annotationes in Galenum*, which Suffridus Petri ascribes to him ¹⁰⁾; he was even so excellent in it that in 1579 he was appointed successor to professor

¹⁾ Cornelius Robertus, of Antwerp : NèveMém., 248.

²⁾ Busl., 18, 26-28 ; and before, II, 128, III, 220-22.

³⁾ NèveMém., 249.

⁴⁾ Paquot had seen that manuscript treatise, which then belonged to a J. Fr. Baelemans : PF, I, 517.

⁵⁾ FrisScript., Decas xvii (Franecker, 1699 : 492-96) ; Paquot, iv, 301.

⁶⁾ NèveMém., 249.

⁷⁾ Louvain, Masius, 1581.

⁸⁾ Cp. sup., III, 50.

⁹⁾ VAnd., 221, 237, 285 ; Vern., 146 ; BibBelg., 757.

¹⁰⁾ NèveMém., 248.

Cornelius Gemma ¹⁾. As from 1578 the *Trilingue* College was continually invaded by passing troops, he had left it, and married Petronella van den Woude, widow of Govaart de Jeger, or Jegers ²⁾; he is most gratefully recorded for services rendered to the University and to the people in those terrible years, plagued with want, with misery and with epidemics following in the trail of the wild and lawless soldiery. Yet he continued his studies, and found even the means to send to Pope Gregory XIII the first testimony advising him how the correcting of the Calendar could take place, which, for several years had been attempted in vain and at great costs ³⁾. Notwithstanding his work as physician and as professor of medicine, he remained faithful to the *Trilingue*: the lectures, to be true, were temporarily abandoned; yet his name is mentioned with those of his Greek and Latin colleagues, William Boonaerts, Fabius ⁴⁾ and William Huysmans as professor in the *Status Collegiorum anno 1589* ⁵⁾, and the royal subsidy was continued to him on that head until he died on February 10, 1601 ⁶⁾.

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* * *

Pierius was the last of the professors appointed before the troublesome eighties of the xvith century: he was the only one left to welcome, in 1592, the great Justus Lips, and thus the link in the golden chain connecting that renowned Latinist, as well as his successor Puteanus with his colleagues Castellanus and Valerius Andreas and their disciples through several generations in those years of glory, with the humble staff that realized the last wishes and the unmistakable title to perennial fame of Jerome de Busleyden.

¹⁾ VAnd., 236: he died of the pest: cp. *GemFrisius*, 117, sq, 119-42.

²⁾ NèveMém. 248; *ULDoc.*, iv, 530 (calls the first husband Segers).

³⁾ VAnd., 370.

⁴⁾ NèveMém., 212: he was killed in a students' revolt, May 26, 1590; *ULDoc.*, iv, 517.

⁵⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 506-7; NèveMém., 162-66.

⁶⁾ *ULDoc.*, iv, 529-30, 517; NèveMém., 247-50.

CHAPTER XXV

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN REYNDEERS

II. THE STUDENTS

1. ERUDITE PHYSICIANS

A. BOSCHE

When President Reynders took up the direction of the Institute, it was provided with a most regular system of teaching, to which, as by tides, hearers flocked and said good-bye after gathering treasures of experience and a wealth of elements with which to start a busy and beneficent life-work. That teaching went on irrespective of the many events which would have obstructed and laid motionless the best organized undertaking, if it had not enjoyed the indomitable, irrepressible vitality of which the *Trilingue* gave constant proof. The dark and discouraging months of the first half of the forties were of decisive evidence¹⁾. That vitality, however, is not documentarily attested ; for all the archives of that period, as already mentioned, were probably destroyed when, in the seventies of that century, peaceful Louvain was visited by war and hostilities, which made havoc of auditories and homes of learning²⁾. In fact, the most important event of Rescius' lawsuit has not been made any mention of in any of the histories of the *Trilingue*, and is only evidenced by one stray '*Motivum Juris*', saved by chance out of the endless series of documents of which it was an item³⁾. An account of the life, of the work, and of the conditions of those eventful

¹⁾ Cp. before, Chs. XXII, 2, 3, XXIV, 2, 3.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 174, 309.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 229-35.

years can only be gathered from allusions in contemporary letters or writings. Matter-of-fact details open endless vistas : such is Bartholomew de Grave's mention in his petition to King Philip, probably of 1556, to be granted the privilege of printing the French translation of the Catechism made by Adrian Amerot at the special request of the Faculty of Divinity ¹⁾, — who, thirty or forty years earlier, considered as accursed whoever was in touch with the *Trilingue*.

If that absence of documents is a heavy handicap for the history of the Institute, it is especially so for the knowledge of the audience. Of the hundreds that crowded round the professorial desk, hardly a few are, accidentally, known by their names, such as the Louis Stephen Serapion ²⁾, to whom his master Nannius inscribed his *Deuterologia* on August 28, 1544 ³⁾. Yet in their lifetime they were known far beyond the bounds of their native country. Three amongst those who attended the lectures under Reynders' management, had started studying medicine, and had promoted licentiates : they managed to find a most honourable living and even a renown in Bavaria, not as physicians, however, but as linguists, as duly qualified disciples of the *Trilingue*.

One of them was **John Bosche**, a native of Loon, or Borchloon, a hamlet of Looz, **Lonæus**, who was so proficient in Latin that at Nannius' death, he requested to be appointed in his place ⁴⁾. Still, as the deceased professor had expressed the wish to have Cornelius van Auwater as successor, the *provisores* nominated him by October 7, 1557 ⁵⁾. Boschius also excelled as Hellenist : in 1554 ⁶⁾, he had edited the text of Ocellus Lucanus' *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Παντὸς Φύσεως*, which had been printed for the first time in Paris in 1539, by Francis I's physician William Chrétien ⁷⁾ ; Boschius provided a more correct version, thanks to a manuscript of Busleyden Institute, to which Jerome Commelin refers in his edition of Heidelberg,

¹⁾ *BelgArch.*, *Audience*, A. C. 68, 3.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 269, and *inf.*, sect. 6, A.

³⁾ Polet, 68-70, 196-209, 282-83.

⁴⁾ Paquot, xii, 146.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xii, 146 ; VAndEx., 56 ; cp. before, pp 294, 296.

⁶⁾ *De Universi Orbis Natura* : Louvain, Peter Colinæus, 1554.

⁷⁾ William Chrétien had also translated the treatise : his version was published after Budé's rendering of Aristotle's *De Mundo* : Paris, 1541.

1596 ¹⁾). The Louvain student also added a Latin rendering and annotations on the Ionic dialect used by the Pythagorean in his treatise on the eternity of the world ²⁾).

When, in 1558, the place of professor of languages in Ingolstadt University, which had been occupied by Godfrey Fabricius, of Hodeige, an old disciple of the *Trilingue* ³⁾, became empty, — as his brother Andrew, who had come to Bavaria as well, was otherwise engaged ⁴⁾, — the academical authorities urgently requested the University of Louvain to indicate, and provide, a successor for the *Oratoria lectio*. Boschius was proposed, and in reply to a letter of September 5, 1558, describing the duties and the wages, as well as the 'free days' ⁵⁾, he accepted the situation. He inaugurated his lectures by an *Oratio de Optimo Medico ac Medicinæ Auctoribus* ⁶⁾, which may have led to his appointment as professor to one of the medical branches, possibly natural history, in addition to his lecture of eloquence, which was greatly appreciated. For though he wrote a treatise *De Peste*, 1562 ⁷⁾, also one *De Lapidibus qui nascuntur in Corpore Humano*, 1580 ⁸⁾, he hardly could be praised for his *Concordia Philosophorum ac Medicorum de Humano Conceptu atque... de Centauris, Satyris et Monstris*, 1576 ⁹⁾, being hardly ahead of his time and his surroundings by the strange belief in the monstrous effects of the intercourse with *succubæ* or *incubi*, and even in its possibility ¹⁰⁾. He certainly did not realize by that book a claim to the fame of erudition. On the contrary he was greatly appreciated for his orations, which he had to

¹⁾ Cp. the preface of Ch. Batteux, to his version of Ocellus' book, in his *Histoire des Causes Premières* : Paris, 1769.

²⁾ Ocellus, a native of Lucania, left only fragments, besides his book on the Nature of the World; an edition of his writings appeared in Amsterdam, 1688; cp. II, 235.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 77, 78.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 77, *sq.*

⁵⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1848 : 178-80.

⁶⁾ It was published in the *Orationes Academicæ Ingolstadiensis*, I.

⁷⁾ Ingolstadt, Wolfgang Weissenhorn, 1562.

⁸⁾ Ingolstadt, 1580.

⁹⁾ Ingolstadt, Wölf. Weissenhorn, 1576; also 1583 : the work is represented as 'Thesibus CXXI comprehensa'.

¹⁰⁾ That error was general in those days, in so far that it was even shared by Cornelius, the son of the great Gemma Phrysius : cp. II, 562.

pronounce as Rector in 1561 and on festive occasions in the University, in 1572 and 1578, as well as at Duke Albert V's decease, 1580 ¹⁾). He died in 1585 ²⁾) : it was chiefly for his philology that *Joannes Lonæus Brabantinus* was highly valued : indeed, his edition and version of Ocellus stand far higher than his best medical work and point to the excellence of the training in the *Trilingue* ³⁾).

B. QUICKELBERGH

One of Bosche's fellow-students, as well for medicine as for linguistics, **Samuel van Quickelbergh**, Quickelberge, or Quickeberg, a native of Antwerp ⁴⁾), gained a fair renown in Bavaria. Still it was not as physician, although he published there a most useful work, the *Tabulæ Medicinæ*, 1563 ⁵⁾) ; indeed it was not long before he was recognized and appreciated, not only for his exquisite knowledge of the ancient languages and their literature, but also for his thorough and judicious acquaintance with the life and the art of antiquity. He had found a most welcome employ, the direction of a library ⁶⁾), and as such he wrote a concise, but most suggestive handbook proposing the principles on which should be based the gathering, ordering and most efficient disposing of all grand collections ⁷⁾), '*Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri amplissimi, complectentis rerum vniuersitatis singulas materias et imagines eximias, ut idem recte quoque dici possit : Promptuarium artificiosarum miraculosarum rerum, ac omnis rari thesauri et pretiosæ supellectilis, structuræ atque picturæ, quæ hic simul in theatro conquiri consuluntur, ut eorum frequenti inspectione tractationeque singularis aliqua rerum cognitio et prudentia admiranda, cito, facile ac tuto comparari*

¹⁾ *BeltSchlecht*, 165.

²⁾ *Annales Ingolstadiensis Academiæ*, edited by Rotmar & Mederer : Ingolstadt, 1784 : I, 27.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 464 ; *SweABelg.*, 399 ; *ULAnn.*, 1848 : 176-81 ; *NèveMém.*, 157, 338, sq ; *SaxOnom.*, 330 ; *LiègeBiog.*, I, 261-62.

⁴⁾ Amongst those who contributed in 1552 at Antwerp to the free loan to the Emperor, a 'Io. van QuycKelberge' was inscribed for 100 florins ; he may have been a near relative : *AntvAnn.*, II, 385, b. Cp. also *Antw-Hist.*, I, 554, v, 243 ; *CollTorr.*, 76.

⁵⁾ Cp. *BibBelg.*, 806.

⁶⁾ *ReinBalt.*, 77.

⁷⁾ *MünchHum.*, 84, 147.

posset' ¹⁾. That treatise is so soundly modern and efficient, that one is surprised at the date, and yet, it is rendered admirably practical by the examples quoted ²⁾ — such as the several precious old and rare books left by the famous divine John Eck ³⁾. No wonder that it found a very enthusiastic welcome, and, most of all, from Duke Albert, who wholeheartedly adopted all his views and principles, and made ample use of his experience and judicious sagacity for the benefit of his capital and the whole of his country ⁴⁾. Several of the outstanding poets and literary men considered it as an honour to praise effusively the plan proposed, by adding verses at the end ; one of them, by Joachim Haberstock, closes with the words ⁵⁾ :

Quod bene constructo præbes, Quicheberge, theatro,

Quo si quid, moriar, doctius esse potest.

Quickelbergh's influence on the intellectual and artistic development of Bavaria, must have been immense thanks to the ready patronage which Duke Albert granted ; that it was judicious, follows from the ample use made of it. Moreover, he was very wise in the encouragement and criticism he gave on the dramatic creations and performances of the poet Martin Balticus ⁶⁾, whereas on the other hand, he himself contributed his own work to the general benefit, issuing a fine book, that he had started already in 1557, when he made Peter Canisius' acquaintance ⁷⁾, namely the *Apophthegmata Biblica*, followed by *Stratagemata Biblica* ; it was edited in 1571, and dedicated to Prince Ernest, Duke of Bavaria, administrator of Freisingen diocese ⁸⁾.

The activity of Quickelbergh is admirably illustrated by his contribution to a work in two parts : it still constitutes one of the treasures of the Library which Duke Albert so wisely and

¹⁾ Munich, Adam Berg, 1565.

²⁾ *MünchHum.*, 84, sq.

³⁾ *BeitSchlecht*, 86, 164, 166, 168.

⁴⁾ *MünchHum.*, 84-86, 147, sq.

⁵⁾ *MünchHum.*, 84, 147.

⁶⁾ *ReinBall.*, 32-34, 77. Balticus has treated the whole story of Joseph in Potiphar's service : his text is rather extended, and some of the fine verses may have been suggested by Bible exegesis, or by his predecessors Crocus or Macropedius : *Creizenach*, II, 115-16, 117, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. *MünchHum.*, 84, 147, 53, 131.

⁸⁾ Cologne, Arnold Birckmann, 1571 : *MünchHum.*, 147.

profusely enriched. It contains the five-voiced music on the seven Penitential Psalms and on two of the Psalms *Laudate*, composed at the Duke's request by the great Belgian composer Orlando di Lasso ¹⁾. As illustration to the work, the painter Hans Muelich was requested to make miniatures, to which were added beautiful explanations by Quickelbergh, and the whole, beautified by portraits of the Duke, and of those who had contributed to the work, was then artistically written out by Matthias Frieshammer, in two richly adorned volumes, which were ready, the first in 1565, the second in 1570 ²⁾. Far from suggesting ostentation or collecting mania, it expresses the purest love of art and science that inspired that jewel, and judiciously directed all those who cooperated to its realization ³⁾.

C. GAMEREN

Still less fame came to the third erudite physician in Bavaria for his medical knowledge, but so much more for his work as humanist, **Hannard of Gameren**, *Gamerius*, born at 'Hemert', possibly Nederhemert, near Heusden ⁴⁾, on the Maas, which explains his name *Mosæus*. Although licentiate in medicine, he was appointed professor of Greek in Ingolstadt, where, on December 12, 1564, he delivered his inaugural lecture, *De Laudibus Linguae Græcæ*, which he afterwards published in heroic verse. His teaching is said to have been most erudite and efficient; yet he found the time to compose and edit several works, by which he contributed to the anti-reformation movement, which was then in full development in Bavaria. In 1564, he issued *Reliquiæ Sanctorum contra Hæreticos presentis Sæculi*; in 1565, he translated into Latin a sermon of his colleague Martin Eisengrein ⁵⁾: *Catholica Concio an*

¹⁾ That great musician of the xvith century was born at Mons, 1520, and died at Munich on June 15, 1593: cp. *MünchHum.*, 114, sq.

²⁾ Munich Library, Cim. 207, 1, 11; they come under the titles *Declaratio Psalmorum*, and *Declaratio Imaginum*: *MünchHum.*, 84-6, 147, sq.

³⁾ S. Kobolt, *Baierisches Gelehrtenlexicon*: Munich, 1795: 1, 532, sq; *BibBelg.*, 806; *MünchHum.*, 84-86, 147-48; Fétis, 1, 172; Henne, v, 58.

⁴⁾ The birth-place is indicated as 'in Hemertensi pago juxta Moseicam': *BibBelg.* (1643), 339.

⁵⁾ Martin Eisengrein, of Stuttgart, was a convert, who became professor of divinity in Ingolstadt in 1562, and died in 1578.

Christianus aliud nihil quam quod in Vetere vel Nouo Testamento expresse scriptum sit, credere debeat : Ingolstadt, 1565 ¹⁾. In that same year he published *Bucolica Latina*, imitated from Theocritus and Virgil, which he dedicated to the Duke Albert V (Ingolstadt, 1565) ; they were followed by *Authoritates Ciceronis. Plinii et aliorum... in Conscribendis Epistolis observandæ* (Ingolstadt, 1566). That remarkable activity of the new professor was publicly rewarded by the Emperor Maximilian II, in 1566, by the title of *Poeta Laureatus*, and of Count Palatine. He already used that accession, when he published his *Pornius, Tragoedia vere Sacra* (Munich, 1566), in which he pictures the struggle of youth against voluptuousness in a moral allegorical way : although showing the influence of Seneca and of Greek drama, which he dwells on in his preface, he was evidently inspired by John of Brecht's *Euripus* ²⁾, which he may have seen acted at the Falcon ³⁾.

That tragedy, which according to the reprint by Christopher Plantin in 1568, had been produced with great applause both at Amsterdam and Landshut, was greatly appreciated, not only for its moral tendency, but also, as a proof that Virtue, as well as Knowledge, belong to real greatness ⁴⁾. In the mean time Gumerius brought out a *Via Regia ad Musas* (Munich, 1567), a treatise of metrics, dedicated to Albert V's son Ernest, and several *Satyræ* against Luther's adepts and against those, who, like James Andrew Schmidlein, proclaimed the *Concordia Lutheranorum* (Cologne, 1567-69).

When the last *Satyræ* against Schmidlein appeared, Gumerius had left Ingolstadt, and had returned to his native country. On April 5, 1568 (possibly *ante Pascham*, for 1569), Duke Albert of Bavaria wrote a letter to the Rector and the

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 305, and I, 297.

²⁾ Creizenach, II, 98, 156-57, 162, 531 : Gumerius does not use the motive of two paths, but develops so much the more that of the despised and persecuted Virtue ; *Pornius* appears far weaker and far less impressive, if compared to its model *Euripus*.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 107-10.

⁴⁾ *Pornius* : Est aliquid clarum pro auctorum stemma referre,
Est aliquid summo de genere esse satum ;
Sed si non virtus hæc inclyta dona secundat,
Obscurum penitus redditur omne genus.

Louvain University Senate, to recommend Gamerius to their favour, praising him most gratefully for the services he had rendered to the Church and the University in Bavaria. Still the object of that most flattering recommendation did not make use of it in Louvain, but accepted the direction of the School of Tongres; it explains how a Latin metrical translation of Orpheus' *De Lapidibus* by him was printed at Liège, as well as a rendering of Apollinaris Syrus' *De Ætatibus Hominum*, in 1575. When Don Juan of Austria came into our Provinces, the youthful spirit of the traveller to Bavaria got the better of sedentary hum-drum drudging: he entered his service, and wrote Apologies for him, as well as reports of what he had done, which documents were edited with his translations of Don Juan's letters, by Mart. Marchantius, Luxemburg, 1578. Gamerius himself must have met his fate during the civil war ¹⁾).

The careers and the activity of those men, who wonderfully answered the necessities of time and circumstances, show that the *Trilingue* was something more than a mere school for abstruse philology, as its influence proved more beneficent even than that of the medical faculty; they recall the word of Erasmus that it was like the Trojan horse ²⁾ — which, in President Reynders' time, continued to manifest itself by the glorious amount of able workers formed there, not merely teachers, but men who could adapt themselves to the constantly varying circumstances of life in that century, from director of an art museum to secretary of a great campaigner.

2. JURISPRUDENTS

A. THE QUADRIGA

Thus the fame of the *Trilingue* was continually spreading, as clearly results from the fact that foreign Universities tried to secure the help of linguists formed at the grand Institute, in so far that even certificated physicians were induced to

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 339; *LiègeBiog.*, 264; *NèveMém.*, 339; *MünchHum.*, 100-105, 155-57; *PlantE*, II, 99, sq, 210-11, 291, IV, 34, sq.

²⁾ *Cp.* II, 247, III, 412-13, &c; *Allen*, VI, 1554, 41.

drop medicine to teach languages, as happened in Ingolstadt ¹⁾. Similarly Suffridus Petri was gratefully welcomed in Erfurt in reply to the request of the University of June 12, 1557, for an able teacher of Latin and Greek ²⁾; just like, a few years earlier, the Dillingen Alma Mater asked for help, and obtained the humanistically trained divines : for both Martin Rythoven, sent in 1551, and William van der Lindt, in 1554 ³⁾, had largely availed themselves of the lessons of Busleyden College.

Meanwhile, for the benefit of the country, a most important group of admirably equipped workers were prepared, amongst whom that of the jurists is impressive by its compactness and excellence. They were the young men formed by the *Trilingue*, and by its glorious old student Gabriel Mudæus, who had introduced the Erasmian method of research in a branch, in which, up to then, only tradition had been admitted as the irrecusable authority, as well for teaching and study as for practice. Far from being hailed encouragingly, that method was relentlessly proscribed by the Faculties of Law, in so far that, on March 1, 1537, Gisbert Loyden was only allowed to read and explain the *Institutes* on condition that he should merely 'comment on the text and the gloss juridically, and not grammatically, not by means of Greek, nor by any other new methods' ⁴⁾. The 'new methods' were, no doubt, those introduced by Mudæus, who, instead of making of jurisprudence the knowledge of an endless set of glosses and an empiric casuistry, investigated the why and the wherefore of the laws, and determined their spirit and meaning by a judicious study of the circumstances that had called them into being.

Mudæus had applied that new notion most admirably to some of the *Institutes*, of which the text had been thoroughly tested and expurgated by Viglius ⁵⁾; still he was prevented by the Faculties from proclaiming and teaching the result of his researches ⁶⁾. As a prudent man, he avoided mentioning

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 310-17.

²⁾ Cp. *inf.*, sect. 3, A.

³⁾ *UniDill.*, 10, 42, sq, 51, sq; cp. *sup.*, pp 158 and *inf.*, sect. 4, A.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 130, 612-13; VAnd., 158 : *declarando (it says) textum & Glossam juridice; non Grammaticaliter, Græce, aut aliis novis modis.*

⁵⁾ Cp. before, II, 148, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 213, sq, 418.

his views and their consequences in the various acts preparatory to his promotion, in so far that he beat his adversaries by their own weapons, in such a way that they could not but admire his thorough knowledge of their own manner of considering and solving the question ¹⁾. It had led almost naturally to his appointment as successor to Hermes de Winghe in 1537 ²⁾, in which quality he continued serving the Faculty according to their wishes, for certain until his promotion to Doctor Vtriusque Juris on May 6, 1539. His common sense, no doubt, guided him onward on his double and dangerous way. Still in his private lessons to the constantly growing number of his adepts, he explained his principles, considering laws as the result of events and situations, which had to be studied, not only from great authorities on jurisprudence, like Cicero and Ulpian, but also from historians of the days of their promulgation, like Livy, Suetonius or Sallust, and even from contemporary literators, and from whatever source of knowledge able to explain the circumstances that gave rise to them ³⁾. No doubt, those new and scientific views, suggested, and almost obtruded by the principles on which the teaching of the *Trilingue* was based, irresistibly revealed themselves, even, after a time, in the regular lectures, and above all, procured to Mudæus clever adepts and most enterprising collaborators in the renovation of the studies of Law. Such was the Francis Baudouin, who, as mentioned before, was the fervent apostle of historical jurisprudence ⁴⁾. And so were many others.

Indeed, as years went on, Mudæus' disciples became more and more numerous : they prepared themselves by a thorough study of the languages in the *Trilingue*, and were then introduced by Mudæus to the thorough investigation of laws and their science, in so far that, at no other period of her existence, the University produced so many and so excellent jurists. Foremost amongst them four doctors, promoted on the same day, August 27, 1553, illustrated their eminent formation in the different ways of life, professor or philosopher, applicant or judge, which each of them followed,

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 215, sq.

³⁾ Cp. II, 216, sq ; Stintzing, I, 133.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 420.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 518-24.

John Wamesius and Joachim Hopper, John de Vendeville and Peter Peck ¹⁾, forming the glorious *quadriga* that brought great honour to the juridical School of Louvain, and consequently to the *Trilingue*, as the cause and origin of its grand development ²⁾.

The first of them, John **Waemis**, Wames, **Wamesius**, was born at Liège; he studied philosophy in Louvain ³⁾ before attending the lectures of Jurisprudence. He was one of Rutger Rescius' boarders, which explains the interest he took in languages and literature, so much the more since his own great master Mudæus highly recommended the thorough study of the literary and historical sources of the *centones*, of which Justinian's great juridical collection is formed ⁴⁾. He especially became most experienced in Greek, and his studies on Theophilus' *Institutes* must have caused great satisfaction to his host, who cannot but have rejoiced at the trouble they caused, on that account, to the professors of law, who, in March 1536, had prevented him explaining that very text in his lessons ⁵⁾. Wames may have helped Rescius in his lawsuit ⁶⁾, although, in the summer of 1545, he had gone to study in Cologne ⁷⁾. He returned to Louvain, where, before July 1549, he had married Anna Moons, Rescius' widow ⁸⁾, since he then gave to his old fellow-student Nicolas Mameranus some of Clenardus' letters to her first husband, which already were made use of in his edition of *De Modo docendi Pueros Analphabeticos*, printed in Cologne in June 1550 ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Hoyneck, II, ii, 7; ViglEL, 13, 15; VAnd., 191-95.

²⁾ Brants, 120; cp. III, 517, *sq.*

³⁾ His name is not found amongst those mentioned for their places in the promotions; he may have been indicated by a different one: possibly he is the *Joannes Phenemont Leodiensis* of the Lily, placed the seventh on March 18, 1540: *ULPromRs.*, 103.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 211, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 125-30.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 248.

⁷⁾ Keussen, 626, 50: Joh. Waemis, Leod. d(ioces.) iur.; i(ntravit) et s(olvit): August 19, 1545.

⁸⁾ Cp. III, 471, *sq.*; 'Joannes Moons Lovaniensis', of the Porc, placed 28th at the promotion of April 9, 1538, may have been Anna's brother, or relative: *ULPromRs.*, 95.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 248, *sq.*

Wames started at once tutoring students in jurisprudence, besides giving juridical advice ¹⁾. Whereas his three co-laureati spent the greater part of their lives in the pomp of public service, he remained in Louvain, humbly devoting all his time and his efforts to the study and teaching of both laws. In 1555, he succeeded Peter de Vriendt, *Amicus* ²⁾, as secondary, and, in 1569, Vulmar Bernaert ³⁾, as primary, professor of Canon Law ⁴⁾, and he fulfilled his office with great authority due to his extraordinary ability ⁵⁾. Thanks to his vast erudition and experience, gained by unceasing work, to his quick and penetrating intelligence and his most efficient eloquence, he was not only considered as the ideal professor of laws, but also as the oracle of Belgium : from all its parts, and even from foreign countries, people came to ask his advice, and to profit by his light. On February 28, 1558, he had been appointed University *Dictator* ⁶⁾, and in that capacity, he wrote a letter to King Philip II, on December 26, 1573, to congratulate him, and report to him on the promotion of Fulgence, Duke James of Braganza's son, to doctor of divinity ⁷⁾. The Duchess of Parma consulted him ⁸⁾; he was sent as envoy to William of Orange, September 3, 1573, when he attacked the University town ⁹⁾; he attended the unsuccessful peace-conference of Louvain in 1578 ¹⁰⁾, and he was one of the five professors of law, who, when asked their advice by the King, did not condemn the Ghent Pacification in their reply of December 26, 1576, although submitting their judgment to the censure of the Holy See ¹¹⁾.

When Don Juan of Austria offered to Wamesius the dignity of privy councillor, he declined the honour, declaring that he preferred to stay and work for his students, which he did to

¹⁾ Mameranus described him in July 1549 as '*jurium Licenciatus et Professor*': cp. before, p 248.

²⁾ Cp. II, 419-20.

³⁾ Cp. II, 425-27.

⁴⁾ According to the report to the Duke of Alva, 1568, he explained the *Digestum novum*, every day at 2 p. m., and was paid 200 florins : Brants, 11, 151.

⁵⁾ Vern., 97; VAnd., 155, 156, 186, 196; Paquot, XIII, 141, XIV, 127, XVII, 299.

⁶⁾ *ULDoc.*, I, 315.

⁷⁾ VAnd., 50, 124-25.

⁸⁾ September 8, 1575 : Hoyneck, I, II, 846.

⁹⁾ Vern., 333-34.

¹⁰⁾ Hoyneck, II, II, 309.

¹¹⁾ Paquot, VI, 185.

the last, although hampered by a long infirmity. He died on July 22, 1590, and was buried in St. Peter's, where a fine monument, a statue of St. Peter, was raised ¹⁾. He founded a scholarship for a student of laws in St. Yves College ²⁾. The son of his sister Mary and of Peter Christiani of Coursele ³⁾, Gerard de Coursele, *Corselius*, also a great lawyer, wrote a memorial poem for his uncle ⁴⁾, in whose footprints he stepped : he began his glorious academical career as Greek professor in the *Trilingue* ⁵⁾. John Wamesius' works were edited by his colleague and successor as primary professor, Stephen Weyms ⁶⁾ ; they comprise *Recitationes ad Tit. XXVIII Lib. II Decretal. De Appellationibus* ⁷⁾ ; he also wrote *Responsorum seu Consiliorum de Iure Pontificio Tomi II*, which was several times reprinted ⁸⁾, and *Responsorum sive Consiliorum ad Ius Forumque Civile pertinentium*

¹⁾ *SweMon.*, 216-17.

²⁾ *VAnd.*, 298 ; *FUL*, 1948.

³⁾ He was the first of the promotion of March 30, 1546, and settled as a lawyer at Liège : *ULPromRs.*, 135.

⁴⁾ The poem describes the four doctors who promoted in 1553 (*VAnd.*, 194) ; this is the first stanza :

Quadriga felix, vecta qua terras Themis
Revisit, ates & propulsavit mala.
Omnes docendo claruerunt in schola ;
Vnus sed isti muneri est immortalus,
Lustro Antecessor septimo WAMESIVS.
Eiusce rexit civium res dictio,
Simulque publicas : tametsi publico
Ipse abstinere certus, ad clavum quoque
Pridem vocatus turbidæ tum Belgicæ.
Aeternitati consecrant nomen viri
Responsa, luce quæ fruuntur, postuma.

⁵⁾ *Vern.*, 298 ; *VAnd.*, 202-3, 282-83 ; *BruxBas.*, 1, 78 ; *Paquot*, xi, 94, *sq.* The copy of Budæus' *Opera Omnia* (Basle, Nic. Oporinus, 1557, 3 vols), belonging to the Royal Library, Brussels (marked V. H. 13380), bears as names of its former owners, those of John Wamesius and of his nephew Gerard Corselius.

⁶⁾ Notwithstanding the similarity of the name, Stephen Weyms is never mentioned as relation to Wamesius, but merely as 'affinis', which signifies married to one of the family, or relative by marriage, but also has the sense of 'colleague', and does not necessarily mean *gener*, son-in-law : *BibBelg.*, 580. Cp. *VAnd.*, 200-201.

⁷⁾ Louvain, Rivius, 1604.

⁸⁾ Louvain, Rivius, 1605 ; reprinted in 1618 and 1613.

Centuriæ VI ¹⁾, both of which served for centuries as precedents in the Courts of the Netherlands, and long kept the memory of one who was described as *eloquentium Iuris peritissimus, & Iuris peritorum eloquentissimus* ²⁾).

Jurisprudence, instead of being taught and practised, as it was by Wamesius, was intimately searched for its nature, its very being, its native philosophy, by Joachim Hopper, Hopperus, the second of the famous *Quadriga* of I. V. D., promoted in 1553. He was born at Sneek, in Friesland, on November 11, 1523. His mother, Rixtia Feiconis, of Piersma, through whom he was related to Rembert Dodoens ³⁾, died soon after his birth, and his father followed her after very few years into the grave. The boy, educated by his mother's mother, was trained first at Sneek ⁴⁾, and was then sent to Haarlem School ⁵⁾ with Dominicus Benedixius, with whom he had been nursed ⁶⁾).

After staying there four years, he went to Louvain University, where he matriculated on June 16, 1540 ⁷⁾. He studied philosophy and law, and became one of the most proficient disciples of Gabriel Mudæus ⁸⁾, who, as already explained, adapted logic deduction and documentary research to jurisprudence. He will certainly have advised his eager pupil to look for adequate preparation in the study of languages and

¹⁾ Louvain, Henry Hastenius.

²⁾ Cp. Miræus, 158; Opmeer, II, 182, b; Vern., 293-94, 334; VAnd., 191-2, 194, 317, 364; *BibBelg.*, 579-81; Gabbema, 219-22; *LiègeBtog.*, I, 279, sq.

³⁾ She was the granddaughter of Rembert Jariga, Rembert Dodoens' grandfather; the famous botanist dedicated to his cousin, on December 1, 1546, his *Cosmographica in Astronomiam & Geographiam Isagoge* (Antwerp, 1548) and, on January 5, 1568, his *Florum... Historia* (Antwerp, 1568): Paquot, xv, 5, 7, 9; cp. before, III, 337, sq.

⁴⁾ He probably had as first teachers John Rodius and Gerard of Leeuwarden: Paquot, v, 279; he may have met at that time Henry van Geldorp, who then taught in Friesland: Paquot, ix, 169.

⁵⁾ It was then probably directed by Cornelius Duyck: Paquot, II, 444.

⁶⁾ Cp. further, pp 341-43, and II, 207.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 133, v: 'Joachim Hopperius Snekanus frizius'. — A 'Petrus Hopperius leeuwardensis, dives porcensis' matriculated on February 29, 1544, 'mgr egidius' <de Elderen, of Bossut: *ULDoc.*, IV, 120> taking the oath: *LibIntIV*, 171, r; a William 'Hoppers de Hascilinis' was inscribed in Cologne on May 10, 1516: Keussen, 510, 73.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 318.

especially in the humanistic method in use at the *Trilingue*, where he himself had found the inspiration for his life-work. At any rate, Hopper was on intimate terms with Cornelius van Auwater, who was then busy tutoring in Louvain and working in close connection with the professors of Busleyden Institute. When Hopper promoted doctor, he wrote some poetry in his honour, of which the first draught is still extant ¹⁾ : its first lines are :

Doctoris titulum iuris, quis iustius illo

Accipit optatum, qui fontes iuris et æqui

Hactenus ignotos doctis, vanoque labore

Tentalos, reperit ternoque volumine pandit... ²⁾

Moreover Hopper showed from the beginning an unmistakable preference for Plato and his theories, which suggests a thorough acquaintance with Greek, and a predominant humanistic influence, rather than that of the Faculty of Arts ³⁾.

During his studies, he went for a time to Paris and Orleans, where he learned French ; he even contemplated going to Italy, when he was recalled home for family affairs ⁴⁾. He afterwards returned to Louvain : he promoted Licentiate on August 20, 1549, and Doctor V. J. on August 27, 1553. The teaching prescribed for the latter function had been so excellent that, on the recommendation of John Voerthuisse ⁵⁾ and of Cornelius van Auwater ⁶⁾, the Louvain town authorities appointed him as professor of the Digest, or what they called the *Paratitla* ⁷⁾, on January 10, 1554 ⁸⁾. He introduced a new method ⁹⁾ by ordering and simplifying the matter ; it was

¹⁾ *AuwCar.*, 33, 35-6.

²⁾ Hopper had published in that year his *De Juris Arte Libri III* : cp. further, p 327.

³⁾ His name is not recorded in any of the lists of the Promotions from 1541 to 1546.

⁴⁾ Hoyneck, II, ii, 6-7.

⁵⁾ Voerthusius, a native of Zutphen, was provost of St. Lebwin's, Deventer, and Canon of Utrecht Cathedral : Hoyneck, II, ii, 8 ; *BibBelg.*, 578.

⁶⁾ It confirms Hopper's intimacy with him and the humanists of the *Trilingue*.

⁷⁾ Stintzing, 143-44, 359.

⁸⁾ His lectures were held at 4 p. m.

⁹⁾ He promised to treat the whole matter of the Digest in three, at most four, years : *VAnd.*, 192.

highly appreciated ¹⁾, and it enhanced the fame which he already enjoyed, in so far that, after a few months, on November 23, 1554, he was appointed successor to James de Rebreviettes, as member of Mechlin Council ²⁾. In 1561, Margaret of Parma created him member of the Privy Council, which brought him in close contact with Cardinal Granvelle and with President Viglius, with whom and with Philip Nigri ³⁾ he worked zealously to execute Philip II's plan of founding the Douai University.

In the first months of 1566, at the resigning of Charles de Tisnacq ⁴⁾, Hopper was called to Spain as the King's secretary for the affairs of the Netherlands, and was entrusted with the Royal Seal. On his arrival, he gave his master a most exact and objective report ⁵⁾, which, with his confidential correspondence with Viglius ⁶⁾, forms one of the most authoritative sources for that confusing period. He served his royal Master

¹⁾ E. g., by the clever jurisprudent and humanist Hubert van Giffen, Giphanius, of Buren, 1534-1604, professor at Altdorf and Ingolstadt : Stintzing, I, 351, 405-14 ; cp. *inf.*, pp 350, sq.

²⁾ He occupied the first ecclesiastical seat in Mechlin High Council from 1548 to 1554 ; cp. Hoyneck, II, II, 8 ; Henne, x, 11, 256.

³⁾ Chancellor of the Golden Fleece : cp. III, 357.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 158-60.

⁵⁾ *Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas du Roy* : Hoyneck, II, II, 16-118 ; reprinted in A. Wauters, *Mémoires de Viglius et d'Hopperus* : Brussels, 1858 : 222-28 (notice sur H.), 231-374. — Although being a staunch and devout catholic, as he proved by his life and death (having the Mass celebrated in his sick-room), as well as by his works, amongst which is a *Paraphrasis in Psalmos Davidicos* (Antwerp, 1591), Hopper was not blind to the blemishes of the clergy or of some members of the Church. He even encouraged the efforts of George Cassander to inveigh, not only against errors, but also against bad living : *ut non modo pravis opinionibus, sed & malis moribus Ecclesia repurgaretur*, as he wrote to him in a letter of October 12, 1562. When, later on, Cassander in his controversies with Calvinists swerved from the path of theological accuracy, Hopper even prevented Lindanus from censuring him (III, 300-301), avoiding all blind partiality for the sake of fostering peace and unity, especially amongst those who were of good will, and endeavoured to promote truth : *HEpL*, 67-68 ; Gabbema, 803-17, gives the text of five letters to, and one from, Henry Geldorp, the Duisburg schoolmaster (1559-62), whom he also tried to save.

⁶⁾ Hoyneck, II, I : other letters of Hopper to Viglius, now in *BrsRL*, MS. 5114, were published by de Nélis in 1802.

with great zeal and faithfulness in Spain, where his wife Christina Bertolff, daughter of Gregory, the first President of Friesland ¹⁾, followed him with their children; he was knighted, and endowed with the Lordship of Dalem, near Gorcum, and the right of hunting in 'Gesterland'. Yet the King's favour could not prevent the heavy work and the Southern climate from telling on the sturdy Frisian, who died from consumption in Madrid on December 5, 1576, and was buried, with great honour, in St. Trinity Church of that capital ²⁾.

Hopper was, before all, a man of study, especially after Mudæus had roused his interest for the very essence of jurisprudence. He fully accepted his master's views about the necessity of investigating the real purport of the texts gathered by Tribonius on Justinian's order ³⁾, not by the endless glosses and commentaries added afterwards, but by the older sources from which they were taken ⁴⁾. The question of the right method for the study and the teaching of jurisprudence also occupied his mind, as the result of his connection with the *Trilingue*, where it got due attention; whereas other leading men made light of it and patronized the '*Nihil innovetur*' policy ⁵⁾, at least for Canon

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 460, and the correspondence with Haio Cammingha; Gregory Bertolff, of Louvain, is the author of the *Statuta Frisica*: Henne, v, 38, 45.

²⁾ Cp. *FrisScript.*, decas XII, c ix; Guicc., 169; Opmeer, II, 32; Miræus, 106-7; *RibBelg.*, 444, sq; *SaxOnom.*, 299; Vern., 107, 294, sq; VAnd., 192, 194; Hoyneck, II, ii, 5-12, &c; *HEpL*, 67, sq, 80; Stintzing, I, 345-51; *NBW*; *CollTorr.*, 76. Besides his correspondence in Hoyneck, I & II, *ULAnn.*, 1848: 212, 1852: 290; Gachard, *Corr. de Philippe II*, *passim*; Gabbema, 534, 700, 813-17, 818, sq, there are at *BelgArch.*, reports on the State and Government of the Netherlands (*CartMan.*, 1757), letters to Philip II, 1569 (*CartMan.*, 194), copies of three memoirs preserved at Simancas, November 1575 (*CartMan.*, 187⁵), &c.

³⁾ Cp. II, 216, sq.

⁴⁾ Stintzing, I, 342, 363.

⁵⁾ So even Zasius, who, asked for his advice on the subject by John Fichard (cp. I, 150, 155), replied: 'Tu adolescens, si sapis, Juris Civilis studia eo ordine prosequere quo tradita sunt... In summa noli laborare circa Methodum': ZasO, v, 37, v; Hoyneck, II, i, 82, sq. And Viglius, writing to Bon. Amerbach, in June 1532, inveighs against introducing the *Ars Juris*, and despairs of justice if laws have to be replaced by the vague concepts of good and right for the judges to be directed by:

Law ¹⁾. For Hopper, that new method was not merely the using of the *Dialectica Legalis* to put order into the vast amount of laws and precepts in the various books and titles of the Roman juridical collections, which would have been a mere classifying, like that of birds or butterflies; but the finding of the essence of the laws, and their relation to what is just and right, so as to realize the *Ars Juris*, as Cicero called it, or the *Ars Æqui et Boni*, in Ulpian's description ²⁾. What his master Mudæus taught, especially in his private lessons, the disciple took up as the subject for his study, and, by means of Plato's theories, he tried to codify the unchangeable principles of what is just and good, so as to discover the philosophical foundation of all laws ³⁾. Instead of being ministers of the, as yet, badly understood Roman law, he, like Vives, wanted all jurists to become interpreters of justice, based on the law of God and nature ⁴⁾.

On that account he published, in 1553, his *De Juris Arte Libri III* ⁵⁾; the first book treats of the essence of right and justice as based on the precepts of the Decalogue; the second brings the proof that the laws of Church and State want to express and sanction that ideal Right and Justice; the third explains how laws are made and applied by Courts and Judges according to the precepts enounced in the Pandects. In the same year 1553, Hopper also brought out *Ad Justinianum de Obligationibus περὶ ὀφειλῶν Libri quinque* ⁶⁾, dedicated to Viglius, which, instead of the usual casuistry, offers explanations far more synthetic than analytic, showing the inner connection between the laws themselves, as well as that

Hoyneck, II, i, 82-88. On November 25, 1555, he found fault with Hopper's treatise *De Magistratibus*, — apparently not printed, — for the too great diversity and barbarousness of names, but not, as Hoyneck believed, for trying to imitate Cicero, and reduce jurisprudence to an art; that editor judged his endeavour as useless for want of success and imitators, — which, instead of explaining it by his appointment as Mechlin councillor in 1554, he represents as a failure, quoting as proof a letter to Amerbach, written more than twenty years earlier: Hoyneck, II, i, 374-76, II, 7, sq.

¹⁾ Stintzing, I, 99. ²⁾ Stintzing, I, 133, 144, 260; cp. before, p. 324.

³⁾ Stintzing, I, 260; *BibBelg.*, 444, quoting Sebastian Foxius, *De Studii Philosophici Ratione*. ⁴⁾ Brants, 191, 192.

⁵⁾ Louvain, 1553; cp. before, II, 217.

⁶⁾ Louvain, 1553.

between them and justice. He had planned and prepared at that time even more than those two works, for in the privilege for the printer were also announced *Pithanon Libri duo de Mercatu, Pactu et Fœnore*, as well as 'Εκ τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ τίτλοι δύω ¹⁾ : his appointment as Mechlin councillor prevented them to be issued. From the notes of a pupil, his lectures on the Pandects were edited : they show that, in his teaching, Hopper continued the systematic connecting of the various titles and fragments of the fifty books of the Παράτιλα into a rational order ²⁾).

During his stay in Spain, Hopper made the acquaintance of several erudites ³⁾, and especially of the great jurisprudent Diego Covarrubias ⁴⁾, and took up again his favourite studies ; he then greatly influenced Martin-Antonio Delrio, to whom he gave the manuscript of his *Elementa Juris*, of which that grateful disciple afterwards edited a summary ⁵⁾ ; and for his own son Gregory ⁶⁾ he composed *In Veram Jurisprudentiam Isagoges Libri Octo* ⁷⁾, which is a synopsis of the whole jurisprudence in the form of a dialogue between himself and his son. Meanwhile he worked at his *De Vera Jurisprudentia ad Regem Libri XII*, called *Seduardus* after his eldest son, who had died when a child : that work, edited afterwards by his children ⁸⁾, is conceived as a colloquy during a sea voyage

¹⁾ In 1553, Viglius made to Hopper a present of a manuscript of the *Quinque Libri Basilici Legalis* — now the *Codex Parisiensis Gr.* 1345, — which he had acquired in 1533 from a convent of regular Augustinian friars at Tarvis : Stintzing, I, 225-26. ²⁾ Stintzing, I, 143-46, 359.

³⁾ Such as the historians Jerome Zurita, and Ambrose de Morales ; also his countryman, Bonaventura Vulcanius : VulcE, 34, 278, sq, 493, sq ; cp. II, 183.

⁴⁾ Didacus de Covarrubias a Leyva (1512-1577) was Bishop of Segovia, and President of the Castilian Council of State. Instead of Plato's, he applied the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas to jurisprudence : Honecker, 181, 102. He was in correspondence with Plantin from 1568, through Arias Montanus and Hopper : PlantE, II, 270, III, 321, sq, 329, IV, 124, 211, &c ; Miræus, 108, 240. ⁵⁾ Brants, 190 ; cp. before, III, 278, &c.

⁶⁾ He succeeded his father as Lord of Dalem : cp. Hoyneek, I, II, 740 ; he was a member of the Privy Council from 1605 to 1610 : Alexandre, 411.

⁷⁾ Cologne, 1580.

⁸⁾ *Seduardus*, along with the *Psalms* (cp. before, p 325), had been expected to be issued by 1586, but the misery of the times had prevented Plantin printing them : they were only published in 1590 : PlantE, VI, 245 (1581), &c, VII, 278, &c, VIII, 604 (1589), &c.

between himself and his four sons ¹⁾, Seduardus, Gregory, Tideman and Caius Antonius ²⁾; it once more shows the admirable unity in the treatment of Good and Equity, identified with God's Will, and Justice that tries to express them in the laws. His partiality to Plato's philosophy makes the terminology he uses somewhat confusing, and the theories are not all worked out to practical applications: yet, notwithstanding the shortcomings unavoidable in any first attempt, Hopper built up a magnificent system of Jurisprudence, which he, one of the first, enriched with the enouncing and the codifying of the 'natural law', besides endowing the whole with a finality and an aim ³⁾.

Hopper was deeply regretted at his untimely decease: he had rendered great services to his native country and, although staunch to the King ⁴⁾, he had healed and helped wherever he could. His *Recueil* sketching the sad state, which outsiders highly praised for its feeling and its calm ⁵⁾, is coming to its right, and so is his memory which has been long burdened by undeserved blame ⁶⁾. His intellectual work has always

¹⁾ Hopper's wife, Christina Bertolff, had returned well endowed to Belgium, and survived him until November 3, 1590, when she died, aged 65, and was buried in Brussels in the Church of the Dominicans: Foppens, I, 557, b. Their son Tideman died very young in Spain; their daughter Catherine married Cornelius van der Myl, whose father Arnold, mayor of Dordrecht, and whose uncle Adrian, were old friends of Hopper and Viglius. Their daughter Rixtia married Cornelius van der Burgh, of Zeeland; when Suffridus Petri wrote the biography of his great countryman, two other daughters, Ida and Tidea, were still unmarried: Hoyneck, II, ii, 12; *FlandCon.*, 155: John Bertolf, councillor.

²⁾ He became provost of St. Peter's, and consequently University Chancellor, at the nomination by Albert and Isabella as successor to George of Austria, on April 27, 1619; he succeeded to William Fabricius in 1628 as Conservator Privilegiorum, and died on August 21, 1634: VAnd., 60, 71, 192; Vern., 42, 295; Paquot, xv, 5; *ULDoc.*, I, 393, 523.

³⁾ Stintzing, I, 343-51; Brants, 187-90.

⁴⁾ Hopper's was a peaceful and conservative character; he was Viglius' staunch friend, and sided with Granvelle in the Privy Council, where he was even called: Councillor 'Yes My Lady', for never contradicting Margaret of Parma; his straightforwardness kept him away from all intrigues and artful opposition: Alexandre, 49, sq, 53, 55, 75, sq, 207, 218, &c.

⁵⁾ Stintzing, I, 344-45.

⁶⁾ Stintzing, I, 343, mentions 'Wauters' *Mémoires de Viglius et d'Hopperus*, 1858, worin... eine scharf aburtheilende Notice sur Hopperus'.

found the heartiest admiration, as results from the praise which was lavishly bestowed on him, such as that written by Gerard Corselius, as the second of the glorious *Quadriga* of 1553 ¹⁾, or that by pupils and admirers dedicating their works to him ²⁾, and by jurists on this side of the world; some of them, like Hubert Giphanius ³⁾ owed their formation to him, or, at any rate, they thoroughly appreciated the most valuable contribution by which he enriched Jurisprudence to his very last days. ‘*Beasti me, optime et prudentissime Hopper*’, the erudite Gabriel Harvey noted down in Cambridge on his copy of *In veram Iurisprudentiam Isagoge* ⁴⁾, ‘*tuis istis insignibus Libellis, aureolis totius iurisprudentiæ fundamentis... Nullum adhuc legi jurisconsultum qui me uel allegerit iucundius, vel instruxerit uberius*’ ⁵⁾. And the great professor of Helmstedt, Herman Conring, hails as real *philosophia civilis* the *Nomethesia*, the first four books of the *Seduardus*, which he calls an *admirabile opus et sine omni exemplo* ⁶⁾.

The third of the *Quadriga* of Mudæus’ glorious disciples was **John de Vendeville**. He was born at Lille on June 24, 1527, and is said to have been employed at the Court of Arras, and to have started his studies in Paris ⁷⁾. At any rate, he

¹⁾ The lines about Hopper are as follows :

HOPPERVS, Artis conditor veri & boni,
Primum Senator iudicandis stlitibus
Machliniæ, post sanctiorem in Curiam
Integritatis nomine meruit legi.
Ad se vocavit Rex Philippus denique,
Rerumque statuit Belgicarum Præsidem.
Negotiorum tanta moles non tamen
Sapientiæ studijs facere quiuit modum :
Testantur opera publicæ luci data.

VAnd., 194 ; cp. the laudatory poems in Hoyne, II, ii, 13-15.

²⁾ E. g., James Rævardus’ *de Juris Ambiguitatibus libri V*, 1564 (Paquot, xvi, 111) ; James Cheiney, *de Geographia libri duo*, 1576 (Paquot, v, 70). Cp. for the praises by Wesembeek and Hubert Giphanius, Stintzing, I, 359, 363, 405. ³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, p 325, *inf.*, p 350, sq.

⁴⁾ Dating from his last years, and edited in 1580.

⁵⁾ *HarvMarg.*, 175-87, 181, 184 : Hopperus, animæ dimidium Justinianæ.
⁶⁾ Stintzing, I, 351, 135, 726.

⁷⁾ His name does not appear on the lists of the Promotions of Louvain ; yet it is hardly likely that he should have been Master of Arts

matriculated in Louvain on May 18, 1543 ¹⁾, and he applied himself to jurisprudence under the lead of the great professor. No doubt he also studied languages at the *Trilingue* ²⁾ in preparation for his own research work, and as an initiation into the method of his great Master Mudæus, with which he became thoroughly familiarized, as results from the writings which he left, but which he himself did not publish : one, *De Principijs Iuris*, was to serve as introduction to the Pandects and the Codex ³⁾; the other was a comparison between the legislation of the Emperor Justinian and the *Edictum Perpetuum Salvii Juliani*, as well as the *Codex Theodosianus*. He became Licentiate in due time, and promoted Doctor I. V. on August 27, 1553. At Hopper's promotion to Mechlin Councillor, Vendeville succeeded him as reader of the *Institutes*, and when, in April 1557, that lesson was endowed by the King, and raised to a daily Royal Lecture, he was the first of the three candidates proposed by Government ⁴⁾, and was consequently appointed. He taught with very great success on account of his sound exposition and his effective eloquence, which, with his ardent zeal ⁵⁾, attracted large audiences. Consequently he was offered, in 1560, the

before 1543, when he was barely sixteen; he may have been noted down under another name, and be identical with one of the several *Joannes... Insulenses* of those years : Tombanus, the 41st, or Buverius, the 108th in 1547 (*ULPromRs.*, 142, 144) ; or du Boeys, 35th, or Legrandt, 49th, in 1544 (*id.*, 126) ; possibly Livinus, 24th, in 1549 (*id.*, 153).

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 165, r : 'Joës de Vendeuille, insulanus'.

²⁾ He was acquainted with its work, for, in 1557, he gave it as example of the assiduity of the teachers in their lectures : *VigIEL*, 22.

³⁾ It was edited by Valerius Andreas (Louvain, 1655) as *De Principiis et (Economia Librorum Univers. Juris* : Brants, 122.

⁴⁾ Letter of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, governor of Belgium, to the Faculties of Law, dated Brussels, April 22, 1557 ; the two other candidates were Peter Peck, Doctor, and John Tack, Ramus, Licentiate of Laws : Hoyneck, II, i, 381-84. On March 28, 1556/7, Elbertus Leoninus had mentioned him to Viglius with 3 other candidates : *VigIEL*, 12-14.

⁵⁾ On May 23, 1557, before starting the Royal lessons, he suggested to Viglius to shorten the holidays (which in the Faculties of Law and Medicine were frequent and long) for the teaching of the elements of jurisprudence, as those who start that science, forget what they have learned if the lectures are interrupted : he knew that his proposition would not be welcome to his colleagues, but he had in view the good of the students and of learning in general : *VigIEL*, 22-24; cp. bef. p 222.

secondary ordinary chair of Canon Law which Elbertus Leoninus abandoned ¹⁾).

Instead of teaching or of scrutinizing jurisprudence, as his fellow-students did, Vendeville tried to put it to use for the general benefit. In his zeal for the welfare of Church and the country, he induced Philip II to found a University at Douai, both as a stronghold for faith, and as a safeguard for the King's rights on those provinces open to French influence ²⁾. The plan was executed at once, and Vendeville was appointed as the first primary professor of Civil Law in the *Studium Generale* which owed its existence in a large part to him ³⁾. He had there as student James Cheiney ⁴⁾, of Scotch origin, and as intimate friend the great English divine William Allen ⁵⁾, who took an ample share in his activity. For in his restless zeal and his clear-sightedness, he took to heart whatever could improve ecclesiastical and royal authority, and

¹⁾ Vern., 97-98 ; VAnd., 156, 157. On April 26, 1560, he announced to Viglius Mudæus' death, and his taking the lectures of Leoninus who succeeded to Mudæus : VigIEL, 24-25.

²⁾ The plan was not new : Charles V had already contemplated that foundation in 1531, to prevent that students of the parts of the Netherlands where French is spoken, should resort to the Universities of France, with which he was in war, and where a heterodox spirit prevailed in many parts : Bellesheim, 30-31. Not later than 1557, Hopper advised Viglius to found a chair for French at the *Trilingue* on that account : *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 292 ; cp. before, II, 352.

³⁾ Collinet, *L'Ancienne Faculté de Droit de Douai* : *BulCoHist.*, II, 84.

⁴⁾ James Cheiney, Cheineius, of 'Arnage', Scotland, studied at Douai from about 1570, and taught there philosophy for a time in the *Collegium Regium*, whilst studying law ; he wrote *De Geographia Libri II*, to which he added Gemma Phrysius' *De Orbis Divisione* : he dedicated it to Hopper (Douai, 1576). He also published *Orationes II de perfecto Philosopho et de Prædictionibus Astrologorum* (Douai, 1577), and *Analysis in Physiologiam Aristotelis* (Douai, 1595). He became canon of Tournai Cathedral. Cp. *BibBelg.*, 862 ; Miræus, 257 ; Paquot, v, 69-71. — He may have been entrusted with the tutoring of Hopper's son Gregory (cp. before, p 329), whom the father had recommended to Vendeville in Douai, where, as Viglius wrote on May 8, 1573, he had arrived safely : Hoyneck, I, ii, 740.

⁵⁾ William Allen, who, in 1590, was appointed Archbishop of Mechlin : Gestel, I, 54, matriculated in Louvain on May 27, 1563 : *LibIntIV*, 391, r ; cp. Bellesheim, 13, sq ; Opmeer, II, 196, b ; *BibBelg.*, 861 ; Paquot, xviii, 1-24 ; Wood, I, 169, 234-37 ; *ActaMori*, 92 ; *DNB*.

avert all evil from his country and the Church. Whenever he saw a remedy to a corrupt practice, or a means to avoid a danger, he helped with his own interference and property as far as he could, or implored the help of King or Pope where his own efforts or resources fell short; he thus realized one of the chief characteristics of humanism, by turning to the general welfare the knowledge and erudition that he had gathered.

Amongst other wants, Vendeville felt the urgent necessity of a well trained clergy; he therefore advocated appropriate schools, and when his friend Martin Rythovius ¹⁾, Bishop of Ypres, went to the last sessions of the Council of Trent, he took a memoir by Vendeville about the founding and the arrangement of Seminaries, which he submitted to the Fathers. In 1567, he even undertook a journey to Rome, along with William Allen and the latter's master, Morgan Philipps ²⁾, and exposed to Pope Pius V a scheme of preparing young priests to go and preach in those countries where heresy and schism, and, even, not-Christian beliefs were rampant, if not imposed by authority. He did not succeed, although he found friends and helpers in Charles Borromeo and Philip Neri, as well as in Cardinal Baronius. On their way home, by pondering over his failure, he suggested to Allen the idea of realizing that plan for England, where the absence of all ordinations, and the imprisoning of all bishops and priests, was slowly, but unavoidably, extirpating the clergy in those times of dire need ³⁾. It led to the founding of

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 158-62.

²⁾ Paquot, xviii, 4; Bellesheim, 24. Morgan Philipps, a native of the County Monmouth in the diocese of Llandaff, studied in Oxford from 1533, with such success that he was called 'Morgan the Sophister'. He was elected fellow of Oriel College in 1538, promoted M. A. in 1542, and was elected principal of St. Mary's Hall, 1546-1550. In 1549, he disputed with Peter Martyr about the Eucharist, and was appointed to a preferment in St. David's Cathedral. Under Elizabeth he left England: he matriculated in Louvain in September 1565: 'D. morganus philippus carlione <Caerleon?> dioc lindanēsis <Llandaff>': *LibInt* IV, 419, v. He took up teaching in the English College of Douai, and wrote, or at least edited, in 1571, a plea for Mary Queen of Scots' right to the English throne, and had died before January 1577: Wood, i, 148-49, 235, 592; Bellesheim, 35; *DNB*; Bridgewater, 404, v.

³⁾ Spillmann, ii, 151-54; Bellesheim, 18-19, 25.

the English Seminary at Douai, September 29, 1568, for which Vendeville was not only a wise adviser ¹⁾, but a staunch upholder, and a helper by his influence on religious and civil authorities ²⁾. He further prompted the Abbot of Anchin, Dom John Lentailleur, to found a college at Douai ³⁾; later on, by his memoir *De Gentibus Paganis, Idololatriis et Hæreticis convertendis*, which he addressed to Pope Sixtus V, in 1589, the plan which Pius V had not accepted, made such an impression that a College for Maronites, Greeks, and other dissidents, was at once decided upon in Rome, and that, a few years later, the College of the Propaganda was started. Those schemes of his ⁴⁾ effected the humanistic ideal of Vives and Erasmus, that faith should be the result of enlightenment and patient arguing, rather than of violence and tyrannical coercion.

Not only did Vendeville appeal to the ecclesiastical authority : with great freedom of mind, he went to Philip II ⁵⁾, whom he admired, but whom he also warned that, if he should not end the struggle with the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands by some compromise or other, he would endanger faith in the Southern. He besought Gregory XIII, on March 1, and 16, 1578, to urge the King of Spain to come to an understanding with his subjects ⁶⁾, and thus caused the convocation of a congress of pacification at Cologne in 1579 in the names of the King of Spain and the Pope ⁷⁾.

Meanwhile Vendeville, who had married in Louvain Anna Roeloffs, belonging to one of the patrician families there, lost his wife after 24 years of married life; they had one daughter, Mary, who had taken as husband Leonard de Boxhoren, Lord

¹⁾ Several letters written on the subject of the College to Vendeville are still preserved : Th. Fr. Knox, *The Letter-Books of Cardinal Allen* : London, 1882 ; Bellesheim, 18, 20, 25, 49, 68.

²⁾ Vendeville applied for help for the Seminary to the Duke of Alva, and, with more success, to Viglius : Ch. Dodd, *The Church History of England*, edited by M. A. Tierney (5 vols) : London, 1839 : II, 330.

³⁾ The College of Anchin was opened on Jan. 17, 1569 : Bellesheim, 32.

⁴⁾ Cp. E. Reusens, in *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai* : Tournai, 1870 : 163, sq ; Mol., 550.

⁵⁾ In 1572-73 : Hoyneck, I, II, 726.

⁶⁾ Bellesheim, 23.

⁷⁾ Bellesheim, 24 ; Brom, I, II, 773.

of Lovenjoel, Herent, Ophem, &c, master of the Royal Accounts ¹⁾. He became a priest ²⁾, and, recalled under Don Juan's management from a temporary shelter in Paris and in Cologne, he was requested to enter the Privy Council on July 7, 1578, and to give help with his services ³⁾. In that capacity, he contributed largely to restore to its old splendour the Pedagogy of the Falcon, which had been ruined in the disastrous years ⁴⁾, and seconded Lindanus in his plan to endow Louvain and Douai each with a most beneficent institution ⁵⁾: he had, namely, induced the King to see to the practical training of theologians by founding Seminaries for able priests and apologists. The one for Louvain was decided on in March 1579 and created on September 13, 1579, as *Seminarium* or *Collegium Regium* ⁶⁾: it realized an ideal influence until the end of the xviiith century.

When Bishop Maximilian Morillon died, on March 27, 1586, Philip II chose Vendeville as his successor on the see of Tournai on July 24, 1587; when that appointment was confirmed by Sixtus V, he was consecrated, on May 29, 1588, in St. Martin's, at Tournai, by Louis of Berlaymont, Archbishop of Cambrai, assisted by Matthew Moulart, Bishop of Arras, and Francis Petrart, Bishop of Calcedonia, suffragant of Cambrai ⁷⁾. The new Prelate showed apostolic zeal and charity, as well as prudence and wisdom, thanks to his great experience and to the erudition which he continually cultivated: not only did he edit the *Pastorale Ecclesiæ Tornacensis*, but took an interest in the theological controversy between Lessius and Bajus in Louvain, on which occasion, with the Bishops of Middelburg and Antwerp, he refused to sanction the condemnation by the University of Lessius' doctrines as semi-pelagian. Vendeville, after having wisely

¹⁾ Mol., 549; DivRL, 56: Leonard was the son of Hector, and of Barbara van der Straeten: Hoyneck, II, ii, 304.

²⁾ Vendeville had always been a most pious man; he is said to have been greatly impressed by the sermons of the Dominican Pepin Roosen, Rosa, in St. Peter's, Louvain: Paquot, XII, 173.

³⁾ Cp. Alexandre, 410; Guicc., 37.

⁴⁾ Vern., 136; VAnd., 263.

⁵⁾ Cp. *inf.* in this Chapter, 4, A.

⁶⁾ Vern., 83, 207; VAnd., 317-18; RamCons., 60; Bellesheim, 63; UL-Doc., III, 368, sq; FUL, 3326, sq; a similar College was founded in Douai.

⁷⁾ Berlière, 104; GallChrist., III, 243; Guicc., 255; cp. *sup.*, III, 348.

and zealously managed his diocese, and appointed the best and ablest collaborators ¹⁾, died as he had lived, a Saint, on October 15, 1592, and was deeply lamented ²⁾. His biography was written by Nicolas Zoes, who had been his secretary and Official, and had accompanied him to Rome ³⁾; he afterwards became himself royal councillor and Bishop of Hertogenbosch ⁴⁾.

Peter Peck, the fourth of the grand *Quadrige* of Mudæus' disciples, — and consequently a student of the *Trilingue*, — born at Zierikzee on July 15, 1529, had promoted Master of Arts on March 28, 1548 ⁵⁾, and *Doctor utriusque Juris* on August 27, 1553 ⁶⁾; he succeeded Joachim Hopper on February 7, 1555, as professor of the Paratitla of the Pandects, and was, from 1557, the first Royal professor of that lesson ⁷⁾. In 1562, he took the place of Vendeville as secondary professor of Canon Law ⁸⁾ and reaped a remarkable success; for he was as zealous as eloquent, and enjoyed an admirable mastery of his subject ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. Paquot, XIII, 149, 248, VIII, 409.

²⁾ As third of the *Quadrige* of 1553, Gerard Corselius praised him :

Primus Duacena Antecessor in Schola,

In sanctius deinde βουλευτήριον

Regis Philippi adscitus est VENDVILLIVS.

Prudentia, & rei iuvandæ publicæ

Ardens voluntas, muneri fecit parem.

Tum & 'Ευσέβεια Nervijs hunc Præsulem,

Vita referret qui Patres priscos, dedit.

Cp. Mol., 549-50; Vern., 107, 295-96; VAnd., 192-94; *BibBelg.*, 575; Hoynck, II, ii, 304-5, 395; VigIEL, 14, sq, 22-25; *GallChrist.*, III, 293; *FlandScript.*, 106-7; Al. Possoz, *Monseigneur Jean Vendeville, Évêque de Tournay, 1587-1592* : Lille, 1862; Bellesheim, 23-25. The young student 'e nobili familia Vendvillana', whom Viglius recommended in 1555, to Henry Glareanus : VigIEB, 24, probably was related to the Lord of Vendeville, Jean d'Estournel : Gachard, *Corresp. de Philippe II* : Brussels, 1848-79 : I, 458, III, 513.

³⁾ VAnd., 321.

⁴⁾ On May 9, 1615 : *BelgChron.*, 535.

⁵⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 149 : he was placed the 46th on 149, but is called 'Haerlemensis'.

⁶⁾ Hoynck, II, ii, 7; VigIEL, 15.

⁷⁾ Vern., 98; VAnd., 156; VigIEL, 14; Hoynck, II, i, 383.

⁸⁾ Vern., 97; VAnd., 156, 198.

⁹⁾ Brants, 41, 151; Paquot, XIV, 127, XVIII, 399; VigIEL, 17.

Besides proving one of the greatest professors that ever taught in Louvain, Peck wrote several commentaries on special questions and 'titles', as well as larger treatises which were readily accepted in Schools and Courts; several of them were repeatedly reprinted ¹⁾, whereas others remained as manuscripts on account of the miseries of the time ²⁾. As he himself was most popular on account of the integrity of his life and his opinions, — which he proved when Philip II required the judgment of the Louvain jurisprudents about the Ghent Pacification ³⁾, — it was with great regret that the University saw him leave Louvain in 1586 after about thirty years of professorate, to enter the Great Council of Mechlin ⁴⁾. He died in that town on July 16, 1589 ⁵⁾, and was buried in St. Michael's, Louvain ⁶⁾, where a monument was erected by widow and

¹⁾ Such were his *De Testamentis Contugum*, 1564; *De Jure Sistendi et Manuum Iniectione, seu Arrestatione*, 1564; *De Amortizatione Bonorum*, 1582; *De Ecclesiis Catholicis ædificandis & reparandis*, 1573, &c: *BibBelg.*, 755-56; Paquot, x, 322. In 1556, he published a *Commentarius De Re Nautica*, for which his unfortunate student, John Casembroot, wrote a preface: cp. before, p 190; *BibBelg.*, 478.

²⁾ *BibBelg.*, 756, mentions the *Consilia Juris*, and *Commentaria in Sextum Decret. Bonifacii VIII, et in Clementinas*, as being preserved by the heirs.

³⁾ He was one of the 5 lawyers — the others being Wamesius, Ramus, John de Bievene and Michael Herenbaut, who, on December 26, 1576, judged that the Ghent Pacification was not in opposition with Catholic faith: they submitted their judgment, however, to that of Rome: Paquot, vi, 185; cp. before, p 162.

⁴⁾ Mol., 550. Cp. Matthieu, 275, 306; *MalConM*; VAnd., 198; &c.

⁵⁾ In the last stanza in honour of the *Quadriga*, Gerard Corselius thus describes him (VAnd., 195):

In PÆCKIO Pietas & Eruditio
 Certare visæ, earum utra antecelleret.
 Id scripta produnt facta iuris publici,
 Quæ maximo sunt usui & scholæ & foro.
 Postquam Antecessor Iura Pontificum sacra
 Interpretatus pluribus lustris fuit,
 Magnum in Senatum est publico accitus bono.
 Felix relicto filio cognomine,
 Cui cernere eius ingenii datum bona,
 Virtute cuius fulta res stat Belgica.

⁶⁾ Guicc., 217; Mol., 550; Opmeer, i, 515, b, ii, 178; Vern., 107, 292 93; VAnd., 193-95, 364; *BibBelg.*, 756-57; Miræus, 132; *MalConM*, with portrait; Brants, 74; *BN*.

children ; his son and namesake ¹⁾, a humanistically trained man ²⁾, succeeded him in the Great Council, and afterwards became Brabant Chancellor ³⁾. One of the elder Peter Peck's intimate friends, was the Hebrew professor of the *Trilingue*, Andrew van Gennepe, also physician : with the President of the Institute and a relative, he was even entrusted with the execution of his will ⁴⁾.

B. LAWYERS

As has been said and repeated, Mudæus, investigating the meaning of the laws, especially of the *Institutes*, through the study of the texts and of all the circumstances in force at the time when they were made and promulgated, proved the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the languages ⁵⁾. He thus made of the *Trilingue* as a preparatory school, so that it was quite natural that all those who wanted to become jurisprudents, began by becoming clever linguists. That was, for certain, the way in which was trained one of his most celebrated disciples, **Andrew Gail**, Gailius ⁶⁾. He was born, in 1526, in Cologne, the son of Philip Gail, a merchant, who, in 1545, had been ennobled by Charles V for his staunchness and services. He had been educated at Emmerich, and was then sent to Louvain, where he became one of the most illustrious disciples of Mudæus. Besides the lectures of the *Trilingue*, which had no similar institution as yet in his native town ⁷⁾, he zealously attended those of the eminent professor of that branch to which his whole life was devoted.

¹⁾ His mother was Catherine Gillis, of a patrician family of Louvain ; he himself married Barbara Maria Boonen, a sister of the Mechlin Archbishop James : Gestel, I, 56, *sq.*

²⁾ He wrote poetry in his hours of leisure, of which George Uwen, Antwerp Secretary, edited his *Votum pro Studiis Humanitatis* ; cp. Brants, 134 ; *BibBelg.*, 756 ; *SweMon.*, 156. He, too, had known Andrew van Gennepe, who was an old friend of his family : cp. III, 217.

³⁾ He was sent on embassies to France and Austria, and was, for a time, assessor of the Privy Council and Chief Justice of the Royal Army : he died in 1625 : Vern., 148, 292-93 ; Brants, 167 ; Paquot, VIII, 42 ; &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 216-18.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Mudæus*, 9, *sq.*, 11, *sq.*

⁶⁾ The name is also written : Gaill, Geil, Geell, Gayl, Geyl.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 138-41, 211.

He went back to Cologne by the end of 1546, and matriculated there in the University on January 3, 1547 ¹⁾, although he did not stay long : he went to Orleans, from where, after six months, he was recalled at the death of his father. He returned to Louvain, where, with some occasional trips to Orleans and Cologne, he studied several years under his great Master's lead, and married Anna Clouwen. In September 1555, he journeyed to Rome, and, on going home, stayed for a time at Bologna and promoted there J. V. D. on December 12, before returning to his wife and his first-born son in Louvain. He finally settled as juridical adviser in Cologne and served during eleven years as Assessor in the Speyer Imperial Court.

His prudence and sagacity caused him to be appointed from 1569 as juridical councillor to Maximilian II and Rudolph II in Vienna, where his wife died. In 1577 he was sent as Imperial Commissary to the Netherlands so as to solve the difficulties, and, in 1581, he was requested to try and regularize the abnormal situation of the famous Gebhard Truchses, at Bonn; but he could not prevent his ill-fated union with Agnes of Mansfeld and his apostasy (1583) ²⁾. Gail, suffering from age and infirmities, spent his last years in Cologne, where, on January 14, 1578, he had married Christina Kannegiesser, the mayor's daughter, and, continuing his studies, which he had never interrupted, died there peacefully on December 11, 1587 ³⁾.

The *Antiquæ Virtutis & Sapientiæ Vir* left several most interesting and important writings animated with the spirit of his eminent master Mudæus : first amongst them the renowned *Practicarum Observationum Libri Duo* (Cologne, 1578), which were often reprinted and continually enriched ; they gave him the name of *German Papinian*, and, although invidiously attacked by Joachim Mynsinger, more for the sake of religious hatred towards the staunch Catholic than of juristic science ⁴⁾, they were from the very beginning taken

¹⁾ Keussen, 631, 67 ; *UniKöln*, 464.

²⁾ Paquot, x, 317-18.

³⁾ *BibBelg.*, 48-49 ; Foppens, 51, sq, with portrait ; Bianco, 1, 694-95 ; Stintzing, 1, 342, 495-502 ; Paquot, x, 317-22 ; Keussen, 631, 67.

⁴⁾ Joachim Mynsinger, chancellor of the Duke of Brunswick (Stintzing, 1, 485-95), had published some 'observationes' in 1576, and accused Gail of having copied him : Stintzing, 1, 497-99.

by many jurists as foundation for further studies and commentaries ¹⁾. He also wrote a *De Manuum Injectionibus, Impedimentis, sive Arrestis Imperii*, published in 1586 with Peter Peckius' *De Jure Sistendi* ²⁾, — besides other most important contributions to the study of Laws.

Mudæus' views on jurisprudence also influenced, in the forties, Louis Pory, or Pori, a native of Aire, who, as such, had been admitted as bursar to the *Trilingue* in September 1530 ³⁾. He had studied philosophy, and also laws, probably whilst tutoring, and was admitted to the University Senate on November 29, 1542. He became President of St. Donatian's College on June 19, 1545 ⁴⁾, and, being Licentiate of Laws, was appointed extraordinary professor of Civil Law, to explain the *Codex*, on December 9 of that same year ⁵⁾. He was chosen Rector in the turn of the Faculty of Civil Law on August 30, 1546 ⁶⁾, and promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Iuris* on August 31, 1547 ⁷⁾, along with Renier Tegnagel ⁸⁾ and Vulmar Bernaert ⁹⁾. In 1548, he left St. Donatian's College to become Dean of St. James' Chapter, Louvain ¹⁰⁾, replacing Remi Drieux, appointed Mechlin Councillor ¹¹⁾. In 1556, Bishop Antony de Granvelle nominated him vicar-general, Official and Archdeacon of Arras ; in 1562, at the foundation of Douai University, he was entrusted with the lecture on Canon Law, to which was joined the office of Dean of St. Amatus' in that town. On April 9, 1570, Philip II made him, once more, a successor to Remi Drieux, then appointed Bishop of Bruges : he entered the Mechlin High Council ¹²⁾, and when, in September 1572, the troops of the Prince of Orange became masters of the town, he refused, in the name of his colleagues, to take the oath, which the leader of the invaders Waroux requested ¹³⁾. Pory died in May 1578, at Mechlin, where Cardinal de Granvelle had made him 'graduate canon' of St. Rombaut's ¹⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Stintzing, I, 499-502.

²⁾ Cologne, Ant. Hieratus, 1586 ; and before, p 337.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 222. ⁴⁾ *ULDoc.*, III, 130 ; *VAnd.*, 299. ⁵⁾ *VAnd.*, 158.

⁶⁾ Cp. *Mol.*, 479 ; *ULDoc.*, I, 267. ⁷⁾ *VAnd.*, 189.

⁸⁾ Cp. *inf.*, pp 345, sq. ⁹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 425-27, &c. ¹⁰⁾ *Mol.*, 158.

¹¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 45, sq. ¹²⁾ Hoyneck, I, ii, 487. ¹³⁾ Matthieu, 242, sq.

¹⁴⁾ Cp. Paquot, xv, 283 ; letter of Viglius to Hopper, April 28, 1571 : Hoyneck, I, ii, 625.

One of his fellow-students, **Jerome Eelen, Elenus**, of Baelen, near Moll, who, as an inmate of the Castle, was classed the first of 127 candidates at the promotion to M. A. of March 29, 1542 ¹⁾, had also started the study of jurisprudence; he was a regular attendant of the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and not only applied himself to Latin and Greek, but, in his turn, tutored other students in them. He showed a great interest in history, as political and social circumstances proved the best means to explain the spirit of the laws that are promulgated. In his zeal he went to attend the lectures of jurisprudence in Orleans, where he made Joachim Hopper's acquaintance ²⁾, and started a friendship which lasted their lives. In Paris, he followed the Greek lessons of John Strazeele ³⁾, an old student of the *Trilingue*, and, on his return to Louvain, after promoting Licentiate of laws, taught Greek and explained the authors of antiquity as help to, or source of, jurisprudence ⁴⁾; he thus was active until he settled as lawyer at Antwerp. He died there in 1576, the year in which he published his *Diatribarum seu Exercitationum ad Ius Civile Libri III* ⁵⁾, which characterizes him as Mudæus' student; the second book brings explanations of some juridical points, whereas the first contains three important orations on *De Ratione Studij Juris*, entirely in his Master's spirit, and the third, a metrical arrangement of the rules of Civil Law, besides a poem, '*De Jure Prætorii Antverpiensis*' ⁶⁾.

Equally zealous in the study of jurisprudence was the **Dominicus Benedixius**, who, born at Sneek in 1523, was brought up with Joachim Hopper by the same nurse; with him he was trained at Haarlem School, under Cornelius Duyck ⁷⁾, and also made the acquaintance of Cornelius Crocus ⁸⁾. He afterwards went to Louvain, and, attending the lectures of the *Trilingue* whilst studying jurisprudence, became so

¹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 113.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 323-30.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 415-16.

⁴⁾ *NèveMém.*, 333.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1576: it was reprinted at Utrecht in 1725, in the *Thesaurus Juris Romani*: II, 1393, sq. In 1566, Plantin had published an edition of *Joannis Lanceloti Institutiones Iuris Canonici*, which Eelen had enriched with comments and indexes.

⁶⁾ *BibBelg.*, 387-88; Foppens, 481-82; *AntvDiercx.*, v, 249.

⁷⁾ Paquot, II, 444.

⁸⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 207; also Hoyneck, II, ii, 6; *HEpL*, 48, sq, 67, 80.

familiarized with Greek and Hebrew, that he wrote some works on those languages, which, however, were not printed. Unfortunately he was recalled home by the illness of a near relative ; he spent some time teaching in his native country ; when he finally returned to Louvain, he did not find Hopper, who was in France. He went back to Friesland, and, by 1546, he was ordained a priest. He taught for a time at Zwolle, and then accepted some parochial work ; in 1556, he became parish priest of Sneek, and, in 1567, was entrusted with the care of St. Vitus' Church and parish, Leeuwarden, through the influence of the Count of Arenbergh and of the Council of Friesland. In that office he delivered some most effective sermons¹⁾; and still he managed to continue his dear Hebrew and Greek studies, for which he found a help and a guide in his colleague Gellius Elostanus, who, later on, became vicar of Bolsward. He thus not only gained well-deserved renown, but found the wherewithal to strengthen the Catholics in their conviction, and answer the charges of the adversaries against Church and faith, seconding the fine action of Bishop Cunerus Petri ²⁾. The latter appointed him in 1570 as first archdeacon of his diocese, and, to make himself more qualified for his office, Benedixius went to Louvain to promote Licentiate in Canon Law. He followed his Bishop into exile in the years of trouble, when Calvinism harrowed Friesland. After a stay in Cologne, he was for three years parish priest at Ratingen, and was provided with a canonry at Düsseldorf, where he died on January 14, 1586 ³⁾. His first biography was written by his countryman Suffridus Petri ⁴⁾, who remarked on his rough way of talking as quite in opposition with his humanistic studies ; it made him be called by some of his acquaintance ' barbarian ' and ' Lullist ', alluding no doubt, to the philosopher of Majorca, who spurned the educated way

¹⁾ Suffridus Petri mentions sermons ' de vitanda peccati occasione, de humilitate, de ira, de invidia, de continentia, contra luxum et crapulam, de pura Castitate ', besides many others : Paquot, v, 282.

²⁾ Cp. further, sect. 4, c.

³⁾ *Bib Belg.*, 192-93 ; *HEpL*, 48-49 ; Paquot, v, 279-82.

⁴⁾ Suffridus Petri *De Scriptorum Frisizæ, Decuria* xiv, 417-21, 166, 181.

of talking of the University, and preferred the rough dialect of his native Catalonia ¹⁾.

C. PROFESSORS

Mudæus greatly helped to form several of his colleagues and his successors in the Louvain Juridical School, although not all of those to whom was entrusted the legal instruction there in those times, accepted his views. Not even can it be said that the doctors who promoted during his professorate, were gained to his doctrine. Indeed, it was, virtually, as good as proscribed when he started lecturing himself, and it could only be communicated, at least in the first years, in his private lessons ²⁾. Moreover some of the new doctors, like Bernaert, had been trained before Mudæus was nominated ³⁾; or had even been educated in other Universities, as Denis's Grooten in Orleans ⁴⁾. Whatever may have been the case, it is a fact that the best amongst the students in law, those of the glorious *Quadriga* ⁵⁾, as well as the wonderful Ramus, the conscientious Tegnagel ⁶⁾, and the brilliant Molinæus ⁷⁾, were the Great Professor's staunch and faithful adepts, long before his opinions were accepted as home-truths.

The youngest and the most brilliant amongst the three just named, **John Tack, Ramus**, was born at Goes on February 28, 1535. He came to Louvain and, being too young to be admitted for the *Artes*, he attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, with so great success that, about 1555, he went for a time to Vienna, where he taught Greek and Eloquence. He was so proficient that he translated into Latin the *Scutum Herculis*, attributed to Hesiod ⁸⁾, and wrote several poems ⁹⁾. Returning to Louvain he started, or most probably continued, his studies of jurisprudence under Mudæus' guidance, in so far that, in 1557, he wrote and issued his *Œconomia, seu*

¹⁾ Marius André, *Le Bienheureux Raymond Lulle* (1232-1315) : Paris, 1900 : 70.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 215, sq.

³⁾ VAnd., 189 ; cp. before, II, 425, sq : he was already lecturing as professor in 1539.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 190.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 320-38.

⁶⁾ Cp. *inf.*, pp 345-46.

⁷⁾ Cp. *inf.*, pp 346-48.

⁸⁾ Edited in Basle, J. Oporinus, in Hesiod's works.

⁹⁾ Reprinted in *DelPoBel.*, III.

Dispositio Regularum Vtriusque Juris ¹⁾, as well as his *Commentarius ad Titulos undecim de Tutelis, ex lib. Institut. Imperialium* ²⁾. Those treatises, written in his twenty-second year, prove that he had fully entered into the views of his Great Master, and had expressed them most judiciously, in so far that he, in a way, made up for the lack of publications of the ingenious Innovator of the study of Law, whose principles are, almost, only revealed in the works and the attestations of his disciples.

On October 3, 1559, he promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris* with Peter van der Aa and John Molinæus ³⁾, and, already in 1560, he was entrusted with the succession of Vendeville as professor of the *Institutes* ⁴⁾, which allowed him to reveal his deep and vast knowledge of Antiquity and of the Natural Law in the presentation and the explanation of that juridical matter. When the University of Douai was started in 1562, he was sent there with John Vendeville to begin the teaching of Jurisprudence ⁵⁾; he found there the same enthusiasm in his auditory which he had experienced in Louvain from the very first, through his eloquent ⁶⁾ and methodical exposition of a wealth of judicious information. After three years' absence, the Brabant States offered him much better conditions and higher wages to make him return to Louvain, where, from 1565, he lectured on the Pandects ⁷⁾ with constantly increasing success. He married there Adelaide Govaerts ⁸⁾, who bore him a son, John, 1566, and a daughter, Catherine, 1570 ⁹⁾.

When the storm broke loose over the country in the seventies, and grew worse and worse as years advanced,

¹⁾ Louvain, Barth. Gravius, 1557; cp. II, 217.

²⁾ Louvain, Barth. Gravius, 1557.

³⁾ VAnd., 195; Ramus pronounced an *Oratio*, edited by V. Andreas in 1641: cp. *inf.* p 345.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 157.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 332; Brants, 15.

⁶⁾ Tack was praised for his eloquence by Zenocarus: cp. before, p 268.

⁷⁾ VAnd., 157; he had as student Denis Godefroy, Gothophredus, of Paris (1549-1622), professor of Heidelberg and Strassburg: Stintzing, I, 208-9, 386, sq.

⁸⁾ She died on August 3, 1613: Paquot, vi, 184.

⁹⁾ The boy was baptized in St. Peter's in May 1566, the girl, in January 1570: Paquot, vi, 184.

Ramus was offered a chair in Dole, in 1578, which he accepted, as the Louvain auditories emptied appallingly. Unfortunately he died on November 25 before he even started his lessons, hardly 43 years and 9 months old ¹). He left several writings, of which Valerius Andreas has edited the *Commentarii methodici ad Regulas Juris Vtriusque novæ Economîæ* (viz., explaining his treatise of 1557), followed by a *Tractatus de Analogia Juris & Facti*, and an *Oratio apologetica pro Jurisprudentia adversus nostri temporis calamitates, habita in Aula, ut vocant, Doctorali an. MDLIX. v non. Octob.* ²). Andreas also published a Commentary on the *Tit. de juris & facti ignorantia* ³); a century later Paquot mentioned that a lot of juridical commentaries were still in existence in manuscript ⁴).

Renier Tegnagel, also a great disciple of Mudæus, was born at Arnhem in Gelderland ⁵); he studied in Louvain, and derived from his assiduity at the lectures of the *Trilingue* the thorough acquaintance with Greek literature and the aptitude of writing poetry which characterized him. He studied law and came under Mudæus' beneficial influence; he was elected dean of the *Collegium Baccalaureorum* ⁶), and on February 3, 1547, he was entrusted by Peter Was, Abbot of St. Gertrude's, with a lecture on *Institutiones Juris Civilis* to his monks. Already a few weeks later, he was appointed by the Louvain town authorities to succeed Gabriel Mudæus for the ordinary morning lesson of the Imperial Institutes,

¹) VAnd., 195, 364, 403; Vern., 98; *Bib Belg.*, 551; *HEpM*, 51; Hoynck, II, i, 384; Stintzing, I, 342, 384; Paquot, VI, 183-87: he mentions that with Wamesius, Peckius, Herenbaut and de Bievene, his colleagues, he declared to Philip II that, in their opinion, the Ghent Pacification did not contain anything against the Catholic religion (cp. before, p 337).

²) Louvain, Corn. Coenestenius, 1641.

³) With a *Prælectio* on that matter by Joannes Malcotius: Louvain, J. Vryenborch, 1652.

⁴) Paquot, VI, 186-87.

⁵) He may have been related to the William Tegnagel, of Arnhem, who matriculated in Cologne in 1430, and the John Tegnagel, also of Arnhem, who had been inscribed in the same University in 1474: Tegnagels or Tingnagels, of other places, also studied there: Keussen, 166, 51, 342, 24. — On August 30, 1546, matriculated in Louvain as 'dives Castrensis' 'Cornelius Teguaghel de amsterdammis': *LibIntIV*, 203, v.

⁶) VAnd., 211.

afterwards called Pandects, when that master left that chair to fill the primary one of Civil Law, which he inaugurated on March 28, 1547 ¹⁾. On the 31st of August of that same year, Tegnagel promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris*, along with Vulmar Bernaert ²⁾ and Louis Pory ³⁾. For the benefit of his students, he composed a *Juris Vtriusque Methodus*, arranged in tables, which was often reprinted, although the author's name was not mentioned ⁴⁾. He died on June 9, 1565, after a life of most conscientious work, and was laid to rest in St. Gertrude's Church. He had married Margaret, daughter of Gregory Bertolff, of Louvain, who was the first President of the Friesland Council ; he thus was the brother-in-law of Joachim Hopper, who had married her sister Christina ⁵⁾. Their son, Gregory Tegnagel, became assessor of the Imperial Court of Speyer, and founded a family there. Three quarters of a century after Renier Tegnagel's death, his heirs still showed his manuscript History of the Dukes of Gelderland, from the very beginning to Charles V, as well as a two volume description of the principal towns and places of that dukedom ⁶⁾.

By far not as peaceful as Tegnagel's career was that of a fellow-student and colleague, **John van der Meulene, Molinæus**. He was a native of Ghent, and, as inmate of the Lily, in Louvain, had promoted the third as master of Arts on March 15, 1543 ⁷⁾. He then applied himself to jurisprudence under Mudæus, whilst cultivating a thorough acquaintance with languages as a pupil of the *Trilingue*, with so much success that, as a student, he was able to explain Aristotle in Greek, and could afterwards dictate letters *ex tempore*, as well in Greek as in Latin. In 1556, he succeeded Louis Pory as Dean of St. James ; on August 9, 1557, Philip II appointed him

¹⁾ VAnd., 187, 155, 156.

²⁾ Cp. before, II, 425-27 ; Paquot, xv, 283.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 340.

⁴⁾ Paquot, xviii, 399, mentions Jerome Verrutius as one of his students.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 326, 329 and II, 460 ; Henne, v, 38, 45 ; a son of Gregory Bertolff, John, was member of the Flanders Council from 1554 until his death, October 16, 1557 : *FlandCon.*, 155, sq.

⁶⁾ Mol., 547-48 ; VAnd., 188-89 ; *BibBelg.*, 789 ; *ULAnn.*, 1848 : 212.

⁷⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 117.

Royal professor of Canon Law in the place of Peter Ximenes ¹⁾, and granted him a canonry in St. Peter's ²⁾.

On the last day of August 1558, he was elected Rector, and, on October 3, 1559 ³⁾, he promoted *Doctor Vtriusque Juris*, at the same time as John Tack, *Ramus*, of Goes, and Peter van der Aa, of Louvain ⁴⁾. His fame was such that in the same year, Margaret of Parma chose him for her chaplain, in which capacity he helped several of his friends through his influence ⁵⁾. He continued his studies all the time, and edited, in 1561 ⁶⁾, the collection of ecclesiastical laws and precepts which had been gathered under the title of *Decretum* by St. Yves, bishop of Chartres, from 1091 to 1115; he dedicated it to the King's confessor, Fra Bernardo de Fresneda ⁷⁾. When Martin Bauwens, of Rythoven, was appointed Bishop of Ypres ⁸⁾, he succeeded him, on January 19, 1562, as Dean of St. Peter's, and, consequently, as vice-chancellor of the University ⁹⁾; on that occasion the Court declared the deanery of St. James' to be vacant, and ordered Josse Ravesteyn to nominate a successor ¹⁰⁾. Molinæus also enjoyed a canonry in St. Peter's, Cassel, and the *personatus* of Eyne, in his own diocese; he even aspired to become dean of Ghent Cathedral; unfortunately the creation of the new sees and the union with them of several of the foremost abbeys, did not agree with his opinions, and chafed him, in so far that, through bad advice, he got entangled in difficulties which caused his disfavour and ruin. When Philip II asked for the opinion of the Faculty of Theology and those of Law, he expressed his disapproval, along with his colleague John Ramus ¹¹⁾. He thus lost all favour at Court, and had to resume his lectures in Louvain, in which he did not explain the *Decreta Gratiani*, but his own *dictamina*, as Viglius remarked to Hopper on February 9, 1567 ¹²⁾. Having resigned his professorship in 1572 ¹³⁾, he

¹⁾ Vern., 98; Paquot, xvii, 406.

²⁾ VAnd., 156.

³⁾ Mol., 479; *ULDoc.*, i, 268.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 195.

⁵⁾ He managed to have Augustine Hunnæus appointed as Royal Professor of Scholastic Theology, on March 6, 1567: Paquot, xi, 273; cp. before, p 153.

⁶⁾ Louvain, Barth. Gravius.

⁷⁾ Paquot, xvii, 409-12.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 161.

⁹⁾ Mol., 493-95; Vern., 34; VAnd., 61.

¹⁰⁾ Mol., 158-59.

¹¹⁾ Paquot, vi, 184.

¹²⁾ Hoyneck, i, ii, 402.

¹³⁾ VAnd., 156, 197: he was succeeded by John Verhaghen, 1572.

even went to Rome in 1573, with John Latomus, the last prior of Our Lady's Throne, at Grobbendonck ¹⁾, to protest against the new order before the Pope and the College of Cardinals, and even contemplated going to appeal to the King in Spain. He had to come back as he had gone, and lost the little sympathy left to him ²⁾; he was even called before the Mechlin Provincial Synod, gathering in Louvain, to account for a letter written on the subject, on May 26, 1573, from Rome to the Monks of Afflighem ³⁾. It was his undoing; his mind wandered and in the asylum of the Cellites, Louvain ⁴⁾, he starved himself to death in his obstinacy, on September 29, 1575 ⁵⁾.

Amongst Mudæus' hearers there were several foreigners attracted by his renown, such as Nicolas Varnbühler ⁶⁾ and, as mentioned before, Andrew Gail or Geyl ⁷⁾: through them even German jurisprudence was made tributary. The most important debt that was thus contracted is connected with **Matthias Wesembeek**, who became professor of Law in Jena and Wittenberg. He was born at Antwerp on October 25, 1531, and was sent by his father to Louvain in 1545, with an elder brother, Andrew, and was fortunate enough to be accepted as boarder by Mudæus, who, as originary from Brecht, in the near vicinity of the then rising metropolis, may have been known to the family. It has saved several most interesting particulars about the famous professor from loss and oblivion: such as the enormous number of students of law that

¹⁾ John Latomus, a native of Bergen-op-Zoom, represented his priory at the Chapter of Windesheim, in Rome, and pleaded its interest before Gregory XIII. He celebrated his silver jubilee of priesthood at Antwerp in 1576, and died there on August 1, 1578, at the age of 55. He left some poems and a history of the priories of his order at Corsendonck and at Romerswaal, and one of the Abbey of St. Trond: *BibBelg.*, 524, sq; cp. before, III, 305, 352.

²⁾ Letters of Viglius to Hopper, November 6 & 16, December 25, 1573, and November 25, 1574: Hoyneck, I, ii, 774, 780, 787, 832.

³⁾ Paquot, xvii, 408; *BelgSynod.*, I, 203.

⁴⁾ Letter of Viglius to Hopper, October 19, 1575: Hoyneck, I, ii, 850.

⁵⁾ Mol., 137, 550; Vern., 107, 298; VAnd., 195, 197, 43, 364; *BibBelg.*, 541; Paquot, xvii, 405-12. His brother Francis was councillor for Flanders, 1569-72: *FlandCon.*, 153-4.

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 217.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 217, and before, pp 338-40.

thronged to Louvain for his eminent lectures ¹⁾, as well as the first occasion on which, in 1522, he expressed his novel views, and was highly praised for them by Vives, then presiding the *Quodlibeticæ* ²⁾, whereas his fellow-students in the *Collegium Baccalaureorum*, threatened him with a violent expulsion if he should utter them again within their hearing ³⁾. The young Wesembeek was a most docile student, both of languages in the *Trilingue*, and of law, as he proved in after life, throughout which he remained fully addicted to Mudæus' principles. Yet, he left Louvain by 1550 ⁴⁾, and roved for several years in France and Germany, until, by 1557, he reached Jena, where he started tutoring, and promoted Doctor V. J. on February 21, 1558, the first in that recently erected University ⁵⁾. He married the daughter of Francis Burchardt, the Saxon Chancellor, at Weimar, and was appointed professor of jurisprudence; life was rather hard for him, on account of all kind of difficulties, mostly caused by his siding with his friend, the historian Victorinus Strigelius, against Matthias Flaccus Illyricus ⁶⁾; those griefs soon developed into a chronic melancholy ⁷⁾. He was finally offered a professorate in Wittenberg in 1569, and he pronounced there an inaugural oration on Papinian; by 1572, he held an *Oratio de Mudæo*, which sealed his juridical conviction ⁸⁾. In fact he remained a staunch adept of Mudæus' views and his historical study of the *Paratitla*; though he occasionally follows Duerenus or Cujas, he goes so far as to declare that, in his opinion, the French jurists would realize a more useful success if they followed Mudæus' method ⁹⁾; he repeatedly expresses his

¹⁾ Wesembeek assured, in his *Oratio de Mudæo*, printed in 1572 in Wittenberg, that there were then over two thousand students of law in Louvain: cp. *sup.*, II, 215; VAnd.,)(3, r; *Mudæus*, 20.

²⁾ Cp. II, 212.

³⁾ Cp. II, 213, 418; *Mudæus*, 8, sq.

⁴⁾ It is said that by then he wanted to join the Protestants.

⁵⁾ Cp. Paulsen, 252, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. V. Nordman, *Victorinus Strigelius als Geschichtslehrer*: Abo, 1930: 35, 52: it describes the wild quarrels and strife in the Protestant University about doctrines proposed by Melancthon.

⁷⁾ Cp. Stintzing, I, 353, 354-55.

⁸⁾ Stintzing, I, 351, 355, 366; Paquot, I, 89.

⁹⁾ Stintzing, I, 358.

deep regrets, that his great Master did not find the time to describe himself his system of *Ars Juris*, mentioned by Cicero, taken up as he was by a restless activity as professor and adviser ¹⁾. Wesembeek edited several works, amongst which his *Consultationes* take a large part, and show the practical application of his principles ²⁾. He died in Wittenberg on June 5, 1586 ³⁾.

Another native of the Netherlands, who, as jurisprudent, was active in the last quarter of the xvith century in Germany, also experienced much trouble, which possibly was caused by his own character, which has been said to be the very reverse of his aptitude and erudition. **Hubertus van Giffen**, **Obertus Giphanius**, born in 1533/34 at Buren, Gelderland, studied at the *Trilingue* and in the Faculties of Law, where he enjoyed Hopper's lectures ⁴⁾. As *juris studens* he published in 1565 Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura Libri VI*, with notes, with *collectanea*, and the latest text corrections, including those of Denis Lambin, 1564, which laid him open to the charge of plagiarism ⁵⁾. In 1572, he edited an *Ilias*, and he worked on

¹⁾ Stintzing, I, 358, 363.

²⁾ A first series was edited in Basle, 1576, in 2 volumes : it was afterwards enlarged by his notes to 8 : Stintzing, I, 355, *sq.*, 529-30 ; cp. Paquot, II, 161, x, 261.

³⁾ Stintzing, I, 352-66, and *passim* ; he does not seem to have been very well paid in Wittenberg as he accepted to act as alderman and lower judge. His nephew, Peter Vincent Wesembeek, born at Antwerp on May 5, 1546 (mistakenly printed as '1589' in III, 519, l 5 of n 1), studied in Leipzig, Orleans and Jena, where he promoted *Doctor Juris* on February 3, 1574, on which he was appointed professor in the same month. He succeeded his uncle in Wittenberg in 1587, but had to leave on account of religious quarrels ; he died as councillor at Coburg, August 27, 1603, at the age of 57. He did not publish his works, except one, in which his opinions about the necessity of history for the study of jurisprudence, as Mudæus and, after him, Baudouin, taught, are expressed, namely his *Oratio de Historiæ Præstantia*, held in Wittenberg, May 13, 1589 : III, 519 ; Stintzing, I, 714-15, 415 ; Scherer, 118, 467 ; V. Nordman, *Victorinus Strigelius* : Abo, 1930 : 52. Cp. Paquot, XI, 351, for another nephew ; *AntoAnn.*, II, 245, 385, b, 431, 440 : Peter W.

⁴⁾ Hopper was appointed Councillor of Mechlin after hardly a year's lecturing, in 1554 : cp. *sup.*, p 325.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1565 : PlantE, I, 110, 116, 122, III, 11 ; Paquot, XVI, 90-96 ; Sandys, II, 190 ; Stintzing, I, 405.

other authors ¹⁾). Still his chief aim was the study of jurisprudence, for which he went to Paris, and to Orleans, where he promoted doctor in 1567. He accepted the professorship of Civil Law in Strassburg about 1571, but he had to leave the town on account of religious and other quarrels, in which he was involved through his father-in-law, the theologian John Marbach ²⁾). He accepted in 1577 the offer of the University of Altdorf, where he taught Civil Law with great success, until John Doneau ³⁾, whom he himself caused to be appointed there as colleague, made life impossible. He resigned, and was appointed in Ingolstadt in 1590, where he became a Catholic ⁴⁾). In his last years, from 1599, he was assessor in the High Court in Prague, where he died in 1604 ⁵⁾). Giphanius was an excellent professor, and many of his lectures were edited by his admiring hearers ⁶⁾ : from his manuscripts was published his *Commentarius in Libros V Institutionum* ⁷⁾, and his famous *Œconomia Juris*, in which he exposes and fully justifies Hopper's solution of the mutual connection of Justinian's books ⁸⁾.

3. SCHOLARS

A. SUFFRIDUS PETRI & RATALLER

A conspicuous place amongst the scholars in the latter half of the xvith century belongs by right to Sjurd, son of Peter,

¹⁾ Strassburg, Th. Rihelius, 1572 : cp. Paquot, xvi, 96.

²⁾ In 1573 or -74, he had married Margaret, daughter of John Marbach († 1581) : HerMaur., 279, 285 ; Barack, 176 ; she died in 1575 or -76 : Stintzing, i, 406.

³⁾ John Doneau, Donellus : cp. before, III, 522.

⁴⁾ Francis Modius resided some time with him there : A. Roersch, *Partic. sur Modius* : Brussels, 1942 ; BN.

⁵⁾ Stintzing, i, 405-14, & *passim* ; Paquot, xvi, 87-107 ; *BibBelg.*, 702-4 ; Miræus, 178 ; *SaxOnom.*, 411-12 ; Guicc., 157. — Giphanius had many friends : not merely his countrymen William and John Canter (Gabbema, 640-52, 715-17), but Justus Lips (*Ep. Misc.*, III, 15 ; *Ep. Quæst.*, iv, 19), Francis Modius (cp. *sup.*, III, 278), Thomas Rehdiger, Crato von Crafftshheim, Bonaventura Vulcanius (VulcE, 341), &c.

⁶⁾ Stintzing, i, 410-11, 407 : the students in Altdorf were so enthusiastic about his lessons that 24 of them followed him to Ingolstadt, a Catholic University.

⁷⁾ Frankfurt, 1606 : Stintzing, i, 411 ; SchelAL, xii, 587-91.

⁸⁾ E. g., i, 411-12, 405.

Peeters, **Suffridus Petri**, born on January 15, 1527, at Ryntsmageest, Rinsumageest, under Leeuwarden, **Leovardiensis** ¹⁾, the town where he received his first education. His father Peter ²⁾ was the eldest son of Suffridus Rudolphi, of Sterckenburg, one of the first historians of his native country ³⁾. He attended the lessons of Antony of Cologne and of Cornelius Colebrant, of Hertogenbosch, in the St. Catherine School, Leeuwarden, along with George Rataller ⁴⁾, until he went to Louvain, where he was one of the most zealous and proficient hearers of Nannius and Amerot : he even seems to have had lessons from Cornelius van Auwater ⁵⁾. He moreover applied himself to jurisprudence, although he widened his intellectual horizon ⁶⁾ by attending the lectures of Jeremy Thriverus ⁷⁾ and, especially, those of his countryman Gemma Phrysius ⁸⁾. Still his chief attention was directed to literary works and in particular to Cicero's, whose text he studied and collated with the help of various manuscripts in the Netherlands, gathering a rich harvest of *castigationes ac emendationes* according to what he had been taught at Busleyden College ⁹⁾.

Circumstances made those studies most useful sooner than he had expected ¹⁰⁾ : his father's health getting poor with age,

¹⁾ He used that name in signing several of his letters : cp. Gabbema, 404-63.

²⁾ He was born in 1499 : Paquot, iv, 300.

³⁾ Suffridus Rudolphi, born at Bolsward, about 1459, spent most of his mature life at his castle of Sterckenburg, studying Frisian history and genealogy ; at his death, in 1509, he left several children ; his collection of books and documents was dispersed : Paquot, iv, 299, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. further, pp 363-66.

⁵⁾ Cp. Kuiper, 160, sq, 169.

⁶⁾ The manuscripts he left show that he was interested in theology : Paquot, vii, 292-93.

⁷⁾ Cp. II, 532-42, &c : Suffridus attended in 1547 his lectures on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 537, 542-65, III, 190, 327, 345, &c.

⁹⁾ He constantly collated the vulgate text with the manuscripts he found in the Netherlands and afterwards in Thuringia, so as to render it more exact : cp. Gabbema, 459, 464, 469, 471 : letters to Aug. Kockert, December 10, 1592, and Henry Gerdou, Sept. 28, 1594, April 18, 1595.

¹⁰⁾ On August 8, 1551, 'Suffridus Feitzma, Leovardiensis ; iur. et s.' matriculated in Cologne as student of law ; Keussen, 650, 117, identifies him with Suffridus Petri, although it is quite possible that a large town like Leeuwarden could send two students of law of the common name 'Suffridus' ; at any rate 'Feitzma' seems quite strange to Petri : it is never mentioned as far as can be made out, in connection with the

he wished to help his family, and consequently opened in 1553 a school for Latin and Greek at Leeuwarden, which became very prosperous ¹⁾. He had there as pupil Bernard Gerbrandi Furmerius, who succeeded him in after years as Frisian historiographer, and zealously vindicated his views and his methods ²⁾. At his father's death he returned to Louvain, and taught languages whilst studying law with so good result that he was chosen as candidate for the Royal lecture on the *Decreta* ³⁾, of which the founding had been contemplated since 1556. Before it was put into effect, a request was sent to the Louvain University by that of Erfurt, on June 12, 1557, for help in their need of an able professor of Greek and Latin ⁴⁾; in reply of which Suffridus was chosen and sent off without any delay.

In Erfurt, Suffridus gave full satisfaction as professor, and was moreover most zealous at his studies : he edited a series of *Plutarchi Opuscula* in 1558 ⁵⁾, and another set of writings by the same author in 1559 ⁶⁾ : they were provided with comments and a version ; he congratulated the recently elected Abbot Kilian Vogel, 'Regii Monasterii Montis Sti. Petri apud Erphordiam', by a poem ⁷⁾; and even to that period seems to belong Plutarch's *De Educandis Liberis Liber* ⁸⁾. Still the very state of the University must have been a cause of sad concern : it had remained faithful to Rome, whereas the town authorities, in the wake of Luther, had withheld all financial

Suffridus : when on August 31, 1581, he was appointed 'professor publicus' in Cologne, he calls himself a 'pupil of Louvain', and would certainly have mentioned that he was inscribed on the Cologne matriculation Register if it had been the case.

¹⁾ Cp. *HEpL*, 37 : it was said that his pupils knew those languages and spoke and wrote Latin within two years.

²⁾ Cp. further, p 332 ; also Paquot, xvi, 426, *sq.*

³⁾ On August 28, 1558, Petri thanked Viglius for having reserved for him 'toto plus biennio... professionem Decretorum', which he finally had to resign : VigIEL, 26, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Gabbema, 223-24.

⁵⁾ Erfurt, Martin de Bolgen, 1558.

⁶⁾ Erfurt, Martin de Bolgen, 1559.

⁷⁾ *Carmen Gratulatorium in Electionem Domini Kiliani Vogel, Regii Monasterii Montis Sti. Petri apud Erphordiam Abbatis* : Erfurt, Martin de Bolgen, 1558.

⁸⁾ It was printed in Basle, 1581, by John Oporinus.

help and even all protection since 1521 ¹⁾, and were thus making its work and its existence most precarious, particularly on account of the well subsidied, frankly Lutheran University of Jena in the near vicinity. Suffridus heartily wished to help, and long before he pronounced his *Oratio pro Reformatione Universitatis Erphordiensis* ²⁾, he had sent to the Rector and the University of Louvain an interesting letter, in which, besides expressing his appreciative gratitude to the staff of the *Trilingue* ³⁾, he described the sad decline of Erfurt, and suggested a remedy ⁴⁾. On May 15, 1558, he announced that he had written to a friend in Rome to obtain from the Pope the incorporation, at least for the time being, of a nearly deserted convent of Augustinians, so as to provide the necessary funds, and requested the intercession of Louvain University with the Nuncio to that effect ⁵⁾. Wamesius as Dictator replied for the University, on July 14, 1558, advising to apply straight to the *Curia Romana*, and promising their help for a provisional incorporation to provide means for the Catholic professors ⁶⁾.

Along with Wamesius' letter, Suffridus received one of June 13, by which Viglius announced him that the King wished that he should start the Royal lectures on the *Decreta* from the first of September following ⁷⁾ : he accordingly put himself on the way, but, prevented by the hostilities in the neighbourhood of Bonn ⁸⁾, he could not get beyond Cologne, from where, on August 28, he saw himself obliged to resign the appointment ⁹⁾. Sadly grieved at the loss of a situation in

¹⁾ They had deprived the University of all her privileges after the hot scuffle between partisans and adversaries of Luther at his visit on April 6, 1521 : Paulsen, I, 196-97 ; they stopped all subsidies, and made efforts to have their own creatures nominated in the place of professors who died or left.

²⁾ Erfurt, Martin de Bolgen, 1558.

³⁾ He mentioned the recently deceased Nannius, and further Amerot, de Langhe and Cornelius van Auwater : cp. before, p 267.

⁴⁾ September 22, 1557 : *ULAnn.*, 1848 : 199-204.

⁵⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1848 : 205-10 ; Suffridus added that the University of Erfurt had commissioned him in 1557 to ask for two professors of Canon Law from Louvain, but that his correspondence had been intercepted and destroyed by the adversaries.

⁶⁾ Gabbema, 219-22.

⁷⁾ Having been as good as appointed in 1556.

⁸⁾ Cp. Opmeer, II, 108, 153, 159.

⁹⁾ VigIEL, 26-29.

Louvain, where he had hoped to end his days in work and peace, he returned to Erfurt, where the town authorities had managed to get in Protestants as professors. In consequence life became there very distasteful, and he applied most insistently to some of his friends in Brabant : amongst them, to Boetius Epo, of Roordahuizum ¹⁾, who frequently wrote to him. Hopper proved most helpful : he provided his countryman with the office of librarian and secretary to Cardinal Granvelle, whose family he entered some time before May 14, 1562. He found there Stephen Pigge as colleague, and started a lifelong connection ²⁾.

Suffridus did not stay long with the Cardinal : in September, he had accepted the succession of Renier van Winsum, Prædinus ³⁾, as head of the Groningen School, on the advice of Hopper ⁴⁾, since the town pensionary Hessel of Aysma had

¹⁾ Boetius Epo, Episcopus, born at Roordahuizum, near Leeuwarden, in 1529, went, by 1543, to Cologne, where he matriculated on July 11, 1551 ; he taught for a time at Zwolle and accepted to give lessons in a school founded by Chapuys at Nice. He soon left that situation to go and study jurisprudence in Paris, and mixing with Calvinists, 'egit fabulam motoriam variis variarum vulpium caudis', as he wrote, until he, 'in se reversus', went to study in Toulouse, where he promoted D. V. J. in 1560. He settled for a time in Louvain ; he married Maria Cabillavia, of Ypres, and was appointed professor of Jurisprudence in Douai in June 1562. He tried in vain to become Royal Historiographer by 1569. He had a long professorate : he died on Nov. 15, 1599, and was buried in the Jesuit Church with the epitaph he made for himself :

Boetii corpus quiescit hic Eponis :

Animam respice, o Jesu, benigniter.

Cp. *BibBelg.*, 112-15 ; Keussen, 650, 98 ; Opmeer, 11, 256, 264 ; Miræus, 163 ; Gabbema, 227-34, 416, sq ; Hoyneck, 1, ii, 501, 506, 568 ; *HEpL*, 61 ; *ULAnn.*, 1848 : 211 ; PlantE, vi, 94, sq.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 202, sq ; several letters of 1567 remain : they refer to messages taken from one friend to the other by a servant Taco, as well as to their studies, especially to Suffridus' *Athenagoras*, which was printed that year by Plantin, and offered to Pigge on August 31. As late as September 30, 1589, Pigge sent his letters to Plantin's successor, John Moretus, by Suffridus who was then in Cologne : cp. letters of January 14, August 3 & 31, 1567, September 30, 1589 : PigE, 231, 156, 229, 217, also 214, 119 ; PlantE, viii, 586.

³⁾ Cp. before, III, 254-57 ; he died on April 18, 1559 : *HEpG*, 46-7.

⁴⁾ On September 9, 1563, Renatus Brocard wrote from Brussels to his friend Pigge : Syfridus redijt ad nos ante aliquot dies valedicturus Cardinali, quod futurum puto hodie, & jam obtinuit ab œconomio stipendium : PigE, 170.

managed to have a chair of Civil Law instituted ; unfortunately, when he arrived there, another candidate had supplanted him ¹⁾. As Granvelle's own position became untenable by 1564, Suffridus returned to Louvain ²⁾ and continued his studies of law : he had married, and gained his living by tutoring and teaching ; besides, he continually worked at his *Castigationes & Emendationes* of the text of Cicero's works, which, begun in Louvain, had been systematically developed and enriched in Thuringia and afterwards in the Netherlands, where he collated with the vulgate text, all the manuscripts he could discover ³⁾. He also applied himself to Greek, editing some writings by Plutarch ⁴⁾, and Athenagoras' *Apologia, vel Legatio... pro Christianis ad Imperatores Antoninum & Commodum* ⁵⁾. He delivered several orations in praise of the study of Greek, published already in 1566 ⁶⁾, and, explaining Pindar's Olympian Odes, he replaced, for considerable stretches of time, his friend and benefactor, the old and very invalid Thierry de Langhe, as Greek professor in the *Trilingue* ⁷⁾.

Through that restless activity, Suffridus made several acquaintances : not only in the world of patrons, like Isbrand Harderwyk, Abbot of Lidlum ⁸⁾, who, on May 29, <1563>, thanked him for the promised dedication of a book ⁹⁾ ; but in that of scholars : on September 1, 1569, the Basle professor Cœlius Secundus Curio requested him to publish his *Castigationes* of Cicero's text ¹⁰⁾ ; the answer was only given in 1570 :

¹⁾ Paquot, vii, 273, sq.

²⁾ Suffridus had given full satisfaction for his service to Granvelle : Paquot, vii, 273.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 182, 184, and further, pp 358, sq.

⁴⁾ *De Iside & Osiride : item Orationes Duæ, Latine*, interprete Suffrido Petro : Louvain, Joh. van den Boogaerde, 1564 : Paquot, vii, 278.

⁵⁾ Cologne, Arn. Birckmann's heirs, 1567 : it brought some emendations as well as a translation : PigE, 156, 214, 229, 231 ; Paquot, vii, 279 ; *Rhetius*, 144-45, 153.

⁶⁾ *Orationes Quinque de Multiplici Utilitate Lingue Græcæ* : Basle, John Oporinus, 1566.

⁷⁾ NèveMém., 211 ; cp. before, p 268 : Thierry died on June 12, 1578, after years of declining eyesight.

⁸⁾ Moreau, iii, 455.

⁹⁾ Gabbema, 225-26 : the year is not indicated, but is most probably 1563, as in May 1562, he had only just entered, and in May 1564 had already left, Granvelle's service.

¹⁰⁾ Gabbema, 235-36.

for, when Suffridus left Louvain for his native country on September 3, 1567 ¹⁾, he intended returning very soon; he was, however, kept a prisoner in Friesland by 'factiosi' during three years, and only allowed to return in June 1570 ²⁾: on August 21 of that year, he arranged for the publication of part of his work in Basle by Guarinus with Cœlio's patronage ³⁾. On the recommendation of Hopper, Pigge, William Canter and Victor Giselinus, he started corresponding with the Liège canon Charles de Langhe ⁴⁾ about that same undertaking ⁵⁾, as well as with his friend Torrentius ⁶⁾, and even with Denis Lambinus ⁷⁾, who had brought out, in 1566, a brilliant edition of the whole of Cicero ⁸⁾.

Meanwhile Suffridus continued his studies of jurisprudence: his oration about the excellence of Roman Laws, 1571 ⁹⁾, may have been part of his training towards his promotion as Licentiate in both Laws in 1574. Life by then had grown very precarious in Louvain, and he consequently accepted the offer of Cologne University in 1577 to become professor of Civil Law ¹⁰⁾. That offer may have been made at the suggestion of John Rhetius, who contemplated an edition of studies on, and of texts of, the works of the Greek Fathers of

¹⁾ PigE, 229.

²⁾ Gabbema, 236, sq, 238.

³⁾ Cp. letters of that date to Cœlius Secundus Curio and Thomas Guarinus: Gabbema, 236-38, 238-40; also a letter to Guarinus, Dec. 5, 1570: Gabbema, 247.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 180-84; Miræus, 111.

⁵⁾ Cp. Suffridus' letter of September 13, 1570, and Langhe's reply of September 29 following: Gabbema, 243-46.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 165-76; letter of May 17, 1571, to Torrentius: Gabbema, 252-55.

⁷⁾ Denis Lambin, of Montreuil, 1520-1572, who provided excellent editions of Horace, Lucretius and Cicero, was one of the best Latinists of the century: his knowledge of Cicero, and the older Latin writers, as well as the Augustan poets is said to have never been surpassed and rarely equalled: Sandys, II, 191, 188-91; &c.

⁸⁾ Letter of Suffridus of November 28, 1571, with Lambin's reply of December 26, 1571: Gabbema, 248-49, 250-52.

⁹⁾ *Oratio de Legum Romanorum Præstantia, Louanij habita*: Antwerp, Plantin, 1571.

¹⁰⁾ *UniKöln*, 465.

the Church ¹⁾). Unfortunately the journey to the Rhine town was as the beginning of a series of mishaps : on his way to it with his wife and family, he was robbed of all he had in the wood near Aix. He was entrusted with the rectorship of the College for Juridical Students, the *Kronenburse* ²⁾), where his wife died on March 31, 1580 ³⁾), notwithstanding the able care devoted to her by their famous countryman Rembert Dodoens, returning from Vienna to Mechlin ⁴⁾). To be true, Suffridus was most successful in his lectures ; and zealous as he was to bring to a good end his work on Cicero's text, he requested Torrentius, in the first days of 1581, to let him make use again of de Langhe's notes, which were in his keeping at the death of the erudite canon : unfortunately they were refused under pretence of the danger of robbery and loss on the way ⁵⁾).

Two years later, in March 1583, one of his most devoted pupils, Janus Gulielmius, of Lübeck, whom he had initiated during the four years that he spent in the *Kronenburse* ⁶⁾), left for France : he entrusted him with all the notes and comments about Cicero's text, gathered during twenty-five years, so as to have them completed by a collation with the manuscripts in France, as a last preparation for a joint edition ⁷⁾). The young man, recommended by an introductory

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 303, sq ; by 1571, Rhetius conceived the plan about the Greek Fathers of the Church, and, as solution, decided on a connection with the Louvain *Trilingue*, which was by far the first on this side of the Alps for the study of the languages. He had thought of William Canter, Cornelius van Auwater and Charles de Langhe, when he discovered Petri, and managed to get him to Cologne : he wished that, with Albert Hero, of Sneek, Petri would translate Epiphanius : he had already latinized *Athenagoras* ; in 1580, he published *De Illustribus Ecclesiae Scriptoris* : Cologne, Mat. Cholinus : *Rhetius*, 144-45, 153.

²⁾ *UniKöln*, 239.

³⁾ Paquot, xv, 4.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 335-45.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 184 ; Gabbema, 410-13.

⁶⁾ Gulielmius wrote a letter to his master from Lübeck, November 16, probably 1579 (as Petri's wife was still alive), and on January 12, 1581, Suffridus suggested the young man's 'curator', the Lübeck senator Arnold Bonnus, to let him stay some time longer in the College as he was working zealously at Cicero's text : Gabbema, 402-4, 404-10.

⁷⁾ The young man describes his journey and arrival in Paris : May 15, June 10, 1583 : Gabbema, 419-26.

letter to James Cujas, March 21, 1583 ¹⁾, died at the end of 1585 or in the beginning of 1586 ²⁾. Though arrangements had been made with Guarinus, of Basle, for the printing, Suffridus' notes were withheld from him ³⁾, notwithstanding his pleading that they were gathered on places where Gulielmius never set foot, and, in a large part, long before he was born ⁴⁾. The only measure he could take was to refuse to give up the goods that the deceased had left in the *Kronenburse* ⁵⁾. When after an endless wrangling with the boy's wardens and his heirs ⁶⁾, the notes were finally placed at Petri's disposal, on condition that he should edit his pupil's work ⁷⁾, he could only reply, on July 31, 1595, that twelve years earlier he had secured Gulielmius' help for the editing of the *Castigationes*, being then overburdened with work, and that, since, old age had come, which made it impossible for him to accept a task to which he was to bind himself by an onerous contract ⁸⁾.

The chief motive that prompted Suffridus Petri in 1583 to secure the collaboration of Janus Gulielmius for his *Castigationes* of Cicero, and to entrust to him the result of twenty-five years of conscientious research work, was the transfer of his paramount interest from Latin Philology to History : it proved the greatest misfortune that fell to his lot after leaving Brabant for Cologne. He had already since several years devoted part of his attention to that branch : in 1567, he had published a Latin version of the three last books of Hermias Sozomenus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* ⁹⁾, of which six

¹⁾ Gabbema, 417-19, 468.

²⁾ Letter of Arnold Bonnus, Lübeck, Febr. 26, 1586 : Gabbema, 439-41.

³⁾ Letters to and from Arn. Bonnus and Augustine Kockert, *curatores* : June 1, 1586-February 7, 1588 : Gabbema, 441-55.

⁴⁾ Gabbema, 459, 469.

⁵⁾ Gabbema, 459.

⁶⁾ Gabbema, 455-58 (October 27, 1591, from Kockert), 458-61 (December 10, 1593 : Petri's reply).

⁷⁾ Correspondence with the wardens, and with Henry Gerdou, one of the heirs, September 28, 1594-May 15, 1595 : Gabbema, 464-80.

⁸⁾ Letters to Aug. Kockert and Henry Gerdou : Gabbema, 480-83. The heirs did not abandon their project of editing the notes of their relative : in 1618, Janus Gruterus published a complete Cicero with Gulielmius' comments, but without the least mention of Suffridus : *GoetLect.*, II, 167.

⁹⁾ Paquot, VII, 279-80.

had been rendered by John Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester ¹⁾ : he had castigated and corrected the text and dedicated his edition to Abbot Lambert Hanckart, of Gembloux ²⁾, to whom he had been introduced by Abbot Philip of Hosden, of St. Gertrude's, Louvain ³⁾. On February 19, 1575, he inscribed to Gerard de Groesbeeck, Bishop of Liège, an *Historia Leodiensis Ecclesiae* ⁴⁾, built up from information supplied by manuscripts provided by the Abbot of Gembloux, Hanckart, and his subprior Louis Sonbeek ⁵⁾, as well as from many other old chroniclers ⁶⁾ placed at his disposal by the Louvain professors John Wamesius ⁷⁾ and Elbert Leoninus ⁸⁾. Meanwhile, in 1574, he had brought out an emended and enlarged edition of Martin Polonus' *Chronicon Expeditissimum*, in which, unfortunately, he did not notice the nonsensical fabulousness of the Pope Joan-myth, which he reproduced ⁹⁾. More important was his collection *De Illustribus Ecclesiae Scriptoribus Auctores præcipui Veteres*, of 1580 ¹⁰⁾, which coincides with his appointment to Historiographer of Friesland; it induced him to work more zealously, producing,

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 281, 287, sq.

²⁾ May 31, 1567 : cp. Paquot, VII, 279-80.

³⁾ Philip de Hosden was coadjutor of Abbot Peter Was, in 1538; he succeeded him on February 21, 1553, and was made *Conservator Privilegiorum* of the University on March 24, 1553. He wisely ruled and adorned his Abbey, and died on May 28, 1569 : Mol., 228; *ULDoc.*, I, 520-21; Gestel, I, 160.

⁴⁾ Gabbema, 426-39; Paquot, VII, 287-88 (Liège reprint of 1616).

⁵⁾ Gabbema, 429.

⁶⁾ Suffridus mentions in that dedication the various authors he used and indicates the gaps and the inexactitudes of the *Catalogus Antistitum* of John Placentius (Antwerp, W. Vorsterman, c1530 : Nijkron., I, 1726) : Gabbema, 255, 432, sq.

⁷⁾ Gabbema, 433, sq; and before, pp 320, sq.

⁸⁾ Gabbema, 437, sq; Elbertus de Leeuw, Leoninus, also called Longolius on account of his stature, a native of Bommel, promoted D. V. J. in Louvain on May 20, 1550; he was appointed professor of Canon Law in 1548, and of Civil Law in 1560, and remained in function until 1580, when he was appointed Chancellor for Gelderland and Zutphen : he died at Arnhem on December 6, 1598. As professor he was so good that it was said that he inspired Cujas : VAnd., 190, 155-56; *BibBelg.*, 197-99. Andrew Schott dedicated to him one of his writings with a fine epigram : *AuwCar.*, 94.

⁹⁾ Paquot, VII, 281-82.

¹⁰⁾ Paquot, VII, 282.

by 1584, a history of the Bishops of Utrecht and one of those of Liège ¹⁾. Still his most important work is the vast series of biographies of the remarkable personages of his native country, *De Scriptoribus Frisiae Decades XVI et semis*, first printed in Cologne in 1593 ²⁾.

That collection, to which a large part of his fame is due, is of the greatest importance for all the authors Suffridus knew personally, or from reliable sources ³⁾: luckily, the value of *their* descriptions is not at all impaired by the presence of notes on fictitious personages, since every biography stands by itself, and is independent of the rest of the collection. Still it greatly detracts from the scientific character of the 'historian', whose common sense should have made him aware of the uncongruousness and the inconsistency of the fabulous personages supposed to have founded the nation. He had already mentioned those inconceivable prehistoric forebears and leaders of his race in *De Frisiorum Antiquitate et Origine Libri Tres* (1590) ⁴⁾, in which he injudiciously repeats even the most absurd legends of a set of dubious authors, from Cappidus of Staveren to Kempo a Martena ⁵⁾. It is hard to explain how the shrewd emendator of Cicero accepted blindly the common error of his days, by which the various nations were — sillily — connected with famous men in Bible or Ancient History ⁶⁾. Possibly his office of Historiographer of the States of Friesland made it appear to him as a necessity to repeat all the popular tales, so as to be complete; possibly his excessive veneration for his grandfather ⁷⁾, and for his

¹⁾ Paquot, vii, 286-88; they were edited in 1612 and 1616.

²⁾ Cologne, H. Falckenburgh, 1593: Paquot, vii, 284-85.

³⁾ Cp. Paquot, iv, 124, xiv, 171, ix, 85, 425, xv, 133, xviii, 398.

⁴⁾ Cologne, Birckmann, 1590: Paquot, vii, 282-84.

⁵⁾ Paquot, iv, 289-307.

⁶⁾ Renatus van der Duyn, a Knight, apparently in the service of the Speyer Imperial Court, wrote several letters to Suffridus (from July 13, 1589 to May 31, 1590: Gabbema, 484-93, 593-603) to encourage him in his historical work, offering documents and other help, and suggesting even that the *Phrygios Leones* of *Æneis*, x, 157, might refer to the Frisian crest: Gabbema, 487-90.

⁷⁾ Of the history of Friesland, at which Suffridus of Sterckenburg had worked a large part of his life, only a few fragments reached his grandson: Paquot, iv, 299-300.

countrymen in general, prevented him from throwing over board the mad lumber ¹⁾. It seems almost a certainty that he believed in those tales : in 1591, he wrote a *Strena ad Ordines Frisicæ, qua summam comprehenditur vita Frisonis Frisiorum conditoris*, and he composed an *Apologia pro Antiquitate & Origine Frisiorum* against Ubbo Emmius, the Rector of Groningen School ²⁾, which was edited, in 1603, by his disciple Bernard Gerbrandi Furmer, Furmerius ³⁾, who succeeded Suffridus in his office of Frisian Historiographer, as well as in his credulity about the origin of their nation.

Meanwhile Suffridus Petri, after his wife's death ⁴⁾, had taken orders, and was ordained as priest. By 1586, it was rumoured ⁵⁾ that he had answered the offer of Louvain University to become Professor of Canon Law : yet, although biographers make him leave Cologne to teach in Louvain from 1586 to 1587 ⁶⁾, the letters which were interchanged between him and Gulielmus' wardens, are all dated from, or directed to, Cologne ⁷⁾. He continued his lectures and his regency there until 1593, when, on December 1, he resigned,

¹⁾ Paquot, iv, 124, vii, 282-84, xv, 174, xvi, 160. On August 25, 1597, the town of Cologne wrote to the Friesland Council about the papers left by Suffridus, especially those about Frisian history : Keussen, 650, 117.

²⁾ Ubbo Emmius (1547-1625) made himself famous as head of the schools of Lier (East-Friesland) and Groningen : he attacked Suffridus Petri and Furmer for their theories in his *De Origine Frisiorum*, 1603, and *Rerum Frisicarum*, 1596 : Paquot, vii, 73-86.

³⁾ Bernard Furmer (c 1542-August 6, 1616), was one of Suffridus' pupils at Leeuwarden ; he wrote an Apology for him against Ubbo Emmius, as well as the *Annalium Phrisicorum Libri tres* : Franeker, 1609 : Paquot, xvi, 426-33 ; *HEpL*, 50 ; *GoetLect.*, i, 97-9.

⁴⁾ He had at least one child, a daughter : Gabbema, 404.

⁵⁾ On October 16, 1587, Kockert wrote to Suffridus from Basle that he had learned 'ex Domino Melissi' that Petri had removed to Louvain, but in the same letter he announces that *Paulus Melissus* had declared the information to be inexact : *negat*, he writes, *te mutaturum sedem* : Gabbema, 451-52.

⁶⁾ They make him a successor to John Verhaghen († Sept. 2, 1585), and predecessor to Louis Carrion, appointed in 1588 : *Vand.*, 156 ; Paquot, xii, 58. There probably was a confusion with the appointment as Royal Professor in 1556-57, which Suffridus was prevented accepting : cp. before, pp 354-55.

⁷⁾ They range from February 26, 1586 to February 7, 1588 : Gabbema, 439-55 (7 letters).

being appointed canon of the Church of the Twelve Apostles. He fulfilled the duties of that office, besides working at the history of his native country, until he died from dropsy on January 23, 1597 ¹⁾. He was buried in the Church of the Twelve Apostles, and one of his old students and a countryman of his, Gauco Gaukema, canon of Aix, composed his epitaph ²⁾. He was a strenuous worker : besides his orations delivered in Louvain and Erfurt, his fine translations from the Greek, and his most judicial emendations of the texts of Plutarch, Athenagoras and Cicero, he left most interesting manuscript treatises on philology and philosophy, on jurisprudence and theology, besides six books of *Carmina* and an *Oratio de Laude Universitatis Lovaniensis* ³⁾. Even the larger part of his historical work stamps him, by its good sense and critical perspicacity, as one of the true Humanists, which he is incontestably as far as his studies on languages and literature are concerned.

Amongst his oldest comrades ⁴⁾ Suffridus Petri counted **George Rataller**, or Rotaller, the son of John, the first Imperial Treasurer in Friesland ⁵⁾. He was born in 1528 at Leeuwarden, and studied there with his friend Suffridus in St. Catherine's School under Antony of Cologne ⁶⁾, until he went to attend the lessons of George Macropedius at Utrecht ⁷⁾; there he made Cornelius van Auwater's acquaintance ⁸⁾. Although

¹⁾ Mol., 607; Opmeer, II, 232; H. Keussen, *Die Kölner Juristenschule*: Cologne, 1932: 78-80; *BibBelg.*, 819-21; *SweABelg.*, 680-2; Miræus, 143; *HEpL*, 37; Paquot, VII, 271-93; *SaxOnom.*, 365; *GoetLect.*, II, 162-69; *NèveMém.*, 337-38; *ULAnn.*, 1848: 185-217; Gabbema (besides letters referred to already), 245, 402, 412-16; the Breslau *Rehdigerana*, 3905, preserves a letter of Petri to John Monau: Cologne, August 31, 1586; cp. also Paquot, XVIII, 402; *JesRheinA*, 636, 2.

²⁾ Paquot, I, 57-60; Suffridus met in Cologne his countryman Dominicus Benedixius, who had followed the Bishop of Leeuwarden in his exile: cp. before, p 342; Paquot, V, 281.

³⁾ Paquot, VII, 288-93.

⁴⁾ Paquot, XIV, 169, 171, sq.

⁵⁾ His mother was of the Sonck family, quite as noble and ancient as his father's: Paquot, XIV, 169.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 352.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, II, 565, sq, III, 510.

⁸⁾ There is amongst Auwater's letters one, undated, written in his host's name to 'Rotaller', inquiring about the reliability and honesty of the *tabellarius*: ValE, 14.

greatly taken up with poetry, he started the studies of law in Louvain to placate his father, attending the lectures of the *Trilingue* whilst applying himself to jurisprudence : he soon became so qualified that, by 1546, at eighteen, he had translated into Latin elegiac couplets, Hesiod's *Opera & Dies*, and had them printed at Frankfurt along with some epigrams ¹⁾. He also rendered in Latin verse three of Sophocles' dramas, *Ajax*, *Antigone* and *Electra* : the first was dedicated to Louis of Flanders, Baron of Praet, Governor of Utrecht ²⁾, by a letter dated from Louvain on October 15, 1548. Soon after, he went to continue his studies in France, in Bourges University, where he became a hearer of a countryman, Stephen van der Straeten, Stratius ³⁾, to whom he inscribed his rendering of *Electra* by a fine poem, dated on April 3, 1549 ⁴⁾. The translation of the three dramas with several additional poems was printed at Lyons by Seb. Gryphius in 1550 ⁵⁾. Still his means do not seem to have been very abundant, since his father lost his fortune, notwithstanding the services he had rendered to Maximilian and Philip ; his son, consequently, applied to Louis de Praet for an imperial grant that would allow him to study in France and Italy for three years ⁶⁾. Before returning to our provinces, he actually paid a visit to several Italian Universities, and, on account of his successful studies, he

¹⁾ *Hesiodi Opera & Dies*, latino Carmine Elegiaco reddita a Georgio Ratallero. Subjunctus est ejusdem Ratalleri *Epigrammatum Liber unus* : Frankfurt, Peter Brubachius, 1546.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 276, and *Cran.*, 150, *a-d* ; further, for the pleasure caused by Rataller's dedication, Gabbema, 547.

³⁾ Stephen Stratius, or van der Straeten, born in the country of Waes, Flanders, seems to have been employed in the Brabant Chancellery before he started his studies of jurisprudence in Dole. He taught Civil Law, and left several manuscript works which his widow kept in Paris : *FlandScript.*, 153.

⁴⁾ Paquot, xiv, 175-79.

⁵⁾ *Sophoclis, Poetæ Tragici, Ajax Flagellifer, Antigone, & Electra*, Latine ; Georgio Ratallero interprete : Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1550. The translations were reprinted in 1567, by Henry Estienne ; before, John Lallemant, who published a version of Sophocles in Paris in 1557, had reproduced largely Rataller's rendering, without mentioning his name : Paquot, xiv, 173-74.

⁶⁾ Letter dated from Bourges, June 13 (no year date) : Gabbema, 546-49 ; Paquot, xiv, 170.

was first made councillor at Arras ¹⁾, then of the Great Council of Mechlin in 1561, succeeding to John de Berghes, Lord of Waterdyck. In that office he was sent as envoy to Frederic II of Denmark in 1565 by Margaret of Parma. In 1569 he was appointed President of the Council at Utrecht ²⁾, and he died there on October 6, 1581, during a meeting of the Court ³⁾, to which he had come apparently in good health ⁴⁾. He had married Margaret van Loon, or Loo ⁵⁾, and left her with two daughters ⁶⁾ and a son Philip, secretary to the Utrecht Council. Adrian van der Burch, Utrecht town clerk ⁷⁾, wrote some fine verses in his praise, whereas his friend of long standing, Suffridus Petri, sketched alike his attractive figure and his harmonious voice, setting off, as it were, the exceptional qualities of the excellent jurispudent, of the admirably upright and exemplary active magistrate, of the exceptionally endowed humanist. Besides his metrical translations of seven tragedies of Sophocles ⁸⁾ and three of Euripides ⁹⁾, as well as biographies of the Governors of Utrecht under Charles V and Philip II, inserted in Petri's *Scriptores Frisiae* ¹⁰⁾, he left

¹⁾ He replaced James de Rebreviettes (Paquot, xiv, 170), who, in 1548, had been appointed a member of Mechlin Great Council : Henne, x, 11 ; Hoyneck, ii, ii, 8 ; cp. before, p 325.

²⁾ Hoyneck, i, ii, 532.

³⁾ Justus Lips refers to the event in a letter of Aug. 5, 1582, to Francis Modius, seven months after it happened : *Epist. Miscell. Cent.* i, 28.

⁴⁾ Cp., besides Suffridus Petri's *De Scriptoribus Frisiae*, *BibBelg.*, 266 ; Guicc., 168 ; *SweABelg.*, 275-76 ; *HEpL*, 50, b ; Paquot, xiv, 169-79 ; *Sax-Onom.*, 263, 633 ; Hessels, i, 365, 903, b.

⁵⁾ She belonged to a Frisian family.

⁶⁾ The elder, Cornelia, married the treasurer of the States-General Philip Doublet, and their children were given the name of their famous grandfather ; the second, Catherine, born in 1568, died in 1628 as the second wife of Hugh Muys van Holy, Lord of Ketel and Spalant, mayor of Dordrecht : Paquot, xiv, 171.

⁷⁾ He wrote several poems on friends and acquaintances : Paquot, i, 261, xiv, 172, xvi, 212.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, Guil. Silvius, 1570 and 1576 : cp. *inf.*, p 366, n 1 : the copy of the 1570 edition with corrections by R., which Plantin intended reprinting by 1580, is still in Antwerp Plantin Museum : *PlantE*, vi, 162.

⁹⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1581 : cp. *inf.*, p 366, n 1.

¹⁰⁾ Paquot, xiv, 175.

some letters ¹⁾, of which the genuine cordiality makes it seem most regrettable that his old schoolfellow Suffridus did not execute his promise, and thus deprived posterity of Rataller's elegy on William Canter ²⁾, and of other poems which had come into his possession.

B. RYM & CLUSIUS

The *Trilingue* contributed to the intellectual development of **Charles Rym**, Lord of Bellem, Scheurveld and Eeckenbeke, born at Ghent about 1533, as it had done to that of his father, Gerard Rym, Councillor and *Advocatus Fiscalis* for Flanders, who, throughout his life, was greatly interested in erudition and literature, and was one of a group of most ardent humanists ³⁾ : it is only natural that the son wanted to avail himself of every opportunity to learn languages which the father held in so high esteem. The young man had probably his first instruction in his native town, and resorted to Louvain, where he may have attended the lectures of the *Trilingue* even before he started the study of Philosophy in the Lily, in which he was most successful, since on March 19, 1551,

¹⁾ The bundle '*Illustrum & Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ Selectiores*' (attributed to Bertius) : Leyden, L. Elzevier, 1617, contains six letters from Rataller to Adrian van der Burch. There is further a letter from Rataller, Bourges, June 7, (no year) to Louis de Praet : Gabbema, 546-49; also one from Plantin, April 19/26, 1576, about books sent to Rataller : PlantE, v, 152, sq; moreover, another from Plantin, and two from Rataller, May 14, August 25, 1580, and January 27, 1581, about the forthcoming edition of Euripides' tragedies, 1581, as well as a contemplated issue of the seven by Sophocles, which death prevented : PlantE, vi, 161, sq, 184, sq, 225, sq. There is, besides, a letter of Rataller, January 27, 1581, to Raphelengius and the Leyden representatives of Plantin, acknowledging the suggested corrections in the 1570 *Sophocles* : Hessels, I, 245-46. There is, finally, Justus Lips' letter of August 2, 1580, thanking him for the friendship offered, and calling him : 'Belgij & meus splendide sol' : *Epist. Miscell. Cent.*, I, 25.

²⁾ Miræus, 105; and III, 278. Amongst the scraps of Auwater's papers, there is one 'In obitum... Gulielmi Canteri' by himself, and another in his hand on the same subject entitled 'Georgij Rottaleri' : *AuwCar.*, 65, 77; they will be edited, D. V., with Valerius' *Epistolæ*.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 160-62; *FlandCon.*, 157-58. His mother was Barbara Claissonne of Walebeke, Lady of Hundelghem. Cp. Hoyneck, I, ii, 605-06.

he was placed the second at the promotion to Master of Arts ¹⁾. He afterwards started the study of jurisprudence, in which branch he promoted doctor in Italy. On his return to our provinces, he was appointed councillor of Luxemburg ²⁾. He was then already known beyond the country's bounds for his capacities, having several languages at his command, as well as for his philosophic and penetrating spirit and for his efficient eloquence : which explains how Maximilian II entrusted him with the succession of Cornelius Duplicius de Schepper ³⁾, of Gerard van Veltwyck ⁴⁾, and of Ogier de Busbeek ⁵⁾, as ambassador of the Emperor of Austria in Constantinople. He left in 1567, and was accompanied by Philibert de Bruxelles, the Emperor's gentleman in waiting ⁶⁾, whose sister Catherine he had married on January 18, 1563 ⁷⁾, and also by a townsman of his, Arnold de Man ⁸⁾.

Once more the Emperor was excellently served in his Turkish affairs by an old student of the *Trilingue* : for Rym concluded that same year an eight years' truce between the Empire and Selim II. After five years' stay in Turkey, he was allowed to return to Vienna, where he was created Golden Knight and aulic councillor, until, in 1573, on Viglius proposition ⁹⁾, he was appointed Privy Councillor in Brussels,

¹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 164.

²⁾ In October 1567, Charles Rym and his colleague Philip Chardel, were ordered by Philip II and the Duke of Alva to inquire into meetings of the heretics and the coming and going of fugitives through Luxemburg : *Mansfeld*, I, 175.

³⁾ Cp. before, II, 166-71, 609, *sq.*, III, 15, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 355-58.

⁵⁾ Cp. III, 492-504, 507, *sq.*

⁶⁾ He was the son of Philibert de Bruxelles, Lord of Heysbroeck, Grand-Reng, &c, Knight, member of the Privy, and the State, Councils († October 21, 1570), and Jane de Lockengien († May 16, 1577). He was sent again to Turkey in 1574 : Paquot, III, 403-5 ; before, p 34.

⁷⁾ Paquot, III, 405 ; she died on May 18, 1567, leaving two children, Jane and Philibert, and was buried in St. Gudula's, Brussels : Hellin, I, 508 ; *BruxBas.*, I, 114.

⁸⁾ Paquot, VIII, 297.

⁹⁾ Letter of August 22, 1573 to Joachim Hopper : Hoyneck, I, ii, 758. Charles Rym had brought some soil of the Holy Land, which he had offered to Viglius ; it is mentioned amongst his treasures : Hoyneck, I, i, 237.

which had been as good as promised to him before his embassy. After some years, he retired to Ghent, where he died in 1583, and was buried in the Cathedral. He left a *Carmen in gentem Rymiam ejusque Insignia*, which, in 1624, was in the possession of his brother Francis, Lord of Hundelghem, along with an *Hodæporicon de Itinere suo Turcico*, both of which now seem lost ¹⁾.

His companion in that *Iter*, **Arnold de Man, Mannius**, or **Manilius**, born at Ghent about 1530, had probably been his companion in his studies : he promoted in 1551, in the same year as Rym, also from the Lily, although he was only placed the 66th ²⁾ ; he evidently had studied also at the *Trilingue*, for he was very well versed in Greek and Latin ; he had spent some time in Paris in 1561, where he had gone with Denis Hardouin ³⁾, who took some of his pupils there. His linguistic knowledge was most useful during the Turkish embassy, and on his return, he collated and compared Greek manuscripts in Germany, where he seems to have studied medicine : at any rate, he is recorded as professor of that branch in Cologne, being appointed in 1576, becoming even *primarius*. He married in 1602 and died in 1607 ⁴⁾. The complete veering in his studies probably prevented him publishing his first work on Greek texts : of his poems only a *Carmen ad Victorem Giselinum*, prefixed to the edition *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Opera* of that scholar ⁵⁾, seems to have come to us ⁶⁾.

In the latter forties **Charles de l'Escluse, Clusius**, attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, and moved in a different direction, although he, too, started the studies of law. He was

¹⁾ Guicc., 235 ; *GandErVir.*, 28-29 ; *BibBelg.*, 125 ; Paquot, xiii, 233-37 ; Hellin, i, 507-8. The physician John Fyens, Fienus, of Turnhout, inscribed to him, on Feb. 1, 1582, *De Flatibus humanum Corpus Molestantibus Commentarius* : Antwerp, 1582 : Paquot, iv, 211-12.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 167 : Arnoldus Mannius, Gandavensis.

³⁾ Denis Hardwyn, Hardouin (1530-1605), of Ghent, first tutored young boys, and became D. V. J. in Italy : Paquot, xviii, 379-83.

⁴⁾ *UniKöln.*, 484.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Chr. Plantin, 1564 : Paquot, ii, 133 ; cp. Miræus, 177.

⁶⁾ Paquot, viii, 297-98.

born on February 19, 1526 ¹⁾, at Arras, where his father, Michel de l'Escluse, Lord of Watènes, was Councillor for the the district; his mother was Guillemette Quineaut. He received the first instruction at Ghent from Paul Eucharius ²⁾, and, in 1546, he repaired to Louvain where he matriculated in July of that year ³⁾. After his studies of Arts, he turned to jurisprudence according to his father's wishes, and was a disciple of Gabriel Mudæus ⁴⁾. Still he only nibbled at the law, being far more interested in the lectures of Adrian Amerot and of Peter Nannius : for he soon learned, at the great Busleyden School, the virtue of Erasmus' spirit, and the value of the golden rule he had been the first to enounce : 'not to trust in anybody's testimony if the object can be reached without intermediary'. Hence in all subsequent descriptions of plants and herbs, Clusius only relied on what he had seen himself, which provides the most scrupulous exactitude to all his descriptions and illustrations. He thus found there the great requisite of all scientific work, and, most probably, the very subject, which was then making Dodonæus' name famous ⁵⁾. That interest in the *Trilingue* no doubt prompted him, when he was in Spain in 1564, to obtain, from Agostin Vasæus, the letters which Nicolas Clenardus wrote to John, his father, and secure whatever epistles he could find of the courageous traveller ; on his return, by the end of 1565, he handed them to Christopher Plantin, who thus could bring out in 1566 the *Nic. Clenardi Epistolarum Libri Duo. Quorum posterior iam primum in lucem prodit* ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ According to his own attestation quoted by Hunger, I, 4 ; Martinus Rota mentioned, in 1575, on his engraved portrait that he was *Æt. An. XLIX* : Hessels, I, 908, b.

²⁾ He was the son and successor of Eligius Eucharius Hoeckaert : cp. *sup.*, III, 442-48.

³⁾ Carolus de l'Escluse attrebatensis : July 1546 : *LibIntIV*, 202, v ; in January 1546 'Petrus de Lescluse a gorga arthesian.' matriculated, and on February 28, 1548, Joannes de Lescluse, filius Leonis, de Duaco, pauper Liliensis : *LibIntIV*, 196, r, 236, r.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 209-18, 418.

⁵⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 335-45.

⁶⁾ *ClenCorr.*, I, 252-55, II, 163-64 ; Clusius dedicated his *auctarium* to his friend and companion on the journey to Spain, Thomas Rehdiger, on January 1, 1566. Cp. before, II, 475 ; *EraSpain*, 633.

In 1548, Clusius left for Germany and matriculated, on June 20, in Marburg University ¹⁾, where he attended the lectures on jurisprudence of John Oldendorp ²⁾, and made the acquaintance of Andrew Hyperius ³⁾. In July 1549 he went to Wittenberg, and met Melanchthon ; in 1550, he visited Frankfurt, Strassburg, Switzerland and Savoy ; by Lyons he reached Montpellier, where he matriculated on October 13, 1551, and remained three years in the house of William Rondelet ⁴⁾, who had a decisive influence on him ; for, as also Melanchthon had suggested, he made him leave the study of laws for that of medicine, and especially for that of botany. He there became further acquainted with Peter Lotichius, Secundus ⁵⁾, who, with the nephews of Daniel Stibarus ⁶⁾, was then at that University : amongst his poems and letters there are several addressed to Clusius. Montpellier, where he promoted licentiate of medicine, became for the eager student a most welcome place of work ; he took a deep interest in the antiquities found there and in the neighbourhood, where he studied all plants and flowers on his unceasing excursions. The fear of a renewal of hostilities between France and the monarchs of the House of Austria caused his father to call Clusius home ; he returned by Switzerland, where he probably saw Conrad Gesner ⁷⁾, and by Cologne, from where he reached

¹⁾ *MatriMarb.*, 50, s. v. Esclusius.

²⁾ Stintzing, I, 318, sq ; cp. before, p 47.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 253, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. J. E. Planchon, *Rondelet et ses Disciples* : Montpellier, 1866.

⁵⁾ Peter Lotichius, of Schlüchtern, 1528-1560, became professor of medicine in Heidelberg University in 1557 ; his uncle, Peter Lotichius (Primus), was the abbot of the *Abbatia Solitariensis*, at Schlüchtern, in which he introduced Protestantism in 1534 : cp. *Lotichius*, 10, sq ; *AuωCar.*, 58.

⁶⁾ Daniel Stibarus, of Rabeneck, 1503-1555, was canon and the bishop of Würzburg's councillor ; he was one of Erasmus' intimate friends : Allen, IV, p 615 ; cp. *sup.*, III, 364.

⁷⁾ Conrad von Gesner, a physician of Zürich (1516-1565), author of the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, 1545-49, was one of the founders of the study of Natural Science ; he describes in *De Raris Herbis* (Zürich, 1555) the flora of the Pilatus, which he ascended. He procured the *editio princeps* of Ælian's *De Natura Animalium*, 1556, and gave some hints on the comparative study of languages in *Mithridates*, 1555. A series of letters between him and Clusius was edited by L. Ch. Treviranus : Leipzig, 1830. Cp. Sandys, II, 269 ; Opmeer, I, 239, 480.

Antwerp. He went back to Paris in 1560 : he met there Joseph Scaliger ¹⁾, and was, in 1561, preceptor to Thomas Rehdiger, of Breslau ²⁾ ; he soon left on account of the civil war ; after staying one year in Louvain, he took the way to Germany, where he was at Augsburg in 1563. From that town he accompanied the two brothers Fugger ³⁾ to our provinces and, by the west coast of France, to Spain, where he studied most intensely the flora of the Peninsula. He was back in the Netherlands at the end of 1565, and lived for five years in close friendship with Mark and Guy Laurin ⁴⁾, Hubert Goltzcius ⁵⁾, Christopher Plantin, Raphelengius and others amongst the leading men ; most of all with John de Brancion, gentleman at the Court of Mechlin, with whom he boarded as a brother from 1568 to 1573 ⁶⁾. In 1570, he journeyed to Paris, where his friend and former pupil Thomas Rehdiger rejoined

¹⁾ Hessels, I, 564 ; Scaliger was at his studies in Paris from 1558 to 1562.

²⁾ Thom. Rehdiger, of a patrician family of Breslau, gathered many manuscripts and books which he bequeathed to that town, where they now form the famous *Rehdigerana*. He was born at Striesa on Dec. 19, 1540, and died in Cologne on January 5, 1576, being buried at Duisburg ; he was Bonaventura Vulcanius' protector, and proved a helper to Henry Estienne by his liberal gifts : VulcE, 45. Clusius dedicated to him the *Auctarium* of Glenardus' *Epistolae* by a letter dated from Bruges, January 1, 1566 : *GlenCorr.*, I, 253-55, II, 163. Cp. the *Caroli Clusii... ad Th. Redigerum & Jo. Cratonem Epistolae. Accedunt R. Dodonæi, Abr. Ortelii, Ger. Mercatoris et Ariæ Montani*, edited by P. F. X. de Ram : Brussels, 1847 ; Hessels, I, 904, a.

³⁾ They cannot have been sons of Antony (1493-1560) and Anna Rehlinger, whose children Mark and John were in Louvain at study in 1546 : cp. *inf.*, sect. 6, B ; but of John-James Fugger (1516-1575), son of Raymond (1489-1535) and Catherine Thurzo, whose son Sigismund-Frederic studied under Nannius just before his death, and paid the expenses of his funeral monument : cp. before, pp 295-96 ; Polet, 328-29.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 185-93.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 186, sq, 191, sq.

⁶⁾ John de Brancion, gentleman in waiting of the Regent, in Mechlin Court, had one of the finest gardens of the country, — opposite the Convent of the Black Sisters, in the Long 'Heergracht' (*MalGod.*, 271, 328, sq). Clusius was his friend, and lived as his brother at his house for several years ; after he left for Vienna, he received a letter from him every week. John's garden and his collections were all but destroyed in 1572, and he himself is mentioned as deceased in Clusius' letter to Camerarius, March 14, 1575 : *Clusius*, II, 295-96, 307-9 : further, I, 101, sq, 112, sq, 116, 349, II, 4, 16, 210, 216, &c ; and *sup.*, III, 340.

him for a visit to England ¹⁾. He was invited, on his return, by the Emperor Maximilian II to assume the direction of the Imperial Botanical Garden of Vienna, recently enriched by Ogier of Busbeek ²⁾, which function he took to heart from 1573 until 1587, under Rudolph II's reign. He made the acquaintance of John Sambucus ³⁾, John Crato ⁴⁾, Nicolas Ellebodium ⁵⁾ and other scholars at Court ⁶⁾, and he enjoyed the help and friendship of the great botanist Rembert Dodoens, the imperial physician ⁷⁾. He corresponded with Justus Lips from about 1584 ⁸⁾ and provided even to him Veranzio's copy of the inscription of Ankara ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ In a letter of September 6, 1571 (Leyden Libr., Vulc., 101), Brancion replies to a letter announcing his arrival in England with Rehdiger.

²⁾ Also by his companion William Quackelbeen : cp. *sup.*, III, 492-504, 508.

³⁾ John Sambucus, born on July 25, 1531, at Tyrnau, upper Hungaria, was not only a physician, but also a scholar and erudite antiquary ; he was connected with the Imperial Court as historian ; he died in Vienna on June 13, 1584 : Hessels, I, 892, &c.

⁴⁾ John Crato, of Craftheim, was also an Imperial physician and councillor : in his letter of September 10, 1583 to Abr. Ortelius, he mentions Clusius' book on the Hungarian flora : Hessels, I, 296 ; and *sup.*, III, 341, 504.

⁵⁾ Nicasius van Ellebode, born at Cassel, was a clever physician and an able Hellenist ; he died at Presburg on June 4, 1577, and Clusius attended his funeral : Paquot, VI, 410 ; *FlandScript.*, 128.

⁶⁾ There is a letter of Clusius to Joseph Schroter, medical professor at Jena, dated Vienna, October 28, 1577, in the Uppsala Library collection of *Epistolæ*.

⁷⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 335-45 ; Dodoens, 53.

⁸⁾ *Epist. Miscell. Cent.* I, 48 : Leyden, May 7, 1584.

⁹⁾ Vienna, March 21, 1587 : Burman, I, 311-13. That inscription, first copied by Ogier de Busbeek, in 1555 (cp. *sup.*, III, 500-01), was edited by Andrew Schott in 1579 : Sandys, II, 305, and Clusius' information was reproduced by Lips, in his *Auctarium Inscriptionum veterum* : Leyden, 1588 : 19. Clusius had received from Faustus Veranzio the copy of that inscription, which had been made through the care of his uncle, Antony Wranzy, or Veranzio, Bishop of Pet-Costely (Five Churches), who was with Francis Zay, admiral of the Donau Fleet, ambassador of Ferdinand I at the same time as Busbeek : they found the Ankara marble when on their way to Amasia, to meet the sultan Selim II. That copy was very exact, reproducing the division in words and lines of the original, as well as the form of the letters. Clusius had compared it in Vienna with a copy in J. Sambucus' possession, and caused Joh. Leunclavius to collate it at Constantinople with a transcript made about

He continued his thorough study of the plants of Austria and those of Hungary, and managed by 1581 to go to England for the fourth time. On that visit he met Philip Sidney, Francis Drake ¹⁾ and John Gerarde, the herbalist; maybe he then heard of the potato, which he introduced in the Netherlands ²⁾. When he resigned his post in 1587, he settled at Frankfurt on the Main, where he enjoyed the friendship and the liberality of Prince William, Landgrave of Hesse. He continued his studies, corresponding with several great contemporaries, who were able to send him books and information about plants, such as the Spanish erudite Arias Montanus ³⁾, the geographer Abraham Ortelius ⁴⁾, the mathematician Adrian Romanus ⁵⁾, the philologist Bonaventura Vulcanius ⁶⁾, besides Joachim Camerarius ⁷⁾. Justus Lips, who

1584 by two German noblemen : *BBLipse*, III, 403-4. That care bestowed on the famous inscription, an evident proof of Clusius' interest in the great monuments of culture, testifies to his deep sense of humanism, which he had in common with Busbeek and all students of the *Trilingue*.

¹⁾ *DNB*; the great English circumnavigator is said to have also taken interest in foreign flowers and plants : *Opmeer*, II, 66, 86, 149, 155, 238.

²⁾ The potato is said to have been introduced about 1580 from the Pacific slopes of South America into England : *ShakEngl.*, I, 374, 512. Clusius appears to have obtained potato seed in 1588 from Philip de Sivry. John Gerard, or Gerarde (1545-1612), was superintendent of Lord Burghley's gardens, and had a remarkable *hortus* of his own at Holborn : *DNB*; *ShakEngl.*, I, 512-15; *Clusius*, I, 145, 175, 359, sq.

³⁾ On January 2, 1592, Clusius writes to Ortelius to request Arias Montanus to send books about botany; he refers to that first demand in his letter of April 8, 1593 and of July 25, 1593; on April 26, 1596, Montanus sends to Ortelius a letter for Clusius : *Hessels*, I, 498, 555, 564, 683.

⁴⁾ There are letters of Clusius to Ortelius, dated from Frankfurt, May 26, 1591, January 2, 1592, April 8 and July 25, 1593, and from Leyden, June 25, 1597 : *Hessels*, I, 475-6, 498-9, 554-56, 563-4, 717-8, &c; he is often mentioned in the correspondence of Ortelius with his nephew James Colius, who had written a *Plantarum Syntagma*, about which he wanted Clusius' opinion; on June 25, 1597, the Leyden professor offered to have it printed with one of his own works : *Hessels*, I, 460, 473, 480, 696-7, 796. A letter of Clusius to Ortelius, dated Frankfurt, March 7, 1593, reposes in the British Museum, London, *MS. Bib. Harl.* 7011 : 183.

⁵⁾ Letter of Clusius to Ortelius, April 8, 1593 : *Hessels*, I, 555 : Adrian Romanus had paid him a visit on his way to the Bishop of Würzburg. *Cp. VAnd.*, 249; *BibBelg.*, 15-16; *Paquot*, XIII, 299, xv, 342.

⁶⁾ *VulcE*, 54; *Hessels*, I, 555.

⁷⁾ *Clusius*, II, 295-449 : 1573-1598.

had left Leyden soon after March 11, 1591 ¹⁾, applied to him for help and advice on the baths that were to restore his health ²⁾. Whilst he was working at the complete edition of his writings, the curators of Leyden University approached him with the offer of a chair for botany ³⁾, and, after the removal of some difficulties, he accepted in the spring of 1593, on condition that he should be allowed to finish first his *Stirpium Historia* ⁴⁾. He occupied that place for over sixteen years with great success until his death, which, on April 4, 1609, put an end also to several infirmities contracted from accidents on his journeys. He was buried in Our Lady's of Leyden, and Ælius Everard Vorstius pronounced the funeral Oration ⁵⁾.

Clusius published several translations of works on Botany : in 1557, he rendered into French Rembert Dodoens' *Cruyde-boeck* (of 1554) ⁶⁾, and, into Latin, some writings first issued in Italian, Spanish or French, describing plants which he

¹⁾ LipsAersE, 33, 34, &c.

²⁾ Justus Lips wanted to learn from Clusius, at a visit at Frankfurt, what he advised *de Thermis*, as Ortelius announced to James Colius, his nephew, adding that he did not know what had been decided on : Hessels, I, 474. Clusius took a great interest in Lips, and expressed his annoyance to Ortelius on April 8, 1593, that he had some trouble in getting a public chair in Louvain, as he had heard from Adrian Romanus; Lips had written himself, but had not referred to it : Hessels, I, 555. On July 25, 1593, Clusius praises him for his activity and calls him, with Joseph Scaliger '*duo nostri orbis lumina*' : Hessels, I, 563-64. There is a letter from Lips to Clusius, dated Louvain, July 1, 1594, in the British Museum, MS. 21524, f 213.

³⁾ Letter to Ortelius, April 8, 1593, announcing that Vulcanius had mentioned that he was appointed in Leyden before he had heard from the Curators; he feared to lose his father's inheritance and the Grand-duke of Hesse's pension : still he had accepted the offer : Hessels, I, 555-6.

⁴⁾ Probably the fourth and much enlarged issue of the *Aromatum & Simplicium... Historia*, printed by the widow of Christopher Plantin in 1593 : Paquot, xvii, 420.

⁵⁾ Ælii Everardi Vorstii *Oratio Funebris in obitum V. N. & Clar. Caroli Clusii Atrebatensis, habita die VII aprilis anno MD. IX* : Leyden, 1609. That oration was reprinted in the *Curæ Posteriores*, and in some medical and academical memorial books ; cp. Paquot, xvii, 428.

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 340 ; *Dodoens*, 272-73 ; Paquot, xv, 9, 12, *sq.*

had not the occasion to see for himself ¹⁾. He most admirably contributed, as already remarked, to his favourite science, by the careful and meticulously exact description of the plants and flowers which he found on his rambles : in 1576, he published *Rariorum aliquot Stirpium per Hispanias observatarum Historia* ²⁾; in 1583, he issued *Rariorum aliquot Stirpium, per Pannoniam, Austriam, & vicinas quasdam Provincias observatarum Historia* ³⁾; in 1601, the *Exoticorum Libri Decem* ⁴⁾; he also enriched, by his own knowledge and experience, the books he translated; he brought out complementary statements found afterwards, such as the *Notæ in Garcie <de Orto> Aromatum Historiam* of 1582, in which he edited the information about foreign growths which he had received from Sir Francis Drake and John Gerarde ⁵⁾; and finally, in 1609, his *Curæ Posteriores, seu plurimarum non ante cognitarum, aut descriptarum, Stirpium* ⁶⁾, which, with the *Tabulæ Chorographicæ* for *Gallia Narbonensis*, for *Hispania* and *Gallia Belgica* ⁷⁾ close the long series of the works of the man, who, notwithstanding his untimely lameness and his growing illnesses, greatly enlarged the knowledge of botany and, without ever losing sight of the literary and philological training he received at the Trilin-

¹⁾ He thus translated from the Italian, *Antidotarium*, 1561; from the Portuguese by Garsias de Orto, the *Aromatum & Simplicium aliquot Medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium Historia*, 1567; from the Spanish by Nic. Monardès, the *Simplicium Medicamentorum ex Novo Orbe delatorum... Historia*, 1574, and the *Magna Medicinæ Secreta*, 1601; by Christ. a Costa, the *Aromatum et Medicamentorum in Orientali India nascentium Liber*, 1574; from the French of Pierre Bélon, the *Plurimarum Singularium Rerum in Græciâ, Asiâ, Ægypto... Observationes*, 1589; as well as a series of studies by Honorius Bellus, Tobias Roels, John Pona and himself, published in 1601 as *Rariorum Plantarum Historia*: Paquot, xvii, 418-26.

²⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin: Paquot, xvii, 422-23.

³⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin: Paquot, xvii, 423.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, John Moretus: Paquot, xvii, 426.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin: Paquot, xvii, 423.

⁶⁾ Leyden, Franc. Raphelengius: Paquot, xvii, 426-27.

⁷⁾ The first and second were included in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*; the third was published posthumously at Leyden: James Marcus, 1619: Paquot, xvii, 425, 427.

gue ¹⁾), introduced into this country and into Europe several most beautiful and most useful plants ²⁾).

C. JAMES REYVAERT

James Reyvaert, *Rævardus*, or *Revardus*, another old student who coupled scientific research with the pursuit of jurisprudence, was as glorious, but unfortunately, also as shortlived as a meteor. He was a native of Lisseweghe, near Bruges : after having started his instruction in that town, in the school which Joannes Geldrius had just opened, he went to Louvain in 1549, being barely fifteen. For three years he applied himself to the study of Latin and Greek in the *Trilingue*, mastering a fine knowledge of the language of the Roman laws, as well as a discerning spirit of criticism, which characterizes all his writings. After his studies of philosophy, he started those of laws, which he went to continue in Orleans, where he promoted. He had to return home when Henry II started war once more against Spain, and, settling at Bruges, was often elected as councillor or alderman. In 1559, he went to England, and, on his return, prosecuted his studies. He took a vivid interest in the work of Mark and Guy Laurin ³⁾), and in the various researches undertaken by them and their friends, as well as in the publications by Goltzius ⁴⁾). He himself devoted his attention to the criticism and the commenting of the texts of the Roman Laws, and issued, in 1560, his *De Præjudiciis*, dedicated to

¹⁾ He translated into French Plutarch's lives of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus from the Latin version by Donat Acciaïoli, inserted into Amyot's *Vies des Hommes Illustres* : Paris, 1565 : Paquot, xvii, 418-19 ; and he took great care of the copy of the Ankara inscription, which he gave to Lips : cp. before, p 372.

²⁾ Opmeer, i, 515-16 ; Guicc., 265 ; Torfs, i, 207, ii, 338 ; SweABelg., 166-67 ; *Alma Academia Leidensis* : 150-52 ; Meursii *Athenæ Batavæ*, 186-88 ; Guicc., 265 ; *BibBelg.*, 118-20 ; Paquot, xvii, 413-28, xviii, 144, iv, 241 ; *SaxOnom.*, 360 ; F. W. T. Hunger, *Charles de l'Escluse* : The Hague, 1927-42 ; H. Wegener, *Das Grosse Bilderwerk des C. Clusius in der Preuss. Staatsbibliothek* (in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* : xii) : Berlin, 1936 : 374.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 185-93.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 186, sq, 191, sq, and 188, mentioning him as one of the correctors ; also *CollTorr.*, 78.

John Casembroot, Lord of Beckerzeel, and his *Tribonianus*, inscribed on January 1, 1560 to Guy Laurin ¹⁾; also his *Ad Legem Scriboniam*, dedicated, on March 5, 1560, to James Crucquius ²⁾. On January 1, 1563, he inscribed to Mark Laurin his *Ad Leges XII Tabularum Liber* ³⁾; on July 25, 1564, to Joachim Hopper ⁴⁾, his *Vartorum, sive de Juris Ambiguitatibus Libri quinque* ⁵⁾, and, on August 29 of the same year, to Viglius, his *I. C. Protribunalium Liber* ⁶⁾. Those publications, the latter of which were printed by Hubert Goltz, at Bruges, procured a well-earned fame to the author, whom the University of Douai offered a Royal chair of Jurisprudence; he accepted it in 1565, but the change of air and his relentless work were prejudicial to his health. In Douai, he dedicated, in February 1566, *De Auctoritate Prudentum Liber Singularis* to the royal councillor Christopher d'Assonville ⁷⁾, and on June 16, 1567, the *Ad Titulum Pandectarum de Diversis Regulis Juris Antiqui Commentarius* to the town authorities of Bruges ⁸⁾, where he had returned after eighteen months' stay at Douai, suffering from consumption which brought him to his untimely grave: he died on June 1, 1568, being only in his thirty-fourth year, and was buried at Lisseweghe. His son Peter, who, unfortunately, had inherited his father's poor health along with his intellectual capacities, did not survive him very long. He had entrusted his father's manuscripts to Janus Lernutius ⁹⁾, who had them printed in the two volumes *Opera* (Frankfurt, 1601), of which the first offers the reprint of what had been published before, and the second, two important posthumous works: *Conjectaneorum Libri Tres*, and *Variorum Libri Quinque*. Those writings ¹⁰⁾ constitute

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 190.

²⁾ James de Cruicke, was a famous *ludimagister* at Bruges: cp. III, 481-87: he had composed a kind of notice for Rævardus' (*Anti*)*Tribonianus*, and this dedication was the reply: Paquot, xviii, 375.

³⁾ Bruges, Hubert Goltzius, November 1563.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, p 330.

⁵⁾ Bruges, H. Goltzius, December 2, 1564.

⁶⁾ Bruges, H. Goltzius, February 21, 1565: Paquot, i, 348.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1566; cp. Guicc., 265, 240.

⁸⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1568.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, III, 248, 482-83; Hessels, i, 212, 255.

¹⁰⁾ They were reprinted at Frankfurt in 1622, and at Lyons in 1623.

an admirable achievement, especially the two books which form the second volume. They bring excellent comments as well on antiquarian lore as on jurisprudence, and, by their most judicious literary and textual criticism, deserve the grand praise which Justus Lips gave to Reyvaert by calling him *Belgii Papinianus* ¹⁾).

4. THEOLOGIANS

A. LINDANUS

It was not only for the intellectual development of Law students that the *Trilingue* proved most advantageous : a splendid instance of what a scholar in divinity derived from its teaching, is afforded by William, son of Damasus, *Damasi, van der Lindt*, (or Linden), Lindanus. He was born in 1525 at Dordrecht from a noble family that used to live at Lindt, in the '*Zwijndrechtsche Waard*', swallowed up by the cruel '*St. Elizabeths vloed*' of 1421 ¹⁾). He was educated at a famous school at Meir, near Hoogstraeten ²⁾), where he was taught Barlandus' *Dialogi*, Cato's and Ausonius' distichs, Prudentius' hymns, and Boetius' writings. At fifteen, he was sent to Louvain, where he boarded in the Porc, and promoted the twenty-fourth as M. A. on March 15, 1543 ³⁾). He was appointed professor of Philosophy in his Pedagogy, and taught from 1543 to 1552 ⁴⁾); meanwhile he studied theology under Ruard Tapper ⁵⁾), Josse van Ravestein, of Thielt ⁶⁾), and John van der Eycken, of Hasselt ⁷⁾). At the same time, he was a zealous attendant at the lectures of the professors of the *Trilingue* :

¹⁾ Schrevel, II, 454 ; *BibBelg.*, 426-27 ; *SaxOnom.*, 394 ; *SweABelg.*, 371, sq ; Paquot, XVI, 108-13 ; *BrugErVir.*, 7, 44, sq ; Guicc., 240 : 'Iurisconsultum celeberrimum, etsi valde adhuc adolescentem' ; *FlandOHR*, II, 113-17 ; and *sup.*, III, 248, 482. ²⁾ Torfs, I, 278-80.

³⁾ Postea, cum esset annorum duodecim, in Brabantiam venit, plenius instituendus, et litteris humanioribus excolendus. Erat tum schola non incelebris apud Meranos, Hochstratensis comitatus : Havens, II, 96.

⁴⁾ Vern., 133 ; *ULPromRs.*, 118 : Wilhelmus Verlinden, *vel* Lindanus, Dordracensis. ⁵⁾ *ULDoc.*, IV, 122.

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 569, 571, sq, 585, sq, II, 414, III, 575-79, and before, 74, 149, sq, 260-62 ; also Miræus, 63. ⁷⁾ Cp. II, 508-10, &c ; Miræus, 82.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 218-20, &c ; Miræus, 48.

of Rescius, and of his successor Amerotius, for Greek, and of Nannius, for Latin. Yet he was far more influenced by the lessons of the professor of Hebrew, Andrew Balenus, with whom he became intimately acquainted ¹⁾; from his lectures, and especially from the guidance imparted by his familiar talks, and by a critical interest in the work done, Lindanus learned the rational method of interpreting the books of Holy Scripture ²⁾. Instead of attributing all authority to one or other Greek or Hebrew Bible text, as was the custom with the Protestants, he deduced from a comparative study of the various readings, that the Latin Vulgate is by far the most authoritative. That judgment did not prevent him from finding many places in that version which are obscure, careless, and even badly or insufficiently expressed renderings of the original : the right sense was then to be derived from a judicious comparison of such passages with the correspondent ones in Greek or Hebrew : it evidently required a thorough acquaintance with the languages used. He thus continued Erasmus' method ; but, whereas in 1518, a storm was raised when the great patron of the *Trilingue* advocated the knowledge of languages as a necessary requirement for Bible studies, and expressed his doubts as to some readings of the Vulgate, it was a member of the Faculty of Divinity, who, in 1552 or 1553 ³⁾, published *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi Scripturas*, in which were fully exposed and vindicated the views and the methods he learned from his masters of the *Trilingue*, and especially from Balenus.

Meanwhile Lindanus had started a busy career. After having continued for some time his theological studies, he went to Paris ; besides learning French and applying himself to divinity, he attended there the Greek lectures of Adrian Turnebus ⁴⁾, as well as the Hebrew lessons of John Mercier ⁵⁾ ;

¹⁾ Cp. III, 208, 213, *sq.*, &c. and before, pp 298, 318.

²⁾ Lindanus praises his master in the seventh Chapter of the first book of his *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi Scripturas* ; cp. NèveMém., 245.

³⁾ A first edition appeared in Louvain : *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 312; NèveMém., 318 ; a second in Cologne in 1558.

⁴⁾ Adrian Turnebus was Royal professor for Greek from 1547 to 1565 : Sandys, II, 185, *sq.* ; Lefranc, 205, 381, &c.

⁵⁾ John Mercier taught Hebrew as Royal Professor from about 1547 to 1570 : Lefranc, 232, 381.

he also heard the comments of the Rabbi on the Bible. He was back in Louvain in 1552, and was, for two years, the guest and *contubernalis* of Dean Ruard Tapper ; he took orders, and promoted licentiate in theology. When Cardinal Otto Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg, appealed for help to the University of Louvain in favour of the University of Dillingen ¹⁾, which he had recently founded ²⁾, Lindanus was sent to teach theology ³⁾. He reached Dillingen on October 19, 1554, and succeeded his friend Peter de Soto, in April 1555, as professor of Scripture and of Pastoral Divinity. On July 8, 1556, he presided at the first action, the promotion to Bachelor of Divinity of Bartholomew Kleindienst, a Dominican, who afterwards became his successor ⁴⁾. He himself devoted all his time and efforts to study, and he availed himself of all opportunities to enrich his knowledge and experience, making the acquaintance of Peter Canisius and other great contemporaries ⁵⁾.

In the summer of 1556, he returned to Louvain, where he promoted Doctor of Divinity on September 14 ⁶⁾. He returned to Dillingen for the next academical year, but to the great regret of Cardinal Truchsess and of the University, to which

¹⁾ Letters of Viglius to the Faculty of Theology, Louvain, and to Cardinal Otto Truchsess, October 24, 1554 : *ULAnn.*, 1552 : 304-09.

²⁾ The University of Dillingen was founded at the request of Cardinal Truchsess by Julius III on April 6, 1551, and confirmed by Charles V, on June 30, 1553 ; it was solemnly opened on May 21, 1554 : *UniDill.*, 22-27.

³⁾ In August 1554, Cardinal Truchsess had sent a Dominican, Father Alfonsus, to Louvain, along with a nobleman, to ask for help, and to accompany the professor granted to Dillingen. Martin van Rythoven had already been there at work from the beginning with Peter Endovius, Endovianus, of Eindhoven, the first Rector : *UniDill.*, 10, 43 ; and the new University would have liked to see him return. In compliance with a letter of Cardinal Truchsess, Viglius advised the Louvain Faculty to grant his request if possible, especially if a promise had been given. On the other hand, the Cardinal, he expected, would be satisfied with Lindanus : *forsitan Lindano penitus cognito & perspecto, Riethovii desiderium facilius deponet* : October 24, 1554 : *HEpL*, 122, b.

⁴⁾ *UniDill.*, 36.

⁵⁾ Letter of Peter Canisius to Lindanus, Ratisbon, February 25, 1556 : *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 310-18 ; *Canisius*, 82 ; *UniKöln*, 430.

⁶⁾ *Mol.*, 520 ; *VAnd.*, 115 : Ruard Tapper, as *decanus Sti. Petri*, handed him the *insignia*.

he had rendered eminent services during three years of most efficient teaching ¹⁾, he settled in his native country in 1557 ²⁾ as archdeacon of the Utrecht diocese, and Bishop George of Egmont's *Vicarius*, or Official, throughout Friesland. He accomplished his office with great efficiency, in so far that Philip II appointed him as Royal Councillor, Inquisitor, and dean of Our Lady's Chapter at The Hague ³⁾. He fulfilled with stern exactness what he considered to be his duty : he opposed as well his own Bishop, who had curtailed some of the decrees of Trent in their proclamation ⁴⁾, as those who invoked the secular customs and traditional freedom against its authority ⁵⁾ ; he tried to remedy lawless aberration and religious indifference by introducing good instruction and education ⁶⁾, and by appointing excellent parish priests ⁷⁾ : but encountered headstrong opposition on account of inveterated indiscipline and quickly spreading Calvinism ⁸⁾. Yet Lindanus evidently

¹⁾ Besides a silver spoon, marked D. W. L. D., offered to his successor, he left a collection of theological books by Driedo, Erasmus, Latomus and Tapper to Dillingen University, with the wish that their evangelical, apostolic, and truly catholic theology might find recognition and veneration in the new institute : *UniDill.*, 44, sq, 52 ; *MatriDill.*, 1130.

²⁾ Paquot, xv, 324 ; Hoyneck, III, i, 208.

³⁾ In the Palace chapel of the Council : Guicc., 199 ; Hellin, I, 23 ; *HEpL*, 16.

⁴⁾ Protestation against the Bishop of Utrecht : August 15, 1565 : Brom, I, i, 269, ii, 972.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xi, 297 ; *Drieux*, 35.

⁶⁾ He wished for some Jesuits to settle and work in Friesland : *JesRheinA*, 307, sq, 311.

⁷⁾ Such as Wathias Heremannus, as dean of Bolsward : July 23, 1560 : *HEpL*, 72.

⁸⁾ On account of the zeal he showed for the welfare of faith and the Church, Lindanus was as disliked by the clergy as by the States of Friesland, since the ideas of Reformation had found ready sympathy. He was accused to the Governor, Count of Arenbergh, of ambition, tyranny, cupidity, simony : 'jam diu dispendium facimus nostræ libertatis, obtruso nobis Gulielmo Lindano commissario fidei, etsi revera Inquisitori, homine peregrino, & supra quam ambizioso... Is namque imperia, æs, sacerdotia, aut suæ conditioni adjecit, aut pretio corruptus largientibus concessit, & quidem in fraudem Ecclesiastici per Frisiam Ordinis...' : *HEpL*, 16, 17. Most likely, on account of that 'superbam et insolentem dominationem', as the clergy called his work, Lindanus was not appointed Bishop of Leeuwarden, which Viglius proposed in 1559 ; nor could even Remi Drieux enter that diocese to which he had been nominated : *Drieux*, 34-35.

wanted to heal, and not to harm : so, for example, he tried to save the Delft schoolmaster Henry Geldorp, then in Leeuwarden, endeavouring to make him return to duty and piety, and spare trial and punishment ¹⁾.

Meanwhile the excellence of the young Doctor of Divinity was such that the Cardinals entrusted as Legates with the preparation of the Council, wrote to him from Trent on May 18, 1561, to insist, in the name of the Pope, on his taking part in it : his reply, which they acknowledged on July 31, contained a proposal, about which they had not yet taken a decision ²⁾. No wonder that King Philip II destined him for the See of Roermond which he had created ; on August 8, 1561, Pope Pius IV appointed him to it ³⁾, and allowed him a pension until the diocese should be able to provide for him ⁴⁾. In fact, although he was consecrated, on Palm Sunday, April 4, 1563, by Cardinal Granvelle ⁵⁾, he could not take possession of his see and his flock, on account of difficulties and contestations about the revenue, which took several years to be settled ⁶⁾. The Bishop elect, meanwhile, remained at his work at The Hague ⁷⁾, and was even requested by the King, on October 4, 1565, to continue his office as Inquisitor for Friesland ⁸⁾.

Lindanus' untiring activity and vigilant zeal were most efficient ; they greatly thwarted the various adversaries, who, by 1566, even forced him to leave The Hague and the territories that had fallen into their power. He continued his work, first from Dordrecht, and afterwards from Louvain, where he was heartily welcomed by his old friends, and

¹⁾ The Inquisitor, Nicolas de Castro, complained to Viglius, on March 27, 1558, that Lindanus did not answer his repeated requests about prosecuting Geldorp : ViglEA, 15 ; cp. before, pp 214, sq.

²⁾ Cp. Brom, I, i, 268, II, 5 (letter from Fulvio Orsini, Nov. 8, 1561).

³⁾ Brom, I, ii, 719.

⁴⁾ With the approval of Philip II, Pope Pius IV granted to Lindanus a yearly payment of 500 ducats from the income of the diocese of Palencia, Spain, until the regular revenue should be yielded by the diocese : Brom, I, i, 141. ⁵⁾ *BelgChron.*, 538 ; *GranClaess.*, 19.

⁶⁾ J. J. van Veen, *Verzet tegen de Installatie van Lindanus als Bisschop van Roermond 1563-1569* (in *Publ. Soc. Hist. et Archéol. du Limbourg* : Maastricht, 1908 : xliv), 149-71.

⁷⁾ Hoyneck, I, ii, 349, 518 ; Havens, II, 103 ; Paquot, xvi, 166.

⁸⁾ Brom, I, i, 270.

where he readily found new ones ¹⁾. Finally, on May 11, 1569, he was able to take possession of his episcopal See in presence of Josse de Cranevelt, Gelderland pro-Chancellor ²⁾, and of William Gent, representative of the Duke of Alva ³⁾. He was welcomed with great rejoicings, which the young poet Maximilian Vrientius ⁴⁾ recorded, later on, with these verses :

Dordracum patria est, Grudiæ patria altera Athenæ :

Illæ animi altrices, corporis illa mei.

Conspicuum sancta coluit Rurmunda tiara.

The zealous Bishop at once started tending his flock like a wise and prudent shepherd, devoting all his care to the education of the rising generation, as well as to the preparing of excellent collaborators in his pastoral work ⁵⁾; he watched most assiduously for all danger, which found him ready to do what man could do, realizing his favourite device, '*Prælia Domini prælians*' ⁶⁾.

Indeed, since several years, Lindanus had been fighting the fight of Right and Truth. His *De Optimo Genere interpretandi Scripturas*, of 1552-53, which had been reprinted in Cologne in 1558 ⁷⁾, was as the rational application of the

¹⁾ Amongst them was the professor of medicine John Wauters van Vieringen : VAnd., 236; *JésNécr.*, 31-32; Paquot, xiii, 442; cp. for Lindanus' reception at Roermond, Hoyneck, i, ii, 518.

²⁾ Cp. *Gran.*, lxiii, sq; when, in 1579, he had to leave Gelderland, and lost all his belongings in the United Provinces in 1582, he took refuge near his friend at Roermond; he died there in 1591.

³⁾ William Gent, a native of Nijmegen, studied laws in Louvain, and became Royal Councillor in Gelderland, until he had to leave in 1579; he took refuge at Maastricht, and was appointed Councillor for Brabant: he wrote a book on the *Adagia* of Civil Law (Paris, 1571), and *Exempla Miraculorum SS. Eucharistiæ* (Paris, 1574): VAnd., 212; *BibBelg.*, 316-17; Paquot, ii, 192-94.

⁴⁾ 'Maxæmilian Vrientius', de Vrient, born on February 1, 1559 at Zandenburg, in the castle of the Prince of Veere, studied in Louvain, and, after some time spent in France and Italy, became Ghent secretary: he died on December 27, 1614, leaving several bundles of poems: Paquot, x, 61-66; *BibBelg.*, 667-69; *SweMon.*, 34, 56, 203, 376, &c.

⁵⁾ Cp. Havens, ii, 102; *JesRheinA*, 616, 621, 649; Brom, i, i, 271, ii, 973; *JesHist.*, i, 420, 423, ii, 302; Paquot, vii, 221, xvi, 310, i, 83; *Canisius*, 225.

⁶⁾ Opmeer, ii, 160, b.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 305. He expressed his wish to see the question of the authentic Bible-text soon solved, as it was necessary to fix the wording of Missal and Breviary: *VulSext.*, 21.

method of Bible study, which he had learned from his master Balenus in the *Trilingue*. He based that study on the text which, for centuries, had been in use in a Church, of which the teaching had received the promise of God's help and infallibility. Although that '*vulgata editio longo usu probata*' was authentic, as the Council of Trent had recently declared ¹⁾, it could not boast a painfully exact similitude in all details with the original wording, as hardly could have been expected on account of the numberless copyists throughout so many centuries ; it therefore was the intention of the Council to create a model text on the authority of the oldest and most faithful copies ²⁾, just as St. Jerome had done for a far much shorter lapse of time ³⁾. The attention of the scripturists thus was directed to the comparison with the most ancient and most authoritative manuscripts, at least until the decisive text should be published by the Church according to the decision of the Council ⁴⁾. Wherever there should be a material difference, the Fathers of the Church and the exegetists were to be consulted ; it was only when either of them failed to provide any reliable information, that the Greek or the Hebrew texts were to be applied to, so as to prevent inexact changes, or to indicate the uniform reading whenever the Latin manuscripts did not agree ⁵⁾. That most limited use made of Greek and Hebrew texts, and the help of information about history and literature, culture and intellectual development of the various periods at which they were composed, were in full opposition with the tenet of the adversaries. Moreover, Lindanus' outspoken negation of the supreme authority which the latter attributed to those texts ⁶⁾, was so peremptory that, on February 25, 1556, Peter Canisius made his friend, who then was at work in Dillingen, attentive to

¹⁾ *TriDec.*, 20-22.

²⁾ Cp. *VulSext.*, 12-27.

³⁾ *VulSext.*, 49.

⁴⁾ *VulSext.*, 47, sq.

⁵⁾ That program of Lindanus was intended to be in conformity with all the decrees of Trent ; he, meanwhile, was fully aware of the necessity of corrections to be effected in some phrasings of the Vulgate, even before the Breviary should be altered : *VulSext.*, 21 ; amongst the books he had made ready, one, destined to be dedicated to Gregory XIII, was meant to reply to the question : *Cur necessaria sit SS. Bibliorum Castigatio* : *VulSext.*, 25-7 ; *BibBelg.*, 326.

⁶⁾ *VulHist.*, 140, sq.

the fact that he and others found 'in <ejus> scriptis multa dici mollius posse', when attacking Calvin or Melanchthon ¹⁾. Lindanus' high praise of the Vulgate, which he described as based on a text better than any other just then known, and the assertion that the Hebrew Bible, although useful, was in no way indispensable, caused his 'godson', the recently converted John Isaac Levita, to write a *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicæ*, accusing him of despising the most venerable original form of the Sacred Books ²⁾. In 1558, Lindanus published his *Panoplia Evangelica, sive de Verbo Dei Evangelico Libri V* ³⁾, in which he frankly denied that dogmas revealed by the Lord, must all necessarily be expressed in Scripture; he once more voiced the accusation of St. Justin, that the Jews and Greeks had altered their texts ⁴⁾, and, above all, he assured that the only righteous interpretation was that of Tradition proposed by the Church, the only one authorized to specify exactly which books are part of the Deposit of Faith, and what sense, in those matters, has to be given to their testimony ⁵⁾. Lindanus was fully taken up by the study of the Bible: besides the several Psalms ⁶⁾ and the Epistles of St. John ⁷⁾, which he prepared to be edited, he worked most zealously for several years at a *Liber Hebraicarum Quæstionum* ⁸⁾, as well as at *De Victoria Christi contra Judæos & Judæizantes Bibliorum Interpretes*, in which he indicated, in alphabetical order, the passages of Scripture which, since the days of the Septuagint and of St. Jerome, yea, even since those of the Greek translations of

¹⁾ Letter of Canisius to Lindanus, Ratisbon, February 25, 1556 : *ULAnn.*, 1852 : 310-14.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 305.

³⁾ That book, which Canisius requested Lindanus to edit 'cito' (*ULAnn.*, 1852 : 317), was printed in Louvain in 1558; it was reprinted in Cologne in 1577 and 1590.

⁴⁾ *Dial. cum Triphone*, 73.

⁵⁾ That point, already exposed in Albert Pigge's *Hierarchiæ Ecclesiasticæ Assertio* : Cologne, 1544, I, ii, ff 8-14; *VulHist.*, 138, sq, was especially contested by Thomas Rogers, in *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England* : Cambridge reprint, 1854 : 78, 192, 196-200.

⁶⁾ *BibBelg.*, 324-26.

⁷⁾ That *Glaphyra* was printed in Louvain soon after his decease.

⁸⁾ *BibBelg.*, 326-27, quoting Arnold Havens.

the Hebrew texts by Aquila and Symmachus, had been altered by the Jews ¹⁾).

As could be expected, Lindanus' scriptural writings were bitterly criticized by all adversaries, not only in the Netherlands and Germany ²⁾, but also in England ³⁾, where John Jewel ⁴⁾ and William Fulke ⁵⁾, Thomas Rogers ⁶⁾ and William Whitaker ⁷⁾ attacked them in their books and pamphlets. Still that opposition did certainly not produce the bitter disappointment which was actually caused to Lindanus by his fellow-believers, and even by his friends. His godson John Isaac Levita had been requested to come and work for several months from November 10, 1563, in Plantin's house ⁸⁾ at a Hebrew lexicon for the *Biblia Regia*, which he was preparing ⁹⁾; he must have communicated to the Antwerp printer and his collaborators a thorough diffidence of the zealous exegetist, in so far that, for several years, he was considered in the 'Golden Compass' as the worst enemy of the grand enterprise. Yet by February 1565, he had promised a pecuniary help to the undertaking ¹⁰⁾, and had, since then, allowed several of his books to be printed by Plantin ¹¹⁾; all the same, the discontent of John Isaac had been transmitted to Arias Montanus ¹²⁾ and to Guilielmus ¹³⁾, and was expressed about 1572, in a sly paragraph, inserted in one of the volumes of the *Biblia Regia* : it reproached Lindanus of

¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 327.

²⁾ Cp. *CrenFasc.*, III, 83, sq; *HerMaur.*, 252.

³⁾ Cp. Gough, 488.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Works* : Cambridge edition, 1845 : IV, 907.

⁵⁾ *A Defence of the... Translation of Holy Scriptures* : Cambr. edit., 1843 : 11, 42, sq, 62, 74, 79, 122.

⁶⁾ *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England* : Cambr. edit., 1854 : 78, 192, 196-200.

⁷⁾ *A Disputation on Holy Scripture, against the Papists* : Camb. edit., 1849 : 111, 192, 512.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 304.

⁹⁾ Cp. *PlantE*, I-VII, *passim*.

¹⁰⁾ *PlantE*, I, 58, III, 3, v, 23; on February 26, 1565, Plantin wrote to Masius that Lindanus had promised one hundred crowns, and expected to find further help at Court; he had also made several suggestions as to what texts were to be added : *MasE*, 363.

¹¹⁾ *De Sapientia cœlesti*, 1567; *Apologeticum ad Germanos*, 1568; *Paraphrases in Psalmos*, 1572; &c.

¹²⁾ Cp. *Opmeer*, I, 514, b, II, 252; *Orbaan*, 33, 46, 197; *Lomeier*, 324.

¹³⁾ John Willems : cp. before, pp 305, 307-8.

having vaunted the antiquity of a manuscript of the Psalms belonging to Doctor John Clement, physician, Sir Thomas More's former secretary ¹⁾, and of having assured, as a proof of the mutilations by the Jews, that Psalm xcv has, in that *codex*, on v 10, the *χειμήλιον* 'a ligno', added to *dicite in Gentibus quia Dominus regnavit* ²⁾. The note further asserted that, since the *codex* mentioned is hardly a century old, and has not the words *a ligno*, Lindanus could not have seen that manuscript, and thus had sampled the unreliability of his arguments ³⁾.

In fact, Lindanus had only mentioned Clement's *codex* as a *terminus ad quem* for the alterations brought about by the Jews in Bible manuscripts; and although he himself opined for the desiderability of 'a ligno' in the verse line ⁴⁾, he knew very well that it was absent from the English friend's copy, which he had seen very often, as had 'six hundred' of his fellow-students, in the study of their Master Andrew Balenus. He applied to one of these, the most erudite Andrew Masius, councillor at Zevenaar ⁵⁾, by a letter dated from Roermond, December 3, 1572, mentioning that he was going to start an action for slander, *de clerico maledico*, before the Bishop of Antwerp, Francis Sonnius, and adding the request to let him have, at any rate, his opinion about the corrupting of Bible texts by the Jews ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 43, 358, and before, p 306; *Masius*, 15; *Acta Mori*, 3, 29, 81, 108, sq. John Clement had studied in Louvain in 1521-22, and had resided there with his family under Edward VI; his son Thomas matriculated there on July 20, 1547, and he himself was inscribed in January 1551: it explains how Balenus had the loan of the manuscript during the time of Lindanus' studies: *Cran.*, 154, c-f; cp. *inf.*, § 6, B.

²⁾ Lindanus was since long interested in that text: already Antony Morillon († October 10, 1556: cp. *sup.*, III, 306-11) wrote *De Crucis Dominicæ Figura ad Guill. Lindanum, theologum, Epistola*, preserved in manuscript in Brussels and Rome (Simonis, 127; Orbaan, 202, where it is wrongly dated 1580).

³⁾ *Masius*, 12-14.

⁴⁾ No doubt considering St. Justinus' statement, and that of the Greek *Codex Veronensis*, as well as the opinion of several Latin Fathers of the Church, which is, moreover, expressed in Prudentius' hymn. Still the death on the Cross does not seem to be ever specified in the old Testament; the words are missing in all Hebrew, and, with one exception, in all Greek, *codices*; also in Origines' *Hexapla*, in St. Jerome's comments and in most Latin versions.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, III, 282-90, 427, sq, 494; *Masius*, 3-12.

⁶⁾ *MasE*, 501-5.

That letter, which reached Masius on January 18, 1573, was answered on February 13, 1573, by two replies : the one ¹⁾ about the question *de hebraicorum bibliorum integritate*, is lost; the other ²⁾ advised his friend to drop the quarrel with Montanus, whose uprightness and excellence is highly praised ³⁾; it reached Lindanus only on May 5 ⁴⁾, after he had left the diocese more than a month on account of the trouble caused by the troops of William of Orange. Meanwhile either he had complained to his colleague Sonnius, or, in his last weeks, Masius had preached reconciliation to Montanus; at any rate, all disparaging remarks were deleted from the edition, and a long apologetical letter was written to the injured Bishop ⁵⁾. For several years, however, Plantin tried to keep the quarrel alive : Montanus never showed any further animosity; but the printer, who was most obsequious where there was any hope of getting entrusted with some

¹⁾ It seems that Masius, at least for some time, was in favour of the reliability of the Hebrew manuscripts : on July 15, 1569, he asked Latino Latini for the reason why the Latin Vulgate was so thoroughly studied; he was told in the reply of October 10, 1569, that the Latin and Greek texts have a greater claim on authenticity than the Hebrew ones : being continually interpreted and investigated by straightforward men in peaceful circumstances, any alterations were as good as impossible; whereas the Jews, in their continual struggles, and their times of persecution, disposed of less means to safeguard the text of their sacred writings, besides being exposed to the everlasting temptation of venting their animosity, or of taking their revenge in some insidious glossema : MasE, 432, sq.

²⁾ *Masius*, 15-17.

³⁾ Masius probably felt full of gratitude towards Montanus : in that very year 1572, Latino Latini mentioned that his being in the service of a prince suspected in Rome, as well as his partiality to the Talmud, had given offence to several personages in the surroundings of the Pope. Arias Montanus, on his visit to Rome in May 1572, corrected that wrong opinion : MasE, 460, 481, sq, 486, sq. On October 30, 1572, Latini wrote that 'Sr Benedetto Aria' had recalled all the good qualities and the rare erudition of his friend, concluding that 'la venuta di detto Sr ha giovato tanto a la buona opinione che di voi gia era impressa negli animi di molti si...': MasE, 495; *Masius*, 6, sq.

⁴⁾ *Masius*, 17.

⁵⁾ That results from an epistle of February 4, 1591, edited by Gonzalez Carvajal in his *Elogio Historico del Doctor Benito Arias Montano* : cp. *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* : Madrid, 1832 : VII, 188; also MasE, 504, sq; *Masius*, 14.

printing for Lindanus ¹⁾, was fire and flame when he mentioned him in his correspondence with his many collaborators or well-wishers: not only John Isaac ²⁾ and John Guilielmus ³⁾, but also Gilbert Genebrard ⁴⁾, Guy Fabre de la Boderie, Fabricius ⁵⁾, and others, whom he incited to answer the Bishop's *Apologia*; he even used against him the final argument of all losers, the assurance that his contradictor did not know any Hebrew ⁶⁾! With all that, the 'Great Master' of the *Family of Love* ⁷⁾ never lost an opportunity to avail himself amply of a solemn declaration of affection towards '*nostre mere sainte Eglise Catholique Romaine*', and of his invincible devotedness '*pour nostre sainte foy et religion catholique*' ⁸⁾, whereas a close examination of his correspondence proves that, notwithstanding all his art, and his pretendedly generous love of truth, his chief devotion unfailingly went to '*Sancta Crumena*'.

Whilst all those difficulties were put into the Bishop of Roermond's way by the very men who should have behaved as friends, he did his work as shepherd with care and self-sacrifice; so his foes, far from throwing the discontent about the establishment of the New Dioceses on the head of Sonnius, who had been Tapper's chief agent for the matter in Rome ⁹⁾, heaped it all on Lindanus'. By his limitless devotion, his dauntless zeal, and his stern, but beneficent, activity, he was then actually giving an admirable example to his colleagues,

¹⁾ Cp. PlantE, II, 209, III, 334, v, 80, VIII, 291, 296, 299, &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 299-306.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 156-7.

⁴⁾ Gilbert Genebrard, born at Riom, Auvergne, about 1537, became Benedictine, and studied in Paris, where he was Royal professor of Hebrew from 1566 to 1591. In 1592, he became Archbishop of Aix; having been one of the most violent champions of the *Ligue*, he retired at Henry IV's accession, in Sémur Priory, Auxois, and died there in 1597: Lefranc, 228, 232, 352, 382; PlantE, II, 292, v, 27, sq, &c.

⁵⁾ Guido Fabricius Boderianus, born at his castle of Boderie in 1541, became an erudite orientalist. He largely contributed to the Royal Bible, by Chaldaic and Syriac texts, grammars and lexicons; Plantin also printed his Syriac primer, 1572, and his *Severini Alexandrini de Ritibus Baptismi*, 1572. He died in his native castle in 1598, after having been, for some time, secretary to the Duke of Alençon: PlantE, 252-53, v, 29, &c; Lefranc, 197.

⁶⁾ PlantE, v, 38, sq, 62, sq.

⁷⁾ PlantE, I, 29, 72, &c, VIII, iv, sq; Hessels, I, 48, 893, b.

⁸⁾ PlantE, v, 28, 29.

⁹⁾ Cp. sup., III, 378-79.

and thus was held up to derision in the pamphlet by Philip Marnix of St. Aldegonde, *The Hive of the Holy Roman Church*, of 1569, with more acerbity than any other Prelate ¹⁾. That significative testimony of excellence as shepherd thus imparted to him by his adversaries, is strikingly corroborated by Pope Pius V, who, on July 2, 1571, sent an admonishing letter to the Bishops, enjoining them to proceed in their duty with more decision and courage, without being intimidated by the difficulties of times and circumstances, but made an exception for Lindanus ²⁾. If the *Hive* had followed its model, Agrippa's *Apologia... contra Theologistas Lovanienses* ³⁾, and had only attacked real misuses and wrongs, Lindanus would not have minded : as the pamphlet ridiculed both what was wrong and what is irreproachably right, he destroyed what copies he could lay hands on, so as to keep his flock indemn ⁴⁾.

If Lindanus was severe in the opposition of all adversaries of faith and belief, he was no less stern and strict towards those who took to defend them, but transgressed the limits of right and humanity : he went to complain, in 1572, to the Duke of Alva about the cruelty and sacrilegious acts perpetrated by his troops at the taking of Mechlin, mentioning those at Naarden and Zutphen, and at other towns ⁵⁾; and when the Provincial Council was gathered, from June 11 to

¹⁾ On Margaret of Parma's request, Lindanus had criticized the 'Confessio Antverpiensium' (before January 31, 1566), and he defended his criticism by an 'apologia' : Hoyneck, I, II, 349; Paquot, XVI, 310; in reply, Baltasar Houwaert and Flaccus Illyricus, the authors, edited in Basle their *Corte Verantwoordinghe*, in 1567, calling him *Blindanus*. With the other theologians Sonnius and Tapper, Lindanus is further ridiculed in more than one other pamphlet. Still the cleverest and the bitterest was Marnix' *Hive*, *Biënkorf der H. Roomsche Kercke* (1569), in which he is derided as a *Blindastinus*, and as author of the *Panoplia*. Cp. J. Sterck, *Bronnen en Samenstelling van Marnix' Biënkorf* : Ghent, 1952 : 83, 99, sq, 162, sq, 178, sq.

²⁾ Pastor, VIII, 355.

³⁾ Agrippa of Nettesheym, *Apologia pro Defensione Declamationis de Vanitate Scientiarum contra Theologistas Lovan.* : cp. sup., III, 141-4.

⁴⁾ Lindanus took care to have a large quantity of *Hives* burnt. Posterity has rightly judged : Marnix' memory, as follows from a recent anniversary, is as good as extinct, except in history or lexicon, but the Creed he wished to extirpate, is gloriously prospering in his Holland.

⁵⁾ Cp. Havens, II, ix; *GranClaess.*, 38; *SonRyth.*, 62.

July 15, 1570, at Mechlin, he was the inspirer of the refusal to admit to it either the Duke, or the Lord of Glymes, his representative ¹⁾. He similarly prevented the admittance of Requesens' delegate to the meeting of the first diocesan synod of Louvain, 1574 ²⁾, so as to secure full freedom to the authorities in the Church, whereas some were ready to give way fearing abandonment, if not retaliation. A year before, he had opposed Vargas' exacting taxes on church goods, and had them returned before Alva was recalled ³⁾.

To all those difficulties came the inroad on the diocese and the town of Roermond by the troops of William of Orange on July 23, 1572 : Lindanus' residence was sacked, and his collection of books dispersed ⁴⁾. He soon was not even free in the country, and had to take refuge in 1574 in Cologne, where he lived, for a time, in close familiarity with the Papal Legate Bartholomew Count Portia, and occasionally paid a visit to the *Tricoronatum* ⁵⁾. In 1576, he was again chased from his diocese into Liège ; when Don Juan of Austria entered the Netherlands, he had an interview with him at Marche ⁶⁾. He arranged as well as he could the state of his diocese, and as he still wanted the necessary funds for his establishment by the refusal of some ecclesiastical bodies — amongst them Maastricht Chapter ⁷⁾ — to realize the transfer of some benefices decided upon at the foundation of the new Sees, he resolved to go and plead his cause in Rome. He had meanwhile drawn up a sketch of the evil done by the unruly life of some members of the clergy to the state of the Christian faith ⁸⁾, which had been submitted to Don Juan, in May 1578,

¹⁾ *SonRyth.*, 58, sq.

²⁾ *GranClaess.*, 40, sq.

³⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1870 : 311-13.

⁴⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1871 : 310.

⁵⁾ Cp. *JesRheinA*, 714, 718, 722 ; *Rhetius*, 135 ; *Tricoron.*, 157, 227, 252 : with the Nuncio Portia, Lindanus spent some time in a Benedictine Convent of Liège diocese in 1578.

⁶⁾ At Marche, Lindanus had to take possession of a provostry incorporated into his *mensa*, which had been contested by Cardinal Charles I of Lorraine : Hoyneck, I, ii, 536 (September 5, 1569).

⁷⁾ That Chapter denied all help asked ; on March 28, 1571, Duke Albert of Bavaria recommended the Maastricht canons and their rights against Lindanus to Pope Gregory XIII : Brom, I, ii, 830.

⁸⁾ Already in 1566, Lindanus addressed to Cardinal Truchsess, as well as to the German Prelates and Princes, a memoir *de perditissimis Cleri Moribus et Reformationis Mediis* ; in 1567, he made suggestions on that

in Louvain where he resided ¹⁾, as well as several *Capita pro instauranda... in Belgio Religione Catholica* : he wished to communicate them to Pope and King, and consequently left for Italy. On his arrival, November 25, 1578 ²⁾, he was welcomed for his erudition and for his courage in persecutions by Philip Neri ; also by Cardinals Sirleto, Hosius, Baronius and especially Carlo Borromæo, who even invited him as a guest ; Pope Gregory XIII praised him before the College of Cardinals ³⁾. He handed to the Holy Father both his *Respublica et Religio Catholica, ut per Belgium instauranda sit Ratio*, written by order of Don Juan, May 1578, as well as the *Capita S. D. N. suggesta pro instauranda... Religione*, dated Rome, January 1579 ⁴⁾. Besides stating the evil, he also wished to indicate the remedy, which his experience and intimate connection with all circumstances had suggested. It was no less than the creation of a seminary, where priests and missionaries should be formed, so as to answer all the requirements of the moment. He found full encouragement with the Pope, and therefore decided to continue his journey to Spain.

Having secured, besides the Pope's approval, the help of the Nuncios of Spain and Portugal ⁵⁾, Lindanus, landing at

matter to Pope Pius V, adding a threefold request to the nine points proposed by the Belgian Bishops in the Provincial Synod of Cambrai, 1567 ; in 1568, he repeats his complaint in *Apologeticon ad Germanos pro Religionis Catholici Pace* : Antwerp, Plantin, 1568 : i, 19, sq ; seven years later, he communicated his views on the state of religion in the Netherlands to Nuncio Caspar Gropper : cp. Brom, i, i, 272 (Dec. 1574-Jan. 1575), ii, 973 (1567), 974 ; SchelAH, i, 383-92 ; *UniKöln*, 399, 462.

¹⁾ On April 8, 1578, Bishop John Stryen and Bishop Lindanus justified the latter's residence in Louvain, compelled by the state of his diocese ; he then suggested to Don Juan a means to reduce Holland to obedience : Brom, i, ii, 774.

²⁾ Lindanus' *Hodæporicon*, in *De Katholiek*, 1846 : iv, 62.

³⁾ Vern., 285 ; VAnd., 115.

⁴⁾ Brom, i, ii, 774, 779 ; G. Brom, *Twee Geschriften van... Wilhelmus Lindanus* (in *Public. d. l. Soc. histor. et archéol. d. l. Duché de Limbourg*) : Maastricht, 1892.

⁵⁾ Letter of Alessandro Frumentis, Nuncio in Portugal, March 13, 1579, referring to that voyage and to Lindanus ; on August 27, 1579, the Papal Secretary of State, Ptolomeo Gallio, Cardinal of Como, replies to Lindanus on account of his understanding with the Spanish Nuncio : Brom, i, ii, 776, 859.

Barcelona, found a hearty welcome with King Philip II, who readily approved of the plan, so that good news could be sent to Rome ¹⁾. The proposition, duly examined, was decided on in March, and even extended to Douai; Vendeville, most probably informed of the scheme, full-heartedly backed it ²⁾: at any rate, on September 13, 1579, Philip founded in Louvain the *Collegium seu Seminarium Regium Bonorum Pastorum* ³⁾: Lindanus was entrusted with the execution of the grand design, which he realized as soon as he returned ⁴⁾: he appealed for assistance to his friend John of Stryen, Bishop of Middelburg, whom circumstances prevented entering his diocese: he became the first President of the Institute in 1581 ⁵⁾. It thus proved that the journey to Rome, which Lindanus had wished not to be made into a cause of dis-

¹⁾ On May 22, 1579, Lindanus thanks Gregory XIII for his kind reception, and reports from Madrid on his favourable interview with the King about the Netherlands and the College he suggested; about that time he also pointed out to the Pope some points to be examined for the restitution of faith in the Netherlands: Brom, I, ii, 777, 779. On that voyage to Spain, Lindanus made the acquaintance of Andrew Schott: Hessels, I, 271; J. Fabri, *André Schott*: in *Études Class.*, 1953, 192; SchottE, 83.

²⁾ Cp. before, p 335: Vendeville had also felt the necessity of a well-trained clergy, and had even asked Bishop Rythoven to submit the plan of founding Seminaries to Trent Council: cp. before, pp 333, 330-36; *RamCons.*, 60.

³⁾ Cp. *FUL*, 3326-3433; *Vern.*, 206, sq; *VAnd.*, 317; *ULDoc.*, III, 368, sq; *ULAnn.*, 1880: 554, sq.

⁴⁾ King Philip ordered the Duke of Parma to pay Lindanus three thousand ducats for the first expenses: *ULDoc.*, III, 369, sq; he had appointed, in 1579, John Molanus as president, who, besides writing some useful books, could not do more, for want of good health: cp. before, p 6.

⁵⁾ John van Stryen, of Zeeland, who promoted Licentiate in Divinity in Louvain, became Bishop Nicolas van der Borch's vicar-general, and, in 1576, his successor; he was consecrated in 1581, at Namur, and being prevented from taking possession of his see, he administrated the Abbey of Vlierbeek from 1579 to 1581 in Philip II's name, during the absence of the Abbot Peter Cools. He was appointed President of the King's College in 1581, and died on July 8, 1594: he was laid to rest in the choir of St. Quentin's: *FUL*, 3332, 3343, 3366; *ULDoc.*, III, 371-72; *HEpM*, 21-23; *Guicc.*, 220; *BelgChron.*, 494, sq; *Fruin*, 528; cp. also before, p 215. On April 8, 1578, he had written a letter from Louvain to the Pope to justify Lindanus' leaving his diocese: Brom, I, ii, 774.

pleasure to the Pope ¹⁾, was highly beneficial to the welfare of both Church and country.

During the next years, the Bishop of Roermond stayed in, or, at least, as near as possible to, his diocese, which the wars had cruelly depopulated : his vicar-general, Clement Crabeels, replaced him, whereas he was entrusted with the restoring and reestablishment of the cult at Breda and Hertogenbosch, which had recently been liberated. He worked hard at his controversial tracts ²⁾, and was contemplating a plan of reform, which he exposed to the Cologne Nuncio Bonomi, as well as to his friend Judocus Lorichius, a Freiburg divine, in 1584 ³⁾. Although poor in wordly resources, he was getting constantly richer in grand designs : thanks to help received ⁴⁾, he started a second journey to Rome in the first weeks of 1586, to advocate the founding of an international committee of twelve divines, specially equipped for apologetic and polemic studies, so as to form a *Prytanæum Romanum, sive Collegium Theologorum emeritorum anti-hæreticorum* ⁵⁾. That proposition, as well as the founding of the *Collegium Regium*, shows the influence of the grand principle which Lindanus had been taught in the *Trilingue* : 'DUCERE MELIUS QUAM COGI IN REBUS FIDEI' ⁶⁾, the golden rule which it had constantly applied and treasured as the grand legacy of its great patron : fifty years earlier, Erasmus, protesting against

¹⁾ He requested his friend John Stryen to second his own letter, excusing his stay in Louvain to the Pope on account of the state of his diocese, April 8, 1578 : Brom, I, i, 774.

²⁾ On March 14, 1582, he wrote to Gregory XIII to recommend Christopher Flaracken, of Hertogenbosch, a militant Catholic, and to announce his own three new pamphlets against Protestants : Brom, I, ii, 804.

³⁾ On September 16, 1584, Lorichius wrote on the subject to Bonomi, who replied a few days later : Brom, I, ii, 782.

⁴⁾ On November 21, 1584, Lindanus requested the Secretary of State Gallio, Cardinal of Como, for the payment of 500 ducats due by the bishopric of Palencia, considering his need ; during the reign of Sixtus V, the Pope's almoner sent him 300 scudi on September 12, 1585 : Brom, I, i, 464, ii, 782. Most probably Gregory XIII indemnified him for his journeys.

⁵⁾ February 5, 1585 : Brom, I, i, 306 : document 883, as well as 884, which notifies and explains the project.

⁶⁾ Letter of November 9, 1520 to Conrad Peutinger : Allen, IV, 1156, 51 : 'Sibi non ignotos esse... animos qui ducantur citius quam cogantur'.

brutal force and persecution, had advocated a thorough study of divinity as the safest way, not only to vanquish all errors, but also to renovate the very life of the Church. Pope Gregory XIII welcomed the scheme of founding a college to vindicate historic truth against authors such as those of the *Magdeburg Centurice* ; but he suggested creating it in Louvain, under Lindanus' direction, and he was, therefore, going to appeal to the devotedness and the erudition of the Louvain professors, when his unexpected decease, on April 10, 1585, prevented putting into execution the plan which would have added more glory to the Brabant University. It was that project which has made Cardinal Baronius start, on Philip Neri's advice, the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, thus realizing, at least in part, Lindanus' great scheme ¹⁾ ; it was continued long after him by a series of scholars. Besides those eminent plans, the Bishop of Roermond did his best to promote the interests of his diocese by securing the indispensable revenue ²⁾, as well as the foundation of the seminary at Hertogenbosch for the provinces of Holland still faithful to Rome ; a considerable amount of money was contributed to it by the Pope, but as the circumstances were not favourable to the realization of that plan, the subsidy was used for the *Collegium Regium* in Louvain.

Lindanus left Rome by the end of 1585 under Sixtus V, and resumed his work with ever nascent vigour, until, after twelve years, the vacancy left by Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ghent, deceased on April 11, 1576 ³⁾, could be filled ; his two successors, John Fonck van Ameronghen ⁴⁾ and Matthew Rucquebusch, having died before their nomination was confirmed by the Pope ⁵⁾, Philip II appointed Lindanus ; he took leave of Roermond on July 7, 1588, and, being introduced into Ghent on July 22, he at once started repairing all the damage done during the long years when the adversaries had made

¹⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1871 : 318-19 ; *BelgChron.*, 510-11 ; *VAnd.*, 115.

²⁾ On account of the absence of regular revenue, the Roermond diocese was left to the care of a vicar-general, until on November 20, 1595, Henry van Cuyck, Louvain professor of divinity, succeeded Lindanus as Bishop : *Brom.*, i, ii, 724.

³⁾ *Cp. sup.*, II, 512-14 ; *Hellin*, i, 13-20 ; *VAnd.*, 117.

⁴⁾ *Cp. before*, pp 169-70.

⁵⁾ *Hellin*, i, 20-21.

even the presence of a bishop impossible amongst his flock. Unfortunately the excellent beginning had a sudden end : the strength of Lindanus' constitution had been worn by his troubled existence and by his sacrifice of all comfort in favour of helpless children and old people : his death crowned his saintly life, on November 2, 1588 ¹⁾; he was buried in one tomb with his friend and predecessor Jansenius ²⁾).

The decease of the tall and spare blue-eyed man, who, upright and truth-loving, was stern for himself, yet kindness itself towards others, was a sad loss for Church and State. Beneficent to the last, he left to the *Collegium Regium*, which owed its existence to him, all his books and papers ; he also bequeathed his money to supplement the scholarships for the use of the students ³⁾. The whole of his life had been a grand display of energy and activity in the right cause ⁴⁾. He had edited many books, both in Latin and in the vernacular, on religion and on Christian practice ⁵⁾, and still left several in manuscript on account of the difficult times ; he chiefly treated matters which were then wrongly represented, or even maliciously attacked ⁶⁾, and showed so much zeal

¹⁾ Hellin, I, 22-24.

²⁾ Hellin, I, 25.

³⁾ Cp. *ULDoc.*, III, 369 ; *FUL*, 3425. — At Lindanus' death, Cardinal Granvelle had inquired from Suffridus Petri whether there were not any amongst his books that might be useful to an edition of the Councils : in reply he was told, on May 26, 1589, that there was hardly anything in that line : *PigE*, 119.

⁴⁾ *Guicc.*, 152, 181, 234 ; *Mol.*, 520 ; *Opmeer*, II, 160, b, 166, b ; *Havens*, I, 173, II, 88-242, III, *passim* ; *BelgSyn.*, I, 171, 44-61, II, 267 ; *Vern.*, 93, 133, 284, *sq* ; *VAnd.*, 115-17, 284 ; *BibBelg.*, 323, *sq* ; *Hellin*, I, 22-5 ; *BelgChron.*, 538, *sq*, 510 ; *Miræus*, 132 ; *HEpU*, 322-24 ; *HEpL*, 16, 72 ; *ULAnn.*, 1860 : 298-320 (Th. Lamy), 1871 : 299-324 (P. Claessens) ; *BromLind.*, 1-26 ; *GandErVir.*, 52, *sq* ; *Ratavia Sacra*, II, 25 ; *UniDill.*, 36, 44, *sq*, 52, *sq* ; J. Habets, *Geschiedenis van het Bisdóm Roermond*, II, 442-58 ; *Orbaan*, 47, 197, 290, 343, & *nrs* 25 and 41 ; *PlantE*, I, 58-9, II-VIII, *passim*. Several letters are preserved : *Brom*, I, *passim*, II, 5 (November 8, 1561, from Fulvio Orsini) ; *Gabbema*, 610 ; *JesRhenA*, 603 (Rhetius to Lindanus, 1571-72, about the literary swindler Paul Scalichius) ; *BbBasle*, G², I, 19 (to Laurent Surius, 1576).

⁵⁾ *BibBelg.*, 323 27 ; *ULAnn.*, 1860 : 317-19.

⁶⁾ Such were the Roman Primacy (cp. Sander, 698), the Eucharist, wrongly represented by John Campanus and his sect of Sacramentists (*Dubitantius Dialogus* : Cologne, 1571) : *Responsio adversus Campani Blasphemias* : Cologne, 1575 ; *SchelAL*, XI, 64-71.

for the Church and her service that Viglius mentioned his *prurigo scribendi* ¹⁾, whereas Granvelle blamed it as a 'humeur heteroclite' ²⁾. If in the beginning he may have betrayed his excitement ³⁾, it certainly was only meant for the error, and never for the person; adversaries bitterly hated him, whilst lukewarm or cautelous fellow-believers found fault with his outspokenness, which they occasionally even censured as anger ⁴⁾; yet a clear-sighted man like Cassander, although violently blamed ⁵⁾, did not feel incensed at all at Lindanus' criticism ⁶⁾. At any rate, the animosity with which he was attacked by the adversaries ⁷⁾, as well as the high esteem in which he was held by the larger part of his fellow-believers, — whose number grew even as the saner judgment toned down the initial excitement, — both justify his fame as a controversialist of the very first order ⁸⁾.

An admirable feature in Lindanus' character was his straightforwardness; anticipating the quality which a great Pope required from any historian: 'ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat' ⁹⁾, he built on it his criticisms: he had the courage to ascribe the greater part of the evils under which humanity was then suffering, to the bad example given by those who were supposed to lead their

¹⁾ Hoyneck, I, ii, 350, letter of January 31, 1566 to Joachim Hopper.

²⁾ Especially Lindanus' insistence on convening provincial synods seems to have been disagreeable to the Cardinal: *BelgSyn.*, I, 171.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 384, sq, for Canisius' demurring; neither did Cardinal Hosius approve unconditionally of Lindanus' writings in 1571: Orbaan, 183.

⁴⁾ PigE, 173.

⁵⁾ Hopper even prevented Lindanus from publishing his criticism: cp. before, p 325, and III, 300-301; *MalConM*, 111.

⁶⁾ On July 28, 1563, Doctor Joannes Metellus wrote to Pigge from Cologne that Cassander, residing at Bonn for his health, did not feel incensed at all against Lindanus, though many *cordati* blamed his virulence, and were astonished at a theologian moved by anger, which cannot but harm religion in the end: PigE, 173; cp. *ULAnn.*, 1860: 312.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, p 386, 389, sq; also Gough, 488; Hessels, II, 105.

⁸⁾ Cp. Hurter, I, 131; K. Werner, *Geschichte der Apologetischen und Polemischen Literatur*: Schaffhausen, 1861-67: IV, 447; *UntDill.*, 52; SchelAH, I, 388; Hurter, *Nachtridentische Theologen* (in *Katholik*, XI, 1846), 425; Freher, *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione clarorum*: Nuremberg, 1688: 273; Mencken, *Gelehrten-Lexicon*: Leipzig, 1715: 1176; &c.

⁹⁾ Leo XIII, in his brief of August 18, 1883, to three Cardinals: *Brom-Lind.*, 7.

brethren to virtue and happiness, not only by their word, but by their way of living ¹⁾. He did not even spare the dismal truth from the Pope, who heard more in one hour from him, as Cardinal Hosius remarked, than he ever was told during the whole of his regency ²⁾.

As has already been stated ³⁾, a most conspicuous place amongst Lindanus' writings is taken up by his books on the text and the meaning of the Bible, which make of him as an antecessor of modern Scriptural research. His *De Optimo Genere interpretandi Scripturas* and his *Panoplia* are as the *antesignani* in the investigation of truth, and, amongst other benefits, they brought the weight of the discussion from the more or less effective influence of speaker or debater, to the real meaning of the very texts by which Revelation was entrusted to Humanity. He intended that study as the basis of a renovation of Christian life, by clearing up all untruths and pernicious doubts, and by preparing a well informed and most erudite clergy, fit to answer all requirements in those most difficult times.

One of his most perspicacious contemporaries, Cardinal Baronius, who had enjoyed Lindanus' help and approval for his *Martyrologium Romanum*, highly praised him for it ⁴⁾; in the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, he inserted during the Bishop's lifetime, the laudatory mention that, '*jam mille de prostratis hostibus coronis auctus*', he might even deserve more ⁵⁾; whereas, at his decease, he deeply deplored and regretted *talem ac tantum fidei catholice professorem et defensorem... <quem> absque sanguine martyrem, gravi jactura totius Ecclesiae, catholicus orbis ingemuit* ⁶⁾.

B. MARTIN HESSELS

Amongst his fellow-students at the University, Lindanus had had **Martin Hessels**, who, like his elder brother John ⁷⁾,

¹⁾ Lindanus was especially outspoken in his *Apologeticon ad Germanos pro Religionis Pace atque... Concordia* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1568 : 1, 19, sq. 11, pref. ; SchelAH, 1, 383-92) and *Capita pro instauranda... in Belgio Religione Catholica* : January 1579 : BromLind., 5.

²⁾ BromLind., 6.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 383, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. the note added for the feast of St. Thecla, September 23.

⁵⁾ *Annales Ecclesiastici*, xxxii, quoted in *ULAnn.*, 1871 : 323-24.

⁶⁾ *ULAnn.*, 1871 : 300.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 158-61.

became most conspicuous as theologian. They were the sons of the Louvain sculptor William Hessels ¹⁾, who belonged to a family illustrated by two physicians ²⁾. He was an inmate of the Porc, and had promoted M. A., the sixth of his year on March 28, 1545 ³⁾. He applied himself to languages, as well as to theology, in which branch he became licentiate. He succeeded Judocus Ravesteyn, of Thielt, as President of Houterlee College, apparently about 1553, and remained for certain in that office until August 11, 1559. By 1558 or 1559, he succeeded, as professor of divinity and canon of the second foundation, to his brother John, who took Rythovius' place in the chair of Scholastic Theology ⁴⁾. Martin did not hold those offices very long : for Thomas Gozæus succeeded him as professor of theology in 1560 ⁵⁾, and James Carlier, of Lille, about the same time as President of Houterlee College. He was endowed with a canonry in St. Servatius' Church, Maas-tricht, but does not seem to have outlived very long his brother ⁶⁾, if he did not die before him : they were buried next to one another in St. Peter's ⁷⁾.

C. CUNERUS PETRI

A considerably longer career fell to the lot of Martin Hessels' friend and colleague, Kuner Peeters, **Cunerus Petri**, of Duyvendyck, near Brouwershaven, in Schouwen, Zeeland, who matriculated on August 28, 1547, as *pauper Standonicus* ⁸⁾, which did not prevent him from obtaining the 12th place on 179 candidates at the promotion of March 27, 1550 ⁹⁾. He applied himself to the study of theology, especially of exegesis, which made him look for help at the *Trilingue*. About 1550, he entered the *familia* of Elias van Schore, the

¹⁾ Mol., 723 ; *LouvEven*, 369.

²⁾ Martin Hessels, a physician, was called from Louvain to Antwerp, and was replaced by his father, Gisbert, in 1518 : Mol., 723.

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 130.

⁴⁾ *VAnd.*, 78-79, 302 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 185.

⁵⁾ *VAnd.*, 79, 116.

⁶⁾ He died on November 7, 1566 : cp. before, p 160.

⁷⁾ *VAnd.*, 78-79, 116, 302 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 185 ; *ULAnn.*, 1842 : 172.

⁸⁾ *LibIntIV*, 231, v.

⁹⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 159.

King's Secretary, who remained his protector ¹⁾; afterwards he worked in the Abbey of Parc as lector of divinity ²⁾, until, in 1559, he succeeded Peter de Corte in the office of plebanus of St. Peter's, and in the professorship of theology connected with it ³⁾. On November 12, 1560, he promoted Doctor of Divinity, and became president of the *Disputationes Sabbatinæ* ⁴⁾; he was elected Rector on February 28, 1568 ⁵⁾.

In 1569, Philip II chose Petri as bishop of Leeuwarden, in succession of Remi Drieux, who, not having been able to take possession of that see on account of the usual opposition from Council, clergy and the abbeys to be incorporated ⁶⁾, was appointed to fill Peter de Corte's place ⁷⁾ on November 15, 1568. On September 19, 1569, Pius V confirmed that transfer, so that Cunerus Petri, in whom all hopes on a successful inauguration of that See were invested, was appointed, and already consecrated at Mechlin on November 13, *dominica post Martini*, 1569, at the same time as Driutius ⁸⁾. He reached Friesland on February 1, 1570, in company of Laurent Metz, dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels, and of Viglius' nephew, Bucho de Montzima ⁹⁾, — the former, provost, the latter, archdeacon, of St. John's, Utrecht, — who were to transmit the power.

Petri administered his diocese wisely, notwithstanding the

¹⁾ Mol., *xlili*; it was in Elias van Schore's service, probably as preceptor, that John Molanus made his acquaintance about 1550: 'quum primum... intraret familiam nobis tunc vicinam domini Heliæ Schori, Mæcenatis sui, optimæ memoriæ secretarii regii'; cp. *Cran.*, 110, e, f. Molanus, who had had him as professor of divinity, — Petri even had presided at his promotion to licentiate, — dedicated to him from his parents' house, on March 22, 1570, his *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris*: Mol., *xlili-xliv*. Cp. Paquot, iv, 126-27, with a genealogy.

²⁾ Mol., 214.

³⁾ VAnd., 78; *AuwCar.*, 52: Cunerus resigned in 1569 when appointed as bishop: Mol., 73.

⁴⁾ VAnd., 116-17, 81; Paquot, xi, 145.

⁵⁾ *ULDoc.*, i, 269; VAnd., 44; Mol., 480; Vern., 32, 150-51; during his rectorate, on April 8, 1568, he renewed the decree prohibiting under severe punishments the walking about in church during Mass.

⁶⁾ Drieux, 35-39; *HEpL*, 39; *MalConM*, 114.

⁷⁾ He died on October 17, 1567: cp. *Cran.*, 83, f, and *sup.*, II, 83-4, III, 131-35, 574-75.

⁸⁾ Drieux, 55; they were consecrated by Louis de Berlaymont, Archbishop of Cambrai, with Sonnius and Jansenius, Bishops of Antwerp and Ghent.

⁹⁾ Hoyneck, i, ii, 494, 501, 504, 552; *sup.*, III, 215.

difficulties caused as well by the Utrecht archdeacons as by heretics. He held a synod on April 25-27, 1570, in order to acquaint the clergy with the new regulations made necessary by the circumstances, and prescribed by the Council of Trent : those statutes were published already in the same year ¹⁾. He organized his Cathedral Chapter of St. Vitus by means of ten monks of the incorporated Abbey of Mariengaard, Hallum ²⁾, and of six secular clergymen, amongst whom was Dominic Benedixius, whom he appointed his archdeacon ³⁾. Whilst he thus was administering his diocese with great prudence and wisdom, the Calvinists and Anabaptists took Leeuwarden in 1578, and kept him for a time a prisoner in the fortress of Harlingen ; afterwards they sent him to St. Nicolas' convent at Bergum with a pension. Yet, before long, he was exiled, and, after officiating a short while as suffragant at Münster, he settled in Cologne, where he studied divinity, and propagated truth whenever he had the occasion. Besides a great experience, he had gained a deep knowledge of theology, and amply used it for sermons and for controversies about the points attacked by heretics, like the Mass and Celibacy ⁴⁾, the Church, Purgatory and the merits of Christ ⁵⁾. In his exile in Cologne, he wrote a book about grace and free will, justification and predestination, indulgences and the See of St. Peter, which was printed there in 1583 ⁶⁾. If he proved a devotional author when he enriched, besides emending, the *Cursus D. Virginis*, for Benedictines ⁷⁾, he showed as a staunch patriot in his *De Christiani Principis Officio*, advocating the obedience to the rightful Prince ⁸⁾, as well as a humanist by his *De Cura Corporis Humani* ⁹⁾. He died in

¹⁾ Louvain, Jerome Wellæus, 1570 : *HEpL*, 43-47 ; Paquot, vi, 266.

²⁾ *HEpL*, 54, b.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 341-43 ; Paquot, v, 280, sq ; *HEpL*, 44.

⁴⁾ *De Missæ Sacrificio, Tractatus* : Louvain, Joh. Bogardus, 1572.

⁵⁾ *Een seker bewijs van den Vaghevier* : Louvain, Rutg. Velpius, 1566 ; *Den Schilt teghen die Wederdoopers* : Louvain, Rutger Velpius, 1568.

⁶⁾ *Tractatus aliquot insigniores de gravissimis Theologiæ Christianæ Controversiis* : Cologne, Peter Haach, 1583. ⁷⁾ Ingolstadt, 1587.

⁸⁾ *De Christiani Principis Officio, & quæ secundum Conscientiam ex Sacris Literis ei debetur Obedientia* : Cologne, Mat. Cholinus, 1580.

⁹⁾ *De Cura Corporis Humani, pro Clericis aliisque plis hominibus, e Sacra Scriptura & Patribus* : Cologne, 1587.

Cologne after a few hours of illness, on February 15, 1580, aged 49, and was buried in the Cathedral in front of the altar of the Three Kings ¹⁾).

5. PHILOLOGISTS

A. KILIANUS & 'T SESTICH

Besides theologians and jurists, the *Trilingue* also produced famous workers on other fields of intellectual activity. Amongst those are foremost the men who continued the studies in which they had been trained there, besides deepening and widening them. Thus the 'Cornelius Diericx, ex Duffel', van Kiel, Kilianus, who, on March 28, 1544, had promoted Master of Arts from the Falcon, being classed the 133rd ²⁾), no doubt, continued his studies in Louvain, attending the lectures of the Law and also those of Busleyden College. He stayed there for some time, probably busy as private tutor for languages, in which he was most proficient, in so far that he was engaged, in 1557 or 1558, by Christopher Plantin as corrector in his newly erected printing office at Antwerp ³⁾). He remained at the task for fifty years, with the exception of the short periods when political or military troubles interrupted the work at the presses. Plantin's successor, John Moretus, continued to pay him the salary which had been raised in 1586 ⁴⁾).

¹⁾ Cp. Guicc., 218; Mol., 520, sq; Opmeer, II, 52, b; Vern., 93, 135, 285; VAnd., 116-17, 364, 380; *BibBelg.*, 167; Miræus, 113; *HEpL*, 40-47, 49; *BelgChron.*, 489-90; Paquot, VI, 262-68, I, 57-60, II, 302; Gabbema, 179; Brom, I, I, 212, 229, 450, II, 720, 769.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 129. A biography by the Antwerp Archivist P. Genard (1874), with genealogical details, was re-published at Antwerp, 1882, when a statue was erected at Duffel, May 8, 1882; on that occasion, several pamphlets and poems were edited.

³⁾ In the first days of February 1567, Kilianus was sent to Augustine van Hasselt, an old employee of Plantin's, who had been financed to start a printing business at Kampen, but who had established it against the agreement at Vianen; he was a devotee of the 'Family of Love', and settled afterwards as its printer at Cologne: *PlantE*, I, 72-73.

⁴⁾ In January 1586, Plantin had raised the salary of Kilianus to 100 florins besides his and his daughter's board: *PlantE*, VII, 14.

Kilianus had as colleagues some remarkable erudites, like Theodore Poelman ¹⁾ and Victor Ghiselin ²⁾, — besides Antony Ghesdael ³⁾ and Francis Hardouin ⁴⁾. Through his work he remained in close connection with some of the Louvain professors, especially with his friend Cornelius van Auwater, and later on, Justus Lips ⁵⁾. Besides contributing to the neatness and correctness of his employer's issues, he translated

¹⁾ Theodore Poelman, Pulmannus, born in 1511 at Cranenburg, near Cleves, had to learn the trade of fuller to earn his living; he worked at Antwerp from 1532, and availed himself of every opportunity to study grammar and literature. He managed so well that he became corrector at Plantin's and by sheer study corrected the texts of *Arator*, *Sedulius*, *Suetonius*, *Horace*, *Prudentius*, *Censorinus*, and other authors printed by Plantin, in whose service he was for sixteen years. He seems to have been quite familiar with the printer and his various friends, like Andrew Schott, Paul van Quicquelbergh (PlantE, iv, 313, v, 10, &c), and he introduced his son John, who worked in the firm before he went to Salamanca as bookseller. Theodore became excise officer for the wines, and died in the first months of 1581, being followed in September by his only daughter: Paquot, xvi, 339-47; *BibBelg.*, 830, sq; *SaxOnom.*, 312; *SweABelg.*, 691; PigE, 203, 241; PlantE, i, 95-96, iv, 297, v, 184-87, 220, 229, vi, 28, 119, sq, 260, sq; Sandys, ii, 214, 216; *ULAnn.*, 1847: 236, sq.

²⁾ Victor Ghisselinck, Ghiselin, Giselinus, a native of Zandvoorde, near Bruges, promoted M. A. in Louvain in 1556, and, applying himself to languages and literature, got some notes about Prudentius from an erudite poet, Arnold Berchemus, who died very young about 1558. He studied medicine in Paris, but returned at the civil war, and was corrector at Plantin's office, December 1564-September 1566: he then edited the *Opera* of Prudentius in collaboration with Poelman in 1564. He continued his medical studies, promoting Doctor in Dole, and settled at Bergues-St.-Winoc, where he died, in 1591, after having published several works: an *Adagiorum Epitome*, 1566; *Ovidius*, 1566; *Sulpicius Severus*, 1574, besides a work on the 'lues venerea', 1579, and some poems inveighing against the *lasciva licentia*, in his *Parænesis*: *ULPromRs.*, 201; *BibBelg.*, 843; Paquot, ii, 131-36; *SaxOnom.*, 412; Hessesels, i, 112-15, 255; *BrugErVir.*, 42, 73-74; *GandErVir.*, 23; *FlandScript.*, 22, 125; *SweABelg.*, 700, sq; Lips, *Ep. Misc. & Ep. Quæst.*; PlantE, i, 110, sq, iii, 10, v, 191, &c; cp. sup., III, 278, 482-3, and before, pp 182, sq, 207, 278.

³⁾ Possibly a brother to the Antwerp schoolmaster, John van Ghesdael: *FlandScript.*, 95; Paquot, vi, 303-5, 293; PlantE, vi, 152, viii, 225.

⁴⁾ He was a brother of Denis Hardwyn, Hardouinus, of Ghent; he studied in France, and died on October 21, 1609: Paquot, xviii, 384-86; *GandErVir.*, 41-42.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Epist. ad Belgas*, Cent. iii, 29.

into Flemish Philip de Comines' history of King Louis XI of France and of Charles of Burgundy, adding two books to it about Charles VIII ¹⁾; he also rendered into Flemish Ludovico Guicciardini's *Omnia Belgii Regionum Descriptio*; he further provided a version of the pseudo-Macarius the Egyptian's homilies about Christian righteousness ²⁾. He also composed Latin verses as letterpress to several engravings published by Plantin, such as Adrian Collard's *Fœminæ Anachoritæ*, and John Strada's scenes of hunting and fishing. In his numerous epigrams to friends and acquaintances, either composed for edited writings, or for distribution on loose sheets, Kilianus is far more pleasing by his spontaneous and witty sincerity, without being constrained by subject, form or extent ³⁾; one of them, in which he vindicates printers and correctors against authors, who want to throw all blame on them, is very remarkable ⁴⁾. Still the most interesting, and by far the most important, of his works is the *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* of 1583, which is far ahead of an attempt by Plantin himself at a *Thesaurus Teutonicæ Linguae*, or series of Flemish words explained by their Latin and French equivalents ⁵⁾. Indeed, the work of 'Cornelius Kilianus Dufflæus' provides the very welcome list of all the Flemish words and expressions at his command, and at that of his colleagues as corrector; it was enlarged in the second, 1588, and, particularly, in the third edition, 1599 ⁶⁾. Besides being most precious as vocabulary, it is rendered more so by his attempt at explaining both the meaning and the form of a word by 'etymology': that etymology, evidently, savours of empiricism; yet it provides the invaluable occasion to quote many, now nearly forgotten, cognate and equivalent

¹⁾ Antwerp, J. Moretus, 1578 : Paquot, II, 16.

²⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1580.

³⁾ *SweMon.*, 174-75, 263-71 (*Lusus in Europæ Nationes* : praise and blame of each nation), 358-60 (*Scortator, Potator, Mendax*); his poems were edited at Antwerp, 1880, by Max Rooses; cp. Hessels, I, 577.

⁴⁾ L. Beyerlinck, *Theatrum Vitæ Humanæ* : Cologne, 1631 : VII, 427, reproduces it, and so does the *Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris* (p 203) by Chevillier : Paquot, I, 116.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, 1573 : PlantE, III, 117, 288-97, VII, 15.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, John Moretus, 1599.

terms, which admirably enriches the variety of the words he records, rendering an inestimable service to philologists.

Kilianus planned one more contribution to philology, a Latin-Flemish dictionary, *Synonymia Latino-Teutonica*: he worked at it when death overtook him, on Easterday, April 15, 1607; his friend, Francis Sweerts, composed for him a most laudatory epitaph, praising his care for the text and the appearance of the books; and, besides, his eloquence and his versification, both in Latin and in his mother tongue, of which he revived the quality and the glory ¹).

A similar attempt was made by his *co-ævus* and fellow-student at the *Trilingue*, Antony van 't Sestich, Sexagius, Lord of Ophem and Damme, born in Brussels, who had been classed the eighth at the promotion of March 27, 1550 ²). He had made his way as lawyer, and had been appointed advocate, *causarum patronus*, in Mechlin High Council. He translated Philip Wielant's *Practica Civillis* into Flemish in 1573 ³), but worked more independently at an *Orthographia Linguae Belgicæ*, studying all words and their pronunciation, especially in the Brabant dialect, and published it in 1576 ⁴). He died at Mechlin on September 10, 1585, being buried in St. Catherine's, where, at her death, on February 25, 1631, his widow, Margaret d'Overbeke, was also laid to rest ⁵).

¹) *SweABelg.*, 189-90; *SweMon.*, 99; *BibBelg.*, 156; Paquot, I, 112-16; *SaxOnom.*, 505-6. A portrait of Kilianus adorns the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, mentioning his 50 years' work as corrector; it also is amongst those on the title-page of Arnolfo de la Porte's *Nuevo Dictionario, o Thesoro de la lengua Española y Flamenca*: Antwerp, J. B. Verdussen, 1659.

²) *ULPromRs.*, 158; *cp. sup.*, III, 251 (*John Antony*, generally called *Antony*); at the same promotion 'Desiderius 't Sestich Bruxellensis', Antony's brother, also of the Lily, was placed the 111th; *ULPromRs.*, 162.

³) *Cp. sup.*, II, 429; *GandErVir.*, 115-16.

⁴) Louvain, John Masius, 1576: a similar attempt at making the orthography a better representation of the actual pronunciation had been tried by 'Joas' Lambrecht, in his *Nederlandsche Spellijnghe*: Ghent, 1550. Still, as the printers had already introduced an orthography which was generally accepted, the new systems of spelling had hardly any chance of life, though they are now welcome as historical documents: the *Orthographia* was reprinted in *Leuvensche Bijdragen*, by L. Goemans: 1899-1900: III, 167, *sq.*, IV, 65, *sq.*

⁵) *Mol.*, 759; *BibBelg.*, 76; *MalInscr.*, 490; *ULDoc.*, v, 158-60.

One of their sons, John, D. V. J., became Professor Regius in Louvain ¹⁾; another, William, was parish priest of St. Quintinus' in the same town, whereas a third, Antony, filled many an office in the management of Mechlin.

B. VEREPÆUS

During John Reynders' management, there were amongst the students that attended the *Trilingue*, two brothers from Dommelen, Simon and Henry Verrept, Verepæus, inmates of the Porc, who became Masters of Art : Simon was placed the twentieth of 136 candidates on March 28, 1545 ²⁾, Henry, the seventeenth of 157, on March 30, 1546 ³⁾. They both studied theology, and promoted in that science. Henry, who from 1547, had taught philosophy in his Pedagogy, was *baccalaureus formatus* when, on July 26, 1559, he succeeded Rutger Prysers, of Maastricht, as Regent of the Porc. He occupied that office to July 11, 1562, when Matthew Boden took his place. On April 20, 1564, he became Dean of the Chapter of Hilvarenbeek, where he died by the end of 1579 or in the beginning of 1580, leaving a scholarship in the Pedagogy where he had studied, taught and ruled ⁴⁾.

Henry Verrept was greatly appreciated for his wise management and for his accomplishments as linguist ; so was his elder brother Simon, who may have accepted an appointment to pay for his studies ⁵⁾. He himself proved to be a most eager scholar, and he abundantly availed himself of the lectures of the *Trilingue*, since one part of his lifework was devoted to philology, the other being given up to piety and to its diffusion amongst the youth. After having studied theology for some time, he left to go and teach at Hilvarenbeek under the famous Nicolas Busius, Buys, who, besides managing the Chapter School, trained some young noble boys in his

¹⁾ VAnd., 206 (he promoted Doctor on August 31, 1614, and died on November 10, 1634), 47, 57, 156, 214, 299, 329 ; Vern., 94, 214 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 133 ; Mol., 363, 482, sq, 759.

²⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 131 : 'Simon Verrept'.

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 135 : 'Henricus Verrept'.

⁴⁾ *ULDoc.*, IV, 122, 93, 164 ; VAnd., 260 ; *ULPromRs.*, 215, 220, 227, 233 ; cp. *sup.*, III, 478.

⁵⁾ *SylvEpisc.*, 153.

house ¹⁾). After a few years, he was replaced by one of his fellow-students, John Goossens, Goswini ²⁾), who had promoted Master of Arts from the Porc on March 30, 1547, and had also been trained at the *Trilingue*, as results from his further career ³⁾). Indeed, Simon Verrept had become a priest, and was entrusted with the spiritual direction of the Austin Nuns of Thabor, who had settled just outside the town wall of Mechlin ⁴⁾); he thus was the mediate successor of John Pupper, of Goch ⁵⁾).

That convent of Thabor had been founded in 1459 by some sisters of the St. Mary Magdalen community of Sluis under the lead of Beatrix Hendrickx, in *Wilderen* (or *Wilre*) *Hall*⁶⁾); it had been most prosperous, and was so, when, about 1556, Verepæus became spiritual director and confessor. It left him some leisure, which he devoted to study, and possibly to the training of some boys, inmates in his house, imitating Busius

¹⁾ Born at Geertruidenberg, he had studied in Louvain and in France, and had become, by 1535, dean of St. Peter's at Hilvarenbeek; he was succeeded, in 1564, by Henry Verrept, and about 1580 by Stapleton : *SylvEpisc.*, 153-54; Paquot, II, 63, 67. He left some *Selectiores... Phrases*, 1597, reproduced by Verepæus, and a *Dialogus de Sacro Baptismo*, to which were added Verepæus' *Precationes* : *BibBelg.*, 681; Paquot, II, 67.

²⁾ In his dedicatory letter to N. Busius' *Selectiores... Phrases* (Antwerp, 1597), of January 23, 1597, Simon Verepæus addresses Goossens : olim adolescentes vna viximus Louanij in... Porcensi Collegio, illinc priorem me demigrantem tu Becam ad Collegij Decanum <viz., N. Busius, who surely lived to 1553> & Belgicæ Nobilitatis tum Pædanomum non multo post consecutus sis... : Paquot, II, 67.

³⁾ Goossens, a native of Lommel, was classed 55th at that promotion, two years after Simon Verrept : *ULPromRs.*, 142. By January 1597, he is recorded as canon of Hilvarenbeek.

⁴⁾ He succeeded Marcellus Hovelmans, of Westerhoven, who, in his name, and that of his brother Henry, late Antwerp *plebanus*, had made a legacy for distributions to poor students of the Holy Ghost College, Louvain, by his will of February 24, 1556; it was realized by his executors on June 14, 1556 : FUL, 1677.

⁵⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 144, sq, 438; also Goch, 32-37; *BibRefNe.*, VI, 267-71. Some of his rather free criticism about the misuse of Scholasticism made Goch, at first, be considered as a forerunner of Reform : Grisar, III, 938; that suspicion is now considered as having no foundation : for certain, he did not prepare the way to Luther : Denifle, II, 311, 334; Goch, 182, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. Gestel, I, 81; *MalGod.*, 391-92.

of Hilvarenbeek ¹⁾). Still his interest seems to have been particularly directed to a comparison of the various means and manners of teaching, and to the bringing about of a set of counsels about the most effective instruction to be given in schools preparatory to University or to life. In order to gather information, he went and spent some time in Cologne at the *Tricoronatum* by 1565 ²⁾, and learned the way of working systematically as regulated by John Rhetius ³⁾ and his 'confratres' after the example given them a few years before by Velsius ⁴⁾, who had been thoroughly formed and equipped, for as far as study and teaching went, by the Louvain *Trilingue* ⁵⁾).

Unfortunately the years of misery started for the community of Thabor, as their convent was exposed to the hostile incursions of the Calvinists : in so far that they had to shelter inside Mechlin in 1566. Then followed six anxious years, after which the nuns were once more compelled to take refuge inside the walls of the town : on October 2, 1572, the greater part of their convent was burned down, after their household property had been stolen or destroyed ; on that day, Verepæus lost his precious collection of books ⁶⁾). He seems to have remained for some time at Mechlin, whereas the sisters returned to their ruined monastery, trying to make it habitable, asking for help in more fortunate parts of the country ⁷⁾). Still, in 1576, they were compelled to leave it a third time : it was totally destroyed again on February 7, 1578. They decided on settling within Mechlin town, which was allowed to them : so they entered a building on the bank of the 'Melane' on October 10 ; unluckily, at the arrival of the insurgents, they were decidedly exiled and dispersed, and were able to return only in 1585 ⁸⁾).

¹⁾ Since his brother Henry became Dean of the Chapter of Hilvarenbeek in 1564, it is more than likely that Simon kept in touch with his former School and his own successor, on his occasional visits.

²⁾ *Tricoron.*, 155 ; *Rhetius*, 78 ; *JesRheinA*, 685.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 303, sq.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 93, 134-43.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 131, sq, 139, sq, 211, sq.

⁶⁾ Cp. LooE, 105-6.

⁷⁾ On May 19, 1575, Bishop Martin van Rythoven, recommended some of the nuns gathering alms, to Abbot John van Loo, of Eversham ; they had a letter of Verepæus attesting the calamity which made them homeless : LooE, 105-6, 107-8, 32-36.

⁸⁾ *MalGod.*, 391-95.

During those troublesome years, Verepæus resided at Mechlin, if not *in monte Thabor*, at least in its neighbourhood, and dedicated from there, on October 31, 1573, his *Institutiones Scholasticæ* ¹⁾ to Vicar-General Maximilian Morillon ²⁾. In acknowledgment of a copy sent to him, John Rhetius, of the *Tricoronatum*, Cologne ³⁾, wrote to the author his appreciative judgment on January 3, 1574, which occasioned two more letters at least ⁴⁾. From Mechlin is also dated the inscription to the *Grammatica Latina*, of 1573 ⁵⁾, as well as those of the *Precationum Piarum... Enchiridium*, 1574 ⁶⁾, and the *Precationes Liturgicæ*, 1574 ⁷⁾: a last time a letter is dated from there in December 1575 ⁸⁾. About the end of that year, Verepæus was in bad health and suffering very much from *calculus* ⁹⁾; he may, on that account, have gone to his brother Henry, at Hilvarenbeek, from where he signed, in August 1576, the dedication to Gerard of Groesbeeck, the Bishop of Liège, of the *Precationum piarum Enchiridium* ¹⁰⁾. He probably stayed there, as circumstances got worse and worse for the Thabor community, and the living at Mechlin was rather precarious. No doubt he again took up teaching there in the School, and worked with his old friend of the days spent in Louvain, John Goossens ¹¹⁾, as well as with another colleague, Bernard Haeck, of Cologne, whom he recommended a few years later, in 1581, to Bishop Lindanus

¹⁾ Antwerp, Joannes Bellerus, 1573 : Paquot, II, 67.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 345-50.

³⁾ Cp before, p 303.

⁴⁾ Verepæus replied on January 25, and Rhetius wrote again on February 25, 1574 : Cologne, Town Archives, Univ., MSS 602 : 73, 211, sq, 275 ; 603 : 277, sq.

⁵⁾ To the *Ludi Magistri* of the Netherlands : December 1570 ; the book was printed at Antwerp, 1573 : Paquot, II, 65.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, Joannes Bellerus, 1574 : Paquot, II, 68.

⁷⁾ Antwerp, Bellerus, 1574 : Paquot, II, 68.

⁸⁾ *Precationum... Enchiridium* : Antwerp, 1576.

⁹⁾ Letter of J. Bellerus, printer at Antwerp, to the Provost of Eversham, October 25, 1575 : LooE, 136-7.

¹⁰⁾ The date in the *Precationum piarum... Enchiridium* (Antwerp, Bellerus, 1576) : 'Datum Hiluarenbecæ, Anno Virginei partus 1567. Mense Augusto' : is certainly a mistake for 1576, since, in the letter, mention is made of the first edition of the *libellus* : 'ante biennium typis prium commissus', viz., in 1574 (referred to in the preceding note e).

¹¹⁾ Cp. before, p 407.

as a fit *ludimagister* for Breda ¹⁾. Whilst he thus was at work at Hilvarenbeek, there must have come a panic which caused Simon and his friend John Goossens to leave, and look elsewhere for safety. They reached Turnhout, where they remained some time, and may have earned their living by tutoring and by giving private lessons ²⁾, until they went to the Liège diocese, from where Verepæus dedicated, on April 28, 1582, his *De Ingeniis Scholasticorum Moribus* to an 'affinis' of his host at Bree, the Liège Canon and Scholaster Paul Huben ³⁾.

Fortunately the days of misery came to an end, and before the spring of 1583, he had settled at Hertogenbosch ⁴⁾, where he took up teaching again, and was even the *moderator* for a time ⁵⁾, until, owing to his advancing age, he left the lead to an old fellow-student of the Porc and of the *Trilingue*, **Christopher Vladeracken**, 'Vladeraccus, professor Trilinguis', who had been at work for ten years at Amersfoort before he became teacher at Hertogenbosch in 1559, where he died on July 15, 1601 ⁶⁾. Verepæus meanwhile had been rewarded, in 1589, for all the services he had rendered to education and to a more efficient instruction of youth, by his

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 394.

²⁾ About 1580 : in the dedication of *Selectiores Serm. Lat. Phrases* (Antwerp, 1597) to John Goossens, Verepæus wrote : 'illinc <viz., ex Beca> hostium metu profugientes vna exulauimus Turnhouti primum, & postea Siluæducis'. — The teaching of Latin, which was part of the activity of the Chapter, seems to have been very efficient at Turnhout, judging by the successful old pupils : Gramaye, *Antwerpia*, 41, b ; in the xvth century, Mary of Hungary and the civil authorities took an interest in it ; in the beginning of the xviith century, it was entrusted to the care of the neighbouring Corsendonck Priory : *TurnJans.*, 1, 163, 208, 230, sq ; *Corsend.*, 47-54 ; *WelvCors.*, 11, 84, sq ; *Turnhout*, 216-18.

³⁾ Antwerp, 1582 : *BibBelg.*, 814.

⁴⁾ He had several books printed there from his *Primæ Studiorum Exercitationes*, 1585, on.

⁵⁾ He uses that title in his preface of June 7, 1590 to *Epitomes Grammatices Liber Quintus* : Antwerp, 1591.

⁶⁾ Christopher Vladeracken, born at Geffen, studied first at Hertogenbosch, and was an inmate of the Porc, where he promoted the 50th on the same day as Verepæus : *ULPromRs.*, 132. He wrote an *Apotheosis* of Macropedius, 1565, an Epitome of Hunnæus' *Dialectices*, *Polyonyma Ciceroniana*, 1597, *Flores Plauti Comici selecti*, 1597, and other school-books, along with the *Leges Scholæ Ducis-Silviæ*, 1593 : Paquot, 1, 323-7.

appointment as canon of St. John's Cathedral, Hertogenbosch. He enjoyed a calm, and yet most active, evening of life, for he was continually engaged in preparing ever more useful books towards the intellectual and moral development of youth. He died on November 10, 1598, at the age of 76 ¹⁾, and was buried under a monument which his friend and colleague, the historian Francis Verhaer, Haræus, of Utrecht, Licentiate in Divinity ²⁾, intended to be common to both : the inscription mentions that, after his journeys through Europe, Haræus did for ten years the work of a parish-priest, until Verepæus caused him to become his colleague, and it closes with his thanks and these words :

Te schola docta colit, colit & pia turba precantum,

Tu mihi & æternæ duxque comesque viæ ³⁾.

Verepæus had devoted all his time and efforts during several years to the correcting and the ameliorating of pre-university instruction and education, and if his very numerous publications can hardly lay a claim to originality, they proved most useful throughout more than two centuries, as their repeated reprints abundantly attest ⁴⁾. They comprise a series of devotional books for boys ⁵⁾. Although their repute

¹⁾ Cp. Opmeer, II, 232; *BibBelg.*, 814, sq; *SweABelg.*, 677, sq; Miræus, 150-51; Paquot, II, 62-70; *Rhetius*, 78, &c; *Tricoron.*, 155, &c.

²⁾ Francis Verhaer studied in Louvain in Standonck House and the Porc, and started his studies of divinity, which he continued in Douai, where he taught languages and promoted licentiate of divinity. He accompanied Antony Possevin, the Jesuit, on his journey to Poland as Nuncio, and settled at Hertogenbosch, where he obtained a canonry through Verepæus. He afterwards became canon of St. James', Louvain, where he died in 1632. He wrote, as historian, the *Annals of Brabant*, the *Tumultus Belgicorum* and lives of Saints: *BibBelg.*, 231, sq; *VAnd.*, 274 (founding a scholarship in Standonck House); *FUL*, 2133; *SweABelg.*, 244; Miræus, 224; Paquot, VIII, 229-35. ³⁾ *SweMon.*, 331-32.

⁴⁾ Verepæus' grammatical treatises, for example, were still in use in schools in the twenties of the nineteenth century: *TurnOnd.*, 56, sq.

⁵⁾ *Compendium Precum Liturgicarum*: Antwerp, J. Bellerus, 1574; *Precationum piarum & devotarum*: id., 1574; *Scholasticarum Precum Compendiolum*: id., 1591; Paquot, II, 68, sq. The Antwerp printer John Bellerus took Verepæus' advice for the publishing of books by John Faber or Claude de Vieuxmont or their translations, as he mentions in his letters (1574 to 1576) to Abbot Lœus, of Eversham, who admired Verepæus and wished to meet him: *LooE*, 66, 125, 135-40, 154, sq.

was very great, it was far surpassed by that of his grammatical treatises. From 1568 to 1571, were published the four parts of his *Grammatices Latinæ Libri IV* : I, *Rudimenta* ; II, *Etymologia* ; III, *Syntaxis* ; IV, *Prosodia* ¹⁾ : although that grammar keeps as basis de Spouter's text, consisting of the altered and selected verses of the *Doctrinale*, it is rendered much easier and more suitable, as superfluous details are dropped, and the obscure wording is rendered clearer and more adequate. That simplified handbook, considerably more efficient than its predecessor, was generally introduced in the classes ; it was adopted in the *Tricoronatum* and in the lessons of Cologne University, and found approval, in so far that, in 1594, the Faculty of Arts objected to the introduction of the handbook by Emmanuel Alvarez ²⁾ in the *Tricoronatum*, pretendedly for the sake of uniformity in Jesuit schools, and stuck to that of Verepæus for two centuries, at least for its larger part ³⁾. Verepæus, moreover, had published *Latinæ Linguae Progymnasmata*, 1571, for beginners ; it contained a list of nouns and words, some colloquies, and a choice of model sayings gathered by Nicolas Busius ⁴⁾. That handbook had explanations in French and Flemish for many words and sentences ⁵⁾, and thus followed the new way of helping the beginners by means of the vernacular ⁶⁾, which had been introduced, several years before, by the famous 'magister' of Boeschepe, Livinus van den Cruyce, Crucius, as results from his *Viridarium Florum*, published in 1548 ⁷⁾. Besides providing a tabular arrangement of J. de Spouter's Grammar ⁸⁾, Verepæus edited several collections of model letters for reading in the classes, from recent humanists ⁹⁾ as

¹⁾ Antwerp, Ant. Tilenius : Paquot, II, 65, sq ; cp. PlantE., VIII, pass.

²⁾ Duhr, 43, 252, 256 : Alvarez' handbook, first edited in Lisbon, 1572, was merely another, and not quite satisfactory, adaptation of de Spouter's : *Tricoron.*, 353, sq.

³⁾ *Tricor.*, 194-7, 470, 497 ; Duhr, 256 ; *Rhetius*, 85. ⁴⁾ Cp. bef., p 406.

⁵⁾ Paquot, II, 67, ascribes its first edition 1571 to John Schoeffer, of Hertogenbosch, and to Antony Tilenius, Antwerp.

⁶⁾ Paquot, II, 67 ; *Rhetius*, 79 ; *Tricoron.*, 353, sq.

⁷⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 288, a-b ; *MonHL*, 499-508 ; and *sup.*, III, 440.

⁸⁾ *J. Despauterii Grammatica in Tabulas reducta* : Cologne, 1598.

⁹⁾ *Selectiores Epistolæ clarorum Virorum in Usus Scholarum* : Antwerp, Plantin, 1574 ; it brings letters from Bembo, Sadolet, Chris-

well as from their grand model Cicero ¹⁾, besides his *De Epistolis Latine conscribendis Libri V*, of 1581 ²⁾.

Of the remaining publications of Verepæus, there are a few which are even specifically pedagogic : such is the series of ideal regulations, *De Ingeniis Scholasticorum Moribus Liber* ³⁾, as well as the practical time table and arrangement of a school, *Legum Scholasticarum Tabulæ XII*, and *Schio-graphia Scholæ Latinæ & Christianæ* ⁴⁾. The most important is the '*Institutionum Scholasticarum Libri Tres, omnibus Litterarum & Christianæ Pietatis studiosis, utilitatis non parum allaturi*', of 1573 ⁵⁾. It describes a kind of model school, after the experience he gained, especially from a visit to the classes conducted by the Jesuits in Cologne and in other towns, which he saw at work about 1565 ⁶⁾. He sent it to Rhetius, who was at the head of the *Tricoronatum* : he highly praised Verepæus, and communicated the book to the Nuncio Caspar Gropper. Still he made a few remarks, such as that about the scholastic rhetorical exercise consisting of expressing first objections against a point, and then answering them, before finally enouncing the right solution : that treatment should not, in his opinion, be used for virtues or vices, as the objections may do more harm than good ⁷⁾. It is above comprehension to find in that letter the strange assertion : 'tutum non esse coram improuida iuuentute Erasmm efferre laudibus, ne curiositate ducti, aut Erasmiianæ eloquentiæ amore capti illa legant, quæ religioni aut moribus Christianis officiant' ⁸⁾ ! Equally strange is the reply ⁹⁾, in which Verepæus

topher of Longueil, Paul Manutius and others. Caspar Bellerus, Antwerp, also printed for him *Selectiores Epistolæ Pauli Manutii ineditæ* : Paquot, II, 67, sq, 70.

¹⁾ *Epistolarum Selectarum Ciceronis Libri III* : Hertogenbosch, Joan. a Turnhout, 1599 : Paquot, II, 69. ²⁾ Antwerp, Plantin, 1581.

³⁾ Antwerp, 1582 : *Rhetius*, 78 : it was often translated in German.

⁴⁾ Paquot, II, 69 : both were printed by Plantin, the second in 1588.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, Joannes Bellerus, 1573 ; it was dedicated to Maximilian Morillon, Vicar-General, from the Thabor, Oct. 31, 1573 : cp. bef., p 409.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, p 408.

⁷⁾ It refers to p 158 of the *Institutionum* ; cp. *Rhetius*, 71, 78 ; *Tricoron.*, 155, 173. ⁸⁾ Cologne Town Arch., Univ., MS 602 : 211, sq.

⁹⁾ 'Mechliniæ in Thabor, 25 Januarii', 1574 : Cologne Town Arch., Univ., MS 603 : 277, sq.

declares that he always avoids naming Erasmus, and never mentions him in his writings ; he even owns that (namely in his *Progymnasmata*) 'in una aut altera Lod. Vivis epistolarum ad Erasmus', he changed his name into 'amicum' ! What if that fraud, as is unavoidable, is afterwards detected by the young men ? Many things in that letter are quite inconceivable to any upright present-day student : such is Verepæus' declaration that he wants to test the way to teach languages and literature proposed by Budé and Erasmus, by Sturm ¹⁾ and Brunfels ²⁾, but that he shall wait until editions are available from which all heresy has been removed. Such is his decision to add to his *Progymnasmata* the text of some *Leges morales* and *Dialogi* by Erasmus, not straight from his *De Civilitate Morum*, or his first *Colloquia*, but from their reproductions by Ewaldus Gallus ³⁾, evidently without the original author's name ! Besides those and similar anomalies ⁴⁾, Verepæus expresses in that same letter his regret that, on account of the loss of his books in the recent destruction of the Thabor, as well as of his poor health, he cannot write a substitute to Erasmus' time-honoured *De Copia Verborum et Rerum* ; for, like Rhetius, he wants to banish from the schools that book, which in Cologne was replaced by a worthless makeshift by the Italian Jesuit Andrew Frusius, having only in common with its model the deceiving title *De Utraque Copia Verborum* ! ⁵⁾ And all that, because Erasmus, far from teaching error or evil, had the courage to point out the undignified behaviour of some servants of the Church, which,

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 579-90, &c.

²⁾ Otto Brunfels : cp. *sup.*, I, 493.

³⁾ Ewaldus Gallus, headmaster of the School of Weert, published a *Grammatica Latina*, 1563, and *Dialogi & Leges Morales, Pueriles Confabulationes*, from Erasmus' *De Civilitate Morum*, which were often reprinted in the xviith century : *BibBelg.*, 215 ; *PlantE*, v, 5, sq ; *Jes-RheinA*, 443.

⁴⁾ Verepæus further mentions that he does not want to recommend an edition of Æsop's *Fabulæ* by Joachim Camerarius, unless the name is suppressed, and hopes that Francis Fabricius' name does not appear on his selection of *Elegantiae ex Terentio*, with translations, which Plantin prints : *PlantE*, I, 15, iv, 103, vi, 161 : he evidently mistook him for another Fabricius : *PlantE*, vii, 278, 344.

⁵⁾ *Rhetius*, 77-79, 86-87, &c.

about that time, William Lindanus did far more pointedly and without the least reserve ! ¹⁾ And what harm could Erasmus' well-meant criticism do to young men who, for years, saw the hideous aberration of those who should have been the models to the Church of Cologne, Herman de Wied, and Gebhard Truchses ? ²⁾ After all, honesty is the best policy : it would be better to ignore *all* Erasmus' writings as well as his name ; or, as a great historian remarks, effectively prevent that errors should be trailed on for centuries, in spite of truth, through want of upright criticism ³⁾. It is a sorry fact that Verepæus did not do much honour in that respect to his training in the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾.

C. SOLENANDER, MEETKERKE & DIVÆUS

Judging from the great interest displayed for the study of Greek texts, as well as the special circumstances which brought him to Louvain, **Renerus Solenander** ⁵⁾, who studied there between 1545 and 1550, must have been a regular attendant at the lectures of the *Trilingue*. He was born in 1524 or 1525 at Bûderich, opposite Wesel, on the Rhine, and had been sent to study in the Brabant University two years and more, at the expense of Duke William of Cleves and Jülich — no doubt on the recommendation of his Chancellor John von Vlatten, Erasmus' great admirer ⁶⁾. He applied himself to medicine ⁷⁾, and went to continue for several years

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 391-92 ; so did Rhetius : *ConstConc.*, 601-2.

²⁾ Cp. III, 141, 363, 469 ; and before, pp 47, 146, 339 ; Heldmann, 98, *sq.*

³⁾ B. Duhr, in his *Geschichte der Jesuiten* : Der Mangel dieser sachlich-kritischen Methode hat nicht zum wenigsten verschuldet, dass manche Dinge jahrhundertlang mitgeschleppt wurden, die, weil auf vollständig irrigen Voraussetzungen beruhend, schon längst hätten aufgegeben werden müssen : Duhr, 259.

⁴⁾ *BibBelg.*, 814-15 ; Paquot, II, 65-70, VI, 248 ; *Tricoron.*, 155 ; *Rhetius*, 78-79, 112.

⁵⁾ Pfeifmann ? or Pipemann ?

⁶⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 144, *sq.* III, 287, 459 (one of his relations sent as student to Louvain), 591.

⁷⁾ Mol., 806-7, relates how he was sent for by Servatius Zassenus, the bookseller, for his son who had eaten a berry of deadly nightshade, culled from the garden of the neighbour Gemma Phrysius ; he had called in the help of his master Jeremy Thriverus : cp. *sup.*, II, 562.

his studies and his practice in Italy, where he met, and made a friend of, Andrew Masius ¹⁾. In the latter's letter to Arlenius ²⁾, of November 5, 1552, he claims Solenander's *Observationes in Theophrastum*, and substantiates an urgent request for the restitution of the manuscript to him ³⁾. It shows that Solenander shared the interest of Masius' group in Greek texts, which he, no doubt, derived from the Louvain training. Solenander afterwards became the Duke of Cleves' physician, and, in time, settled at Düsseldorf. When Duisburg University was planned in 1561, he was intended for professor of medicine and physic ⁴⁾.

His work, no doubt, prevented him from continuing his Greek studies; on the other hand, he wrote some books on medicine, chief amongst them being *De Caloris Fontium Medicatorum Causa* ⁵⁾; it was dedicated to Duke William, who had a great confidence in him, and treated him as his trustful councillor. When some courtiers expressed the doubt whether, he or the Court Apothecary, had caused the sad death of the Duchess Jacoba of Bavaria, Solenander vindicated his art and all medical men from such shameful suspicion ⁶⁾; that plea does as much honour to his profession as his writings. Although he indulges in the fashion of his days, by devoting most attention to exceptional cases, he shows a great advance by patronizing real curative remedies rather than superstitious or magic contrivances, which were then in general use. He wrote a recommendatory letter, dated Düsseldorf, July 1/11, 1594, for the *Atlas* of his great friend Gerard Mercator ⁷⁾, who highly esteemed him for his aptitude in medicine and botany; so did his old companion of his stay in Italy, Andrew Masius, who sent for him a few days before his death, March 27, 1573 ⁸⁾. Solenander himself died at Büberich in 1601 ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 282-90, &c.

²⁾ Arnold Peraxylus, Arlenius van Overthout : cp. *sup.*, III, 312-14.

³⁾ MasE, 115 : the manuscript had been entrusted to Arlenius; Joannes Paez de Castro, Pacius, afterwards annalist to Philip II of Spain, is said to have no right to it.

⁴⁾ MasE, 338.

⁵⁾ Lyons, J. Fr. de Gabiano, 1558; cp. Paquot, XIII, 180-82.

⁶⁾ *Heresbach*, 148.

⁷⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 588-69; Paquot, XIII, 181.

⁸⁾ MasE, 511.

⁹⁾ Paquot, XIII, 179-81; *BibBelg.*, 791; MasE, 115; Mol., 806-7.

Adolph of Meetkerke, Knight, called after a village between Blankenberghe and Bruges, the town where he was born in 1528, was third and youngest son of James of Meetkerke, Lord of Snelleghem, and of Coleta de Maulde ¹⁾. He was taught in Louvain, no doubt in the *Trilingue*. He there gained, besides a thorough acquaintance with Greek and Latin, a great zeal in promoting the studies connected with those languages, as well as with the literature and the culture of antiquity. He applied himself to jurisprudence with so much success that, already in 1555, he was appointed treasurer and pensionary of the 'Franc de Bruges', which dignities led to those of receiver-general and of perpetual councillor. They left him leisure enough to take a large part in the philologic work of the brothers Laurin and Goltzius, and he had a considerable share in the preparing of the *Fasti Consulares*, of the Lives of the Roman Emperors, and of other books issued by Hubert Goltzius ²⁾. The latter printed for him, in 1565, his treatise *De Veteri & Recta Pronuntiatione Linguae Græcæ Commentarius*, followed by an appendix on the accents and some comments ³⁾, as well as *Moschi Siculi, & Bionis Smyrnæi, Idyllia, quæ quidem exstant, omnia, hactenus non edita. Accessit Phanoclis Elegia, & alia Propertii*, — with a metrical translation of those texts and notes ⁴⁾. His Latin metrical version of the Epigrams of Theocritus of Syracuse was published at Heidelberg in 1595 ⁵⁾.

In the eventful years through which he passed, he took position against the King of Spain, and was one of the deputies sent, in 1577, to Queen Elizabeth to ask for her assistance in the struggle against Don Juan of Austria. He became President of the Council of Flanders for the Duke of Alençon, and attached himself to the Earl of Leicester. Since he had taken part in the plot of Leyden, of October 4, 1586,

¹⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, I, 254-55, v, 112.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 185-93.

³⁾ Paquot, xviii, 249-50; Henne, v, 44.

⁴⁾ Paquot, xviii, 250-51; Sandys, II, 105, classes them as *editio princeps*. Andrew Schott praises him to Oliver de Wree, February 1, 1625: SchottE, 395.

⁵⁾ Paquot, xviii, 251. With Francis Nansius, he published an augmented and better ordered edition of de Spouter's Grammar: *Fland-Script.*, 94; cp. *sup.*, I, 214.

with a view to surrender that town to Leicester, he had to shelter in England from Maurice of Nassau's reprisal ¹⁾; he died in London on October 6, 1591, and was entombed under a monument in St. Paul's ²⁾, although he had declared, in a Memoir he left, that the Roman Catholic religion was the only one that was true, and had urged his daughter Anne to return to Bruges to confess it openly ³⁾.

Meetkerke had had several children of his first wife Jacqueline de Cerf, daughter of John, and Jossyne van den Ryne, who died in the last months of 1576 ⁴⁾: the eldest son Nicolas, who had imitated his father in his studies, had entered the army and died at Deventer on June 11, 1591 ⁵⁾; a second, Antony, was killed near Zutphen on October 7, 1586; their two remaining sons Baldwin and Adolph entered Elizabeth's service; their daughter Anne, married to Paul Knibbe, King Christiern IV of Denmark's councillor and ambassador in England († October 5, 1592) ⁶⁾, returned to Bruges where, after a most exemplary life, she died on May 18, 1621 ⁷⁾. Adolph had remarried: from his second wife, Margaret de Lichtervelde, widow of John Wyts, Lord of Boucharderie ⁸⁾, he had two daughters, Salome and Isabel, who married in England: the one, John Tournoir; the other Thomas Westfelde, D. D.; he also left a son, Edward, who was *anniculus*

¹⁾ Paquot, xi, 341, xviii, 244-45; Eggen, 73, 77-79.

²⁾ Paquot, xviii, 246-47, quotes the inscription.

³⁾ Paquot, xviii, 249; *Brug&Fr.*, i, 254-56. — Cp. *BibBelg.*, 5-6; *Swe-ABelg.*, 92; *SaxOnom.*, 419; Paquot, xviii, 243-52; *BrugErVir.*, 10-11, 7; *CollTorr.*, 78; *FlandCon.*, 41, 69, 173; *FlandOHR*, i, 315-17; Hessels, i, 204, 212, 443, 492, 507, ii, 239; *sup.*, I, 214, III, 248, 514, *sq.* and before, pp 188, 190.

⁴⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, i, 185, 256.

⁵⁾ He had been sent to London in October 1588: Hessels, ii, 832-33.

⁶⁾ He died in London leaving five children, as Emmanuel van Meteren announced to Abraham Ortelius, November 24, 1592: Hessels, i, 541.

⁷⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, i, 183, 256, iv, 79: she was buried in the Chapel of the Coelines in her grandparents' grave.

⁸⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, v, 112. On December 3, 1591, Justus Lips announced to Abraham Ortelius, Meetkerke's death, attributing it to his sadness for his son's decease, to his second marriage, and his discontent with his stay in England: 'Vir bonus et moderatus fuit', he concluded, 'vtique ante coniugium istud quod eum fascinavit. Vtinam Britannicis rebus numquam se miscuisset': Hessels, i, 492.

at his death, and who, in his time, married Barbara Moore, daughter of Robert of Winchester ¹⁾).

No doubt the *Trilingue* greatly contributed to the shaping of **Peter van Dieve** (or Dyeve), **Divæus**, born in Louvain in 1536, who lost his father, also called Peter, when at his studies in 1550 : he had matriculated on August 28, 1547 as 'dives Liliensis' ²⁾ ; he promoted Master of Arts on March 26, 1552, being classed 82nd ³⁾. Compelled to stop his studies, he started gaining his living as Louvain 'clerk of the Register' on January 13, 1560. He had had an excellent training in Latin and Greek at the *Trilingue*, where he also was taught the interest in, and the method of, historical research. Instead of just carrying out his duties, he took a deep concern in the documents and records which he had to manipulate ⁴⁾, and soon became thoroughly acquainted with the history of the four centuries over which those archives extended. He took notes, and built up, not only the *Annales Lovanienses*, but also the *Res Lovanienses*, a kind of history of the Louvain patrician families ⁵⁾, to which he belonged both by his father and by his mother, Maria Heyme ⁶⁾. Breaking with the traditional fabulous trend, from which Suffridus Petri could not free himself ⁷⁾, he built those studies on the evidence of

¹⁾ *Brug&Fr.*, I, 255-56.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 229, r : Petrus van Dieue [filius] Petri, de Louanio.

³⁾ *ULPromRs.*, 173 ; his brother Gregory had promoted on March 31, 1547, being classed the 56th : *ibid.*, 142.

⁴⁾ Petri Divæi *Opera Varia* : Louvain, 1757 : Prælatio Auctoris, ***1, v-2, r.

⁵⁾ Both works were kept by Divæus' descendants, and form, with some commentaries by Herman Neuenahr about *Gallia Belgica*, and Abraham Ortelius' and John Viviani's *Itinerarium*, the book entitled *Opera Varia* : Louvain, Henry van der Haert, 1757.

⁶⁾ *DivRL*, 60, 112 ; *LouvTrib.*, 36, 57-8 ; *LouvAssist.*, 2975 ; *LouvArch.*, 684. His brother Gregory married Barbe van den Heestvelde († c 1556), daughter of Arnold, and Elizabeth van Schore, and had to start a lawsuit about the heritage of his wife's grandmother Elizabeth van der Halvermylen († 1536), wife of Louis van Schore, town-secretary, against Anne van der Noot, widow of the President of State, Louis van Schore, and her brother-in-law Elias : *Cran.*, 110, c-f ; *FUL*, 3242-45. Gregory's son and namesake founded the *College van Dieve* or *of Brussels*, on October 6, 1574 : *Mol.*, 627, 707 ; *Vern.*, 226 ; *VAnd.*, 317 ; *FUL*, 3241-3316 ; *ULDoc.*, III, 356, sq ; *LouvAssist.*, 1738 ; *MonHL*, 674.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 361, sq.

records of town and convents, or on inscriptions and epitaphs, thus leading the way to trustworthy history. Unfortunately several of his works long remained unused, as their manuscripts were only edited and, in a way, completed, in 1757 ¹⁾. Divæus further collected all available evidence about the history of his people, and thus composed the *Res Brabanticæ*, which Aubertus Miræus edited at Antwerp, in 1610 ²⁾, as well as the *De Gallicæ Belgicæ Antiquitatibus Liber I, statum ejus, quem sub Romanorum Imperio habuit complectens*, which was printed at Christ. Plantin's office in 1565 ³⁾.

Through those studies, Divæus became known as annalist and historian ⁴⁾, and the Louvain authorities raised his stipend in 1565, on condition that he should make a collection of the town privileges. He continued his zealous research work until 1576, when, as a loyal partisan of the King, he left Louvain, like his friend Lips, who greatly appreciated his historical writings, and, no doubt, owed to them, not only many details, but even the very conception of his *Lovanium* ⁵⁾. Divæus took shelter for some time with his family at Antwerp, until he was appointed, in 1580, 'Pensionary' of Mechlin, in which town he died in November 1581, and was buried in St. Rombaut's ⁶⁾. He left a widow, Mary van den Eynde, and two sons ⁷⁾ : one, Cornelius, a Knight, Lord of Tendale ⁸⁾ ; the other, Francis, who, in 1568, entered St. Martin's Priory of his native town ⁹⁾.

¹⁾ A manuscript of the xviith century : Divæus, *Van den Oorspronck ende Affcompste van de VII Geslachten ende Peetermans van de Stad Leuven*, reposes in *BelgArch.*, *CartMan.*, 2640.

²⁾ Antwerp, Henry Verdussen.

³⁾ It was dedicated to Charles-Philip de Croy, Lord of Havrech : cp. before, p 203.

⁴⁾ *Ortelii & Viviant Itinerarium* : in *Opera Varia*, 3, a.

⁵⁾ Antwerp, John Moretus, 1605 : *Ad Lectorem*, † 4, c, and first chapter, A 1, r.

⁶⁾ A biography is prefixed to the *Opera Varia*, 1757 ; *BibBelg.*, 735 ; *LouvBoon*, 105 ; *GoetLect.*, III, 72-80 ; *LouvEven*, 17, 202 ; *SaxOnom.*, 428.

⁷⁾ He had had five daughters, none of whom survived him.

⁸⁾ He died in 1632, and was buried in the chapel of St. Hubert, in St. James's Church, Louvain.

⁹⁾ He became subprior, and, subsequently, rector of the Austin nuns of Bethany, Mechlin, where he died in 1612.

6. ADVENTITIOUS HEARERS

A. THE CHAPUYS AND CLEMENTS

Thus, whilst years went on, crowds of hearers came to the *Trilingue* for its teaching and for its formative power, continuing its work after they left, and, like the servants of the Gospel, zealously operating on the five, or the ten, talents they had received, to develop them into five, or ten, or hundred others, expanding science and erudition to the welfare of their brethren and to the prosperity and glory of Church and Nation. Even those who only took away one talent, did not leave it unused : although lacking the power to extend or enlarge the knowledge communicated to them, they could impart it in their turn to others by a most conscientious teaching in schools all over the country, and thus place at the disposal of the ceaselessly rising generation the benefit they had enjoyed at the grand Institute ¹⁾. They rarely left it without at least the longing of some personal performance, were it only, besides the string of occasional verses, the following of an example given by a professor, — as **Andrew Alen**, *ludi magister* of Diest and Hasselt, imitated Nannius' *Dialogismi* in his closing years ²⁾; — or the editing of some fine work by a cleverer colleague, — as the head of the schools of Cambrai and Arras, **Antony de Meyere**, did for his famous uncle, Flanders' great Historian ³⁾. At any rate,

¹⁾ So at Bruges John Theodore Nervius, praised by Vives : VOO, I, 298.

²⁾ Born at Diest about 1520, he promoted M. A. in Louvain on April 2, 1541, from the Castle, being classed the eighth ; he taught at Diest and Hasselt, where he died, July 30, 1578, leaving *Sacræ Heroides* (Louvain, Rutger Velpius, 1574), letters imitating Ovid's *Heroides* on Nannius' model : *ULPromRs.*, 108 ; *BibBelg.*, 46-47 ; Paquot, III, 345 ; *ibid.*, p. 274.

³⁾ That nephew of James de Meyere, author of the *Annales Rerum Flandricarum* (cp. *sup.*, III, 432-36, 446), son of Henry, born at Vleteren, studied in Paris, and in Louvain, where he tutored in Greek before starting the school of Tirlemont in 1550. He died at Arras, October 27, 1597 : he edited some of his uncle's writings, but destroyed others for fear of trouble ; he left Latin poems about Flanders, her saints and her towns, and about his own friends : cp. *sup.*, III, 514 ; *BibBelg.*, 69-71 ; *FlandOHR*, I, 342-43 ; *BrugErVir.*, 19 ; *FlandScript.*, 19 ; Paquot, v, 63, ix, 378, 381, xvi, 200.

long before they realized it from practical experience, they had learned to appreciate the exceptional excellence of the teaching and methods of the *Trilingue*; not the least of the effective arguments in favour of that excellence must have been the continuous presence of foreigners amongst the hearers.

Amongst those foreign hearers there was, about the middle of the forties, an 'Anglicus nobilis' who had been inscribed as 'Cesar Ludovicus Stephanus' ¹⁾. He had been recommended to Nannius, who, on August 28, 1544, dedicated to him his *Deuterologie sive Spicilegia... in quartum librum Æneidos Virgillii* ²⁾, consisting of verses quoted from Homer and other Greek poets, illustrative of the sense and of the genesis of Virgil's text, which is thus practically explained and commented upon: the book seems especially planned for those auditors who, like Cesarion, were likely to have some trouble in noting down the professor's explanations during the lectures ³⁾. Still the dedicatory letter ends with the praise of the young man's zeal and his 'ingenium uegetum & alacre... : maximam in spem adducor', the author writes, 'te, & tuorum expectationi, & uotis clarissimi uiri Eustathij Chapuysij, Cæsarei apud Regem Angliæ oratoris ⁴⁾ cumulate satisfactorum' ⁵⁾.

In March 1545, Cesarion was legitimated as a natural son of Chapuys by a noble lady of England soon after 1529 ⁶⁾; he took the name of his father, who returned from his embassy in 1546, having been made commendatory Abbot of Sant'

¹⁾ *LibIntIV*, 141, v : April-May, 1541.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 269, 311.

³⁾ Louvain, Rutger Rescius : September 1544 : Polet, 134, sq.

⁴⁾ Eustace Chapuys, born at Annecy in 1499, had promoted J. V. D. and been made councillor of the Duke of Savoy; from 1517, he was Official of the Bishop of Geneva, John-Louis II of Savoy, and of his successor. He entered the service of Charles of Bourbon, and, at his death, that of Charles V, who, on July 1, 1527, appointed him as Councillor and Master of Requests. He was sent to Henry VIII's Court as ambassador in 1529, and remained there until 1546: he was a dear friend of More and Erasmus and staunchly stood by Queen Catherine in her trouble: *MonHL*, 37-43; *ActaMori*, 26, 34, 57, sq, 78, 206; Stone, 41-42, and *passim*; Bradford, 255, sq; Fisher, 214, 226, & *passim* to 427.

⁵⁾ Polet, 282-83.

⁶⁾ *BelgArch.* : *Chambre des Comptes*, 642 : 138-39, 351, v.

Angelo, in Sicily ¹⁾). Settling in Louvain, Eustace Chapuys bought there the *hospitium* of the Antwerp Abbey of St. Bernard's on the Scheldt, in Penny Street ²⁾ and, together with some adjoining houses, he made it into a mansion which he intended to become the *Collegium Sabaudicum* ³⁾, destined to receive, amongst others, the boys trained in the Grammar School he had founded at Annecy ⁴⁾, as he stipulated in his will of December 13, 1551. He died on January 21, 1556, and was buried in the Chapel of his College ⁵⁾. No further mention seems to be made of Louis Stephen Chapuys, at any rate not in Nannius' writings, although he showed his great partiality to Wotton and Bonner, to Gardiner and Brandisby, even to Ascham and Paget ⁶⁾. In November 1550, he took the customary oath at the matriculation of 'Aur^{el}ius Guidecok, Bolo-niensis' and 'Gulielmus Cesterus Anglus Londinensis' 'minor-ennes', probably as they attended his lectures at the *Trilingue* ⁷⁾).

Greater honour even came to the *Trilingue* both by the hearty affection shown to the School, and by the important manuscript placed at the Hebrew professor's disposal ⁸⁾, by the venerable friend of Thomas More, and late tutor of his children, the physician John Clement ⁹⁾. He had taken refuge with his family in 1517 in Louvain, where he had resided twice before. When his great Master, the author of the *Utopia*, stayed for some time in Louvain and at Antwerp, he had accompanied him as a member of his *familia* ¹⁰⁾. He had

¹⁾ GasqMon., I, 143, ch. V & following.

²⁾ Since then it is called Savoy Street.

³⁾ He matriculated as member of the University in March 1551, mentioning the foundation: 'D. & M. Eustatius Chaputius, V. J. Doc. Concil. Ces. Maj. Sabaud. nobilis, fond. Coll. Sabaudi.' : *LibIntIV*, 264, v.

⁴⁾ In October 1562 'Thomas Chapuys Burgundus' matriculated in Louvain : *LibIntIV*, 385, r.

⁵⁾ *MonHL*, 37-38; *FUL*, 2849-54; *ULDoc.*, III, 230; *Fisher*, 214, 226, &c; *Mol.*, 642; *Vern.*, 218; *VAnd.*, 309; *PF*, II, 53; *BaxH*, IX, 135; *BaxF*, III, 157.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 112-13, 275, 279-93.

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV*, 260, r : 'juravit pro eis D. Nannius'; cp. before, p 280.

⁸⁾ The old Manuscript of the Psalms referred to in *MasE*, 328, sq, 502-5, and before, pp 306.

⁹⁾ *MoreChamb.*, 107; *Allen*, II, 388, 174.

¹⁰⁾ He is mentioned as such in the preface : *MoreLuc.*, β 2, r, β 4, v; *MoreChamb.*, 124, 185.

afterwards been Wolsey's reader in *Corpus Christi*, Oxford, from the autumn of 1518 to the end of 1519, when he resigned that office to start the study of medicine. In the autumn of 1521, he returned to Louvain, and was, for several months, Vives' guest, although he regretted not to have known that Erasmus was leaving, for he would have liked to accompany him to Basle and spend the winter there ¹⁾. As a friend of the great Humanist and as a teacher of languages, Clement must have been interested in the *Trilingue*, although he was then already most zealously working at medicine, which pursuit he intended continuing in Italy ²⁾; thereto he proceeded in March 1522 ³⁾, promoting Doctor in Sienna, on March 30, 1525. He returned to England in the first half of 1526, and married his former pupil, More's niece and adoptive daughter, that wonder of wisdom and courage in her irresistibly winning appearance ⁴⁾, Margaret Gyge or Gyggs, Gigs, issued from a noble family of Burnham, Norfolk ⁵⁾. He settled as physician first in London, living at The Barge, More's old house at Bucklersbury, where he was for a time connected with the Court; afterwards, near Marshfoot, in Essex ⁶⁾. Like the Martyr's children, he experienced bitter trouble at More's death ⁷⁾, and, soon after Edward VI's accession, life became unbearable for him in England ⁸⁾.

¹⁾ Allen, v, 1256, 122-24 : letter of Vives to Erasmus, January 19, 1522.

²⁾ On April 1, 1522, Vives announced to Erasmus that he was going to receive a message from More through Clement, who intended calling on him in Basle : Allen, v, 1271, 115, 11, 388, 173, 1v, p xxiv.

³⁾ *PoleFr.*, 69.

⁴⁾ Holbein drew a fine portrait of her : *MoreChamb.*, 345.

⁵⁾ Hamilton, i, xiii, xiv, 3, sq, 25, sq, 11, 92 ; Bang, 239, 246 ; Morris, 2-5, 8, 29-32 ; *MoreHarp.*, 90-92, cxxxi ; *MoreAudin*, 216, 385 ; *MoreChamb.*, 34, sq, 107, 179, 184, sq, 189, 220, 343, 347, 349 ; *GasqMon.*, 1, 223 ; Wood, 1, 138 (mentioning that John Leland wrote an *epithalamium* on their marriage) ; *ActaMori*, 29, 84, 108-10 ; *GasqVeil.*, 1, 45 ; Allen, iv, 999, 174, 1233, 57.

⁶⁾ *MoreChamb.*, 288, 290, 301, 345 ; *Fisher*, 315.

⁷⁾ Margaret Roper was arrested with her brother, her sisters and their relations, and requested the oath, which they refused ; accused of having taken her father's head and his papers, she defended herself so well that after some days she was put into liberty ; so were the others, one before, the other after : *MoreAudin*, 386.

⁸⁾ T. S. Graves, *The Heywood Circle and the Reformation* (in *Modern Philology*, x) : New-York, 1913 : 557, sq, 561-64.

With his wife and his children, John Clement decided on leaving for the Netherlands ¹⁾, and settled in Louvain, as his son, **Thomas Clement**, was at the age of going to the University : he matriculated on July 20, 1547 ²⁾, and with him was inscribed his 'cousin' **Thomas Roper**, son of William and Margaret, Thomas More's favourite daughter ³⁾. They were soon rejoined by William Rastell ⁴⁾, who had married Clement's eldest daughter Winifred ⁵⁾ : his name was booked as member of the University on January 2, 1549 ⁶⁾, whereas his father-in-law matriculated in January 1551 ⁷⁾. The young boys studied at the *Trilingue* ; they had been admirably taught Latin and Greek by their mothers, for Margaret Gyggs and Margaret Roper had enjoyed the excellent lessons of the erudite Chancellor ⁸⁾. John Clement became an intimate

¹⁾ Graves (see preceding note), 563, declares that 'adequate motives for the flight of C. & R. are not easily found', and assures (p 564) that in Edward's reign there was 'comparatively little religious persecution' ! Cp. e. g., SchelAL, iv, 482-500.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 228, r.

³⁾ Bang, 243, 246-48 ; Hamilton, II, 137, sq ; *MoreAudin*, 250-57 ; *Or-SchAnR*, 146, sq ; especially Stapleton, 237-46, 330, sq ; *MoreAudin*, 250-57, 310 ; *ActaMori*, 16, 49-51, 84, sq, 106, 110, 131, 160, sq, 164, 185-87.

⁴⁾ Bang, 238-41, 243, 245-50 ; *ActaMori*, 106-15, 123-38, 165, sq, 177-80, 185, &c.

⁵⁾ She was born at the end of 1526 or early in 1527 and had married in 1544 ; unfortunately she fell ill and died in Louvain on July 17, 1553 : she was buried in St. Peter's, to the right of Our Lady's altar, under the organ. On his second exile, William Rastell died in Louvain on August 27, 1565, and was buried in his wife's grave : Sander, 680 ; Pits, 764-65 ; Bang, 247 ; *ActaMori*, 107, sq, 110.

⁶⁾ *LibIntIV*, 246, r : cp. Mol., 786 ; *MoreChamb.*, 20, 22, sq, 34, sq, 54 ; Bridgewater, 405, b ; Sander, 680 ; Bang, 238-41 (reproducing his will of August 8, 1564), 243, 247. As he had left England without Royal Permission, although being a judge, his property, including his collection of books, was forfeited to the Crown : Douthwaite, *Gray's Inn* : 172 ; *Law Magazine*, xxxi, February, 1844 : 55-60 ; CSP, *Spanish*, 1558-67 : 224 (letter of Bishop Quadra, January 17, 1562, ascribing his leaving to his desire to avoid signing an opinion about the succession to the crown).

⁷⁾ *LibIntIV.*, 261, r : where is added that, 'ex rationabili quadam et occulta causa', he did not take the customary oath, although he bound himself to observe the University prescriptions.

⁸⁾ Margaret Roper was praised by John de Coster (cp. III, 303-5) for correcting a *locus depravatus* in St. Cyprian : Stapleton, 238, sq ; *MoreAudin*, 251, sq ; Erasmus highly admired and commended her for her

friend of the professors of Busleyden Institute, in so far that he lent them some of the precious manuscripts he possessed : such as the Hebrew Psalter ¹⁾, which had been seen by Lindanus ²⁾ and by several of his fellow-students in Andrew Balenus' room. Most probably, whilst his son was studying philosophy and jurisprudence ³⁾, John Clement devised with Nannius and Amerot about the text and the meaning of the many Greek and Latin authors, for he had studied several works, and he possessed a rich collection of codices ⁴⁾ : they afterwards became the property of his son Thomas, and although the set had greatly suffered from the subsequent *direptio* in England, and the *expilatio* of Mechlin in 1572 ⁵⁾, it was still most remarkable, in so far that it was considered as a possible means of help in the troublesome period that had followed on the short-lived halcyon days of Mary Tudor's reign.

Indeed, when Elizabeth came to the throne and started her insidious and malicious persecutions of the Old Faith, a large amount of members of the leading classes thronged to the

knowledge of old languages. It is also recorded that Margaret Gyggs taught her sons and five daughters Latin and Greek, which she fully possessed : it is mentioned in her epitaph, that

Gnatos & gnatas docuit Græce, atque Latine,

Sed magis instituit iussa tenere Dei.

From that epitaph by her husband, it seems that she had two sons, one dying probably before her, since she says goodbye in the same funeral inscription only to one :

Vos rursus, pater, et filii, gnatæque, valete...

Sander, 686 ; Pits, 768 ; Bang, 246-47 ; Hamilton, I, *pedigree* ii. Margaret Gyggs is further credited with a fine knowledge of algebra and even of medicine : she once healed Thomas More from an unknown fever : *MoreW*, 1173.

¹⁾ Cp. before, II, 358.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 306, 387.

³⁾ 'Thomas Clemens Londinensis' was classed 62nd at the promotion to M. A. of March 19, 1551, as student of the Porc : *ULPromRs.*, 166 ; by 1555, he was recommended by Cardinal Pole as the son of his 'old and very dear friend', and as studying law : *CSP, Venetian*, 1555-56 : 393, sq.

⁴⁾ He was, no doubt, the English physician whose Greek manuscripts of the Bible Andrew Masius wished to collate with his text, and whose offer to lend them to Bombergen or Plantin, the printers, Antonio de Taxis communicated to Masius on November 20, 1560 : *MasE*, 328-29.

⁵⁾ *Vatican MS Regina*, 2020 : 445-46 ; *MélMoell.*, II, 184-89.

Netherlands ¹⁾. Amongst them were those who had sheltered there during Edward's reign. In March 1562, John Clement with his son Thomas matriculated once more in Louvain ²⁾, where Margaret, his youngest daughter, had become a sister in St. Ursula's Convent, which she ruled wisely and well for long years ³⁾; her sister Dorothy entered there the convent of the Poor Clares ⁴⁾. By 1570, John had removed to Mechlin: on July 6, 1570, his wife Margaret Gyggs died there as saintly as she had lived ⁵⁾ and he followed her on July 1, 1572 ⁶⁾. Meanwhile his son Thomas tried to gain his living in Louvain ⁷⁾; he may have practised medicine as his father's

¹⁾ Especially Louvain heartily welcomed exiles, and amongst them several elderly scholars, like Harding and Ramridge, as well as the rising generation of protagonists, like Sander, Allen and Stapleton: *LibIntIV*, 391, r, 403, r, 410, r, 444, r; *UniEngl.*, 63, 87, 111, 126-32; *Harding*, 236, 240, sq; *Ramridge*, *passim*.

²⁾ *LibIntIV*, 379, r; Sander, 686; *Fisher*, 354; Guilday, xvii, 378; also Bridgewater, 406, a.

³⁾ She was elected Prioress in 1569, although being a foreigner; the community in 'Half-Street' prospered under her wise management, notwithstanding the miseries of the time; the English sisters were so numerous that, when she resigned since she had become blind, they separated and formed a new community, St. Monica's, on 'Capucine Voer'; she died as a saint about May 18, 1612, ten days after her two nieces Mary and Helen Copley, granddaughters of her sister Helen had been professed: cp. Sister Eliz. Morley, *Life of Mother Margaret Clement*, 1611: MS in Newton Abbot Priory (continuing that of Louvain); *Cran.*, 154, d; Mol., 786; Sander, 686; Bang, 240, 246, 248; Morris, 28-46, 232-33, 49-55; Hamilton, I, x-xiv, 25-73, 95-100, 121-22; Guilday, 378-81.

⁴⁾ Mol., 786; Sander, 686; Bang, 246, 250; *Harding*, 239; she left her convent for St. Ursula's in the dire need of 1606: Morris, 39.

⁵⁾ In her last hours she said that she was surrounded by the Carthusian Fathers, who, in June 1535, died as martyrs, and to whom she had brought food at the peril of her life, in the dark Newgate dungeon, where they were chained to a post to starve and die: Morris, 3, 8, 22-24, 28-31; Hamilton, I, 3-7, 25-26, 100; Spillmann, I, 119-21.

⁶⁾ *Cran.*, 154, c-f, and references quoted; Sander, 676, 686, 688; Pits, 764-65; Bang, 239-48; *MoreChamb.*, 185, 331-32, &c; Guilday, 41, 378; *MoreRop.*, 104; Bridgewater, 405, a, 406, a; *Fisher*, 315, 354; *MoreHarp.*, 90-92; *Harding*, 239.

⁷⁾ During his first stay, John Clement and his family had been generously helped by More's friend Antonio Bonvisi: *OrSchAnR*, 306; that kindness was extended to other exiles, in particular to Sister Elizabeth Woodford, of the Burnham Abbey that was dissolved in 1538; with

assistant; for he was in bitter need, in so far that, by the middle of the seventies, he applied for help to Pope Gregory XIII, and offered, in return of a pension, to edit and translate the works of Greek Fathers of the Church into Latin, or to correct the faulty and adulterated versions of heretics: he therefore submitted to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto the list of Greek manuscripts he had inherited from his father ¹⁾. Those documents were also placed at the disposal of the Louvain professors and that of Arias Montanus and his collaborators, who made ample use of them for the Polyglot and the Royal Bible issued by Plantin ²⁾. John Clement himself had provided Latin renderings of the homilies by Nicephorus Callixtus and by Gregory of Nazianzus, as well as of Pope Celestine's Epistles, and left an *Epigrammatum et aliorum Carminum Liber* ³⁾.

Great honour was brought to his family by his grandson Cæsar, who was ordained in Rome in 1587, and became Dean of St. Gudula's, Brussels, in 1618 ⁴⁾, after having filled that office in St. Peter's, Anderlecht, from 1603 ⁵⁾; he was Vicarius Apostolicus of the Royal Army on this side the Pyrenees, and Chaplain of the Royal Oratory in Brussels; he was a kind father to, and generous protector of, the English exiles and the many convents they had founded in Belgium, so that his decease, on August 18, 1626, at the age of 65, was felt as a real calamity for his countrymen ⁶⁾. His cousin John, son of his aunt Bridget Clement, widow of Robert Redman ⁷⁾,

John's daughter, she entered St. Ursula's: *Cran.*, 154, d; Hamilton, I, 1, sq, 24, 28, 31; Morris, 31-33; *Harding*, 239. In 1575, Thomas Clement is recorded as distributing yearly gifts of the Pope to English exiles in Belgium: *MélMoell.*, II, 187. ¹⁾ *MélMoell.*, II, 177, 184-85, 188-89.

²⁾ Cp. Allen, IV, p xxiv, for the loan of his *Octoteuch* and Greek MSS; MasE, 328-29, 502-5; Lechat, 201; PlantE, I, 227; January 29, 1568; and before, pp 306, 387, 426. ³⁾ Wood, I, 138, b.

⁴⁾ Gestel, II, 14; *BruxBas.*, I, 55, II, 12; Guilday, 116, 310, 381-82.

⁵⁾ Gestel, II, 53.

⁶⁾ Lechat, 240; Morris, 39, sq, 46, 55, 263-65; Hamilton, I, 237, II, 25, 39, 64, 156, 158.

⁷⁾ Hamilton, I, *pedigree ii*; the other sister that was not in a convent at their father's decease, was Helen, wife of Thomas Prideaux, whose only child, Magdalen, married William Copley: their two daughters Helen and Mary entered St. Monica's, on July 4, 1610, and spent there over fifty years each: Hamilton, I, 111-16, 121, and *pedigree viii*.

who had matriculated in Louvain on June 3, 1568 ¹⁾, became Doctor of Divinity, and was ordained in 1594 : he died on September 29, 1617 as Canon of St. Omer's ²⁾).

B. THE FUGGERS AND PEUTINGERS

Not only were the lectures of the *Trilingue* frequented by the sons of most remarkable men, who, for the sake of their Faith, had had to leave their native England ; they were also attended by some members of the leading families of beyond the Rhine, attracted by the world-renowned excellence of its work, to which Germany owed a vast debt. In fact, as said and as repeated, the very educational system of the famous 'pedagogue' of Strassburg, John Sturm, was copied from the example and working of the Brabant School of Languages ³⁾, and the days were nearing that Cologne was going to try and imitate the prosperous model, which attempt led to the arrangement of the *Tricoronatum* into an efficient organism, thanks to the spirit and the practice inspired by Louvain ⁴⁾.

The most famous family of Germany at the time was, for certain, that of the Fuggers, of Augsburg, reaching an apogee under James II the Rich ⁵⁾. He had been succeeded by his nephew Raymond ⁶⁾, who had already shown his interest in the *Trilingue* by sending his son John-James to be trained there ⁷⁾ : he proved his high appreciation of learning by

¹⁾ He is inscribed as 'Mr. D. Johannes Clement, in theologia', as he probably generally went by his mother's name, who was recorded as a widow by 1572 : *LibIntI* V, 444, r.

²⁾ Hamilton, I, *pedigree* ii.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 579-90, and before, pp 212, 293.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 138-41, 211, 304.

⁵⁾ James II, the Rich (1459-1525), son of James I († 1469) and Barbara Bäsinger, founders of the Lily-branch of the Fuggers, was the real builder of their enormous concern ; he married Sibylla Artzt in 1497, but had no children : *FugJac.*, 78-101 ; *FugRom.*, 244-52 ; *FugZAlt.*, I, 95, sq ; *ADB* ; Al. Geiger, *Jacob Fugger* : Ratisbon, 1895 : 16, sq ; and *sup.*, III, 366, 462.

⁶⁾ Raymond Fugger (1489-1535), son of George (1455-1506) and Regina Imhof, married to Catherine Thurzo, was Count of Kirchberg & Weisenborn : cp. III, 317, 366, 461, sq ; *FugJac.*, 84 ; *RothAugsb.*, 17, 336.

⁷⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 366, sq.

giving a most powerful impetus to the enriching of the Fugger book-collection ¹⁾, and by financing the edition of Greek and Latin inscriptions by Peter Apianus and Barth. Amantius, Ingolstadt professors, in 1534 ²⁾. At his untimely death, December 3, 1535, the business was entrusted to his brother Antony ³⁾, who, in 1529, had offered the hospitality of the princely 'Fugger-haus', on the 'Weinmarkt', to Erasmus when he had to leave Basle ⁴⁾, and had tried to allure him, later on, with presents ⁵⁾, through the intercession of a friend, John Choler ⁶⁾, so as to make him come and live at Augsburg, although by 1533 it started growing into a hornets' nest, even to an omnipotent financier.

Through his brothers-in-law Henry and Quirinus Rehlinger, students in Dole, Antony Fugger had made Viglius' acquaintance ⁷⁾; it soon developed, as the latter had several of their relations amongst his hearers in Pavia ⁸⁾, and became a close

¹⁾ Started by James II, it was further enlarged by his own son John-James, and by his grandson Philip-Edward, so that it reached a total of 15·000 volumes, when, in 1655, it was acquired by Ferdinand III for the Vienna Library, of which it still is one of the richest funds : cp. RothAugsb., 17 ; FugBrief., xiii, ix-xii ; Lomeier, 210.

²⁾ *Inscriptiones Sacrosanctæ Vetustatis* : Ingolstadt, 1534 : sup., II, 543, III, 317 ; Nic. Ellenbog's letter to Conrad Karst, December 27, 1538 : EllenbE, 389, sq. John Eck mentions in two letters, the present and the help he received from Raymond, September 8 and 19, 1534 : EllenbE, 336, 338 ; Sandys, II, 260.

³⁾ Antony Fugger (1493-1560), had married Anna Rehlinger. He was a Maecenas, praised as highly as his brother : SchelAH, I, 719, sq, 723, 726, sq, 733 ; SchelAL, VI, 463, sq ; Mameran., 77, sq, 81-84, 117, sq, 123, 225 ; RothAugsb., 17, 336.

⁴⁾ Cp. Allen, VIII, 2145 : also 2159, 15, 2193, 23, 2196, 140, 2222, 3.

⁵⁾ Allen, VIII, 2192, 57, accompanying a gold cup 'cum inscripto epigrammate' : it started a regular correspondence until August 22, 1531 : Allen, IX, 2525 ; Erasmus dedicated to him Xenophon's *Hieron* (Basle, Froben, 1530) : Allen, VIII, 2273, 2307.

⁶⁾ John Choler, provost of Chur, was an intimate friend of the Fuggers and of the Peutingers : Allen, VIII, 2195, pr ; Antony Fugger and his constant generosity are often mentioned in their correspondence from July 14, 1529 to February 8, 1535 : Allen, VIII, 2195, 20 to XI, 2993, 56.

⁷⁾ Hoynck, I, I, 8-11 ; FG, 356 ; MalConF, 86 ; MalConM, 98, sq ; Coll-Torr., 76 ; &c.

⁸⁾ E. g., Jerome Fugger (1499-1538), son of Ulrich Fugger : he died childless : FugJac., 80, 84, 88 ; Hoynck, I, I, 10.

friendship at the time that an accident compelled him to reside as a guest in Antony's hospitable house ¹⁾). It may have been on that occasion that he found out that the first instruction of Antony's sons Mark and John seemed to have been sadly neglected ²⁾), and he may have advised their parents to send them to the *Trilingue*, to be properly trained in the language which they evidently could not ignore if they wished to follow their father's trade. Actually '**Marcus & Joannes de Fugger nobiles augustan[enses]**', matriculated in June 1546 ³⁾); they were followed on January 26, 1549, by one '**jeronimus foegrus nobilis augustan.**' ⁴⁾), and, later on by several sons of their cousin John-James, son of Raymond and Catherine Thurzo. The instruction which the young men received in Louvain must have greatly pleased their family, as results from the fact that, as already mentioned, a few years later, Sigismund-Frederic, Baron of Kirchberg and Weissenhorn, eldest son of John-James, studying under Nannius, adorned his master's resting place with a stately monument ⁵⁾).

Mark Fugger succeeded his father at his death, in 1560, as leader of the firm, which had lived its last period of glory and power under his management : still that prosperity may have been alike to the vivid brilliancy of some stars doomed to extinction, which is only a continuance of the old lustre, whereas decline has actually begun since long ; at any rate, though not as qualified and enterprising as his uncle James II, Antony was considered as the leading business man of his days ⁶⁾). Under Mark's direction, a large amount of the family fortune was wrecked in the failures of the Spanish government and that of the Netherlands, unable to refund the vast sums advanced. By 1572, John-James Fugger and his other cousins had left the firm ⁷⁾), which was, from then on, called

¹⁾ In 1540, he suffered from his foot on coming from 'Reina', Rain : Hoyneck, I, i, 18, II, i, 274. A letter from Viglius to Antony, February 18, 1540, is preserved : *BrsRL*, MS II 5071 ; *ViglEB*, 37 : June 22, 1542.

²⁾ Hoyneck, I, i, 70.

³⁾ *LibIntIV*, 202, r.

⁴⁾ *LibIntIV*, 246, r.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 295-96, 267.

⁶⁾ *FugJac.*, 165-66 ; *FugZAlt.*, I, 120-83.

⁷⁾ *FugZAlt.*, I, 176 : John-James left the family concern to enter Duke Albert of Bavaria's service : cp. before, p 296 ; his brothers also quitted the firm after some years : the last, Christopher, in 1572.

Mark Fugger and Brothers ; he weathered the Spanish crisis of 1575 ; in 1591, he resigned the management in favour of John ; they, and their younger brother James, died in 1597 ¹⁾).

Amongst their fellow-students, Mark and John Fugger had in Louvain two of their townsmen, **Peutinger**, **Claudius Conradus Pius**, and **Claudius Narcissus**, sons of **Claudius Pius Peutinger** and **Lucia Lauginger**, grandsons of the famous **Conrad Peutinger**²⁾ and **Margaret Welser**³⁾. **Conrad Peutinger**, who died on December 28, 1547, had been a most outstanding figure as secretary of **Augsburg**, the welfare of which town he took to heart for several lustres with great prudence and juridical skill, in so far that he was honoured by Emperor **Maximilian** with the title of councillor, and with several

¹⁾ *FugZAlt.*, I, 177-86.

²⁾ He was born at **Augsburg** on October 15, 1465 ; after studying law in **Padua**, **Bologna**, **Florence** and **Rome**, he entered the town service of **Augsburg** in 1490, becoming town-clerk in 1497. He was a friend of **Zasius**, **Bilibald Pirckheimer**, **Beatus Rhenanus**, **Michael Hummelberger** and many other outstanding contemporaries. Being sent on missions for **Augsburg** or the **Swabian League**, later on, for the Emperors **Maximilian** and **Charles**, — to **Rome**, 1491, **Vienna**, 1506, and the **Netherlands**, 1513 and 1521, — he gathered whatever could help his knowledge of history and archeology. He, the first, edited *Romanæ Vetustatis Fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius diocesi*, 1505 ; he helped **Apianus** and **Amantius** in preparing their *Corpus*, 1534 (cp. bef., p 430) and passed for being a profound scholar in **Roman Law**. After his resignation as town-clerk, in 1534, he spent his time with his books and collections, parts of which still exist at **Augsburg** and **Munich** ; his gifted wife, **Margaret Welser**, was a welcome assistant in his literary and artistic pursuits. On June 13, 1513, he dedicated an edition of *Paulus Cortesius in Sententias* to **Beatus Rhenanus** : *RhenE*, 57, 58, 600. He died on December 28, 1547 : *PeutE*, 1-136 ; *FG*, 402 ; *RhenE*, 57 ; *ReuchlE*, 58, sq, 82, sq, 106, & passim ; *RothAugsb.*, 13, 17, 38, 69, 95, 109, 125, 200, sq, &c ; *Allen*, II, 318, 2, IV, 1156, 1247 ; *Mameran.*, 42, 145, sq ; *CeltE*, 537-39, 586-88 ; *E. König, Peutinger Studien* : **Freiburg i. B.**, 1914. — His correspondence comprises several letters exchanged with **Hummelberger** (*PeutE*, 137-210) and **Veit Bild**, the **Franciscan** friar, who, favouring **Luther** at first, soon turned away from him (*PeutE*, 211-25 ; *RothAugsb.*, 15, 39, 54, 61, 292, sq) ; *E. König, Peutinger Briefwechsel* : **Munich**, 1923. Cp. also *Adelmann*, 41, sq, 112, sq ; *EllenbE*, 38-47, & passim ; *MutE*, 636-7, &c.

³⁾ **Margaret Peutinger** (March 18, 1481-September 7, 1552) was the daughter of **Antony Welser**, burgomaster of **Memmingen** : *PeutE*, 23, 32, sq, 63-64 ; *ReuchlE*, 82-83 ; *Allen*, IV, 1247, pr.

embassies. Notwithstanding the great amount of work which his office required of him in those most difficult times, he found plenty of leisure to devote to his literary and artistic pursuits, which made his home a storehouse of books, manuscripts and documents ¹⁾, of coins, medals ²⁾ and works of art, and himself, one of the most influential humanists in Germany. His son Claudius Pius followed his father's example in his faithful service to his native town and country, as 'syndic' of Augsburg, and her deputy to several political meetings and diets, as well as in his studies and in his interest in books and antiquities: he died in 1551, in the same year as his most distinguished wife, leaving eight children ³⁾.

No doubt, the grandfather Conrad, who, a scholar like his dear old friend Bilibald Pirckheimer, of Nuremberg ⁴⁾, had always been greatly taken up with epigraphs and old Latin coins, had heard of the trend of that kind of research work amongst the men formed in Louvain; he probably advised to send his grandsons to the *Trilingue*: first the second, Claudius Narcissus, who matriculated on May 16, 1548 ⁵⁾, later

¹⁾ Amongst them was the famous *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a map of the military roads of the third century, of which Conrad Celtis had discovered the thirteenth-century copy by which it is known: he had bequeathed it to his friend Peutinger; it is now in Vienna: Sandys, II, 260; CeltE, 538; PeutE, 116-24.

²⁾ When in August 1521 Peutinger was at Bruges at the meeting of Charles V and Wolsey, Thomas More offered him a '*numisma Charausii præsente Ludovico Vives Hispano*': PeutE, 57, 125-27.

³⁾ PeutE, 24^{bis}, 26-28; RhenE, 387, 421.

⁴⁾ Bilibald Pirckheimer (Dec. 5, 1470-Dec. 22, 1530: cp. PirckO: *life, letters, &c.*), Nuremberg and Imperial Councillor, famous for his erudition, which secured him Erasmus' friendship, was intimately connected with Conrad Peutinger: Allen, II, 318, *pr*, 2, *sq*; FG, 404; *CochlHum.*, 33-43, &c; *Cochlæus*, 18-21, &c; F. Roth, *Wilibald Pirckheimer*: Halle, 1887; *CarPirck.*, 102, *sq*; CeltE, 475, *sq*, 533, &c; *Adelmann, passim*; ReuchlE, 136, &c; *Reuchlin*, 369, *sq*; RhenE, 67, &c; MutE, 566, &c; *Hessus*, II, 44, &c; Heumann, 8, *sq*; *HuMünst.*, 191; EllenbE, 362; Stintzing, I, 183, *sq*; *BeitSchlecht*, 335-47; cp. *sup.*, II, 257, 284, &c. — Peutinger is mentioned in *Eckius Dedolatus*, which has wrongly been ascribed to Pirckheimer: *BeitSchlecht.*, 344; *Adelmann*, 87, *sq*; most probably it is the work of Nicolas Gerbel: *EckDed.*, vii-xiii, 6, 33; Merker, 91-149.

⁵⁾ *LibIntIV*, 238, v.

on, the eldest, Claudius Conradus Pius, who was inscribed on January 26, 1549 ¹⁾. The two brothers married two sisters on August 7, 1562, Conradus Pius, Elizabeth, and Narcissus, Magdalene Rehlinger ²⁾. Both entered the service of the town : Conradus Pius, who had promoted V. J. D., was syndic in 1569, and took part in various political meetings ³⁾ ; and Narcissus was '*Dicasterius*', judge, at least from 1564 to 1572, when he resigned ⁴⁾.

C. PEREZ, FURIO AND MORCILLO

The presence of English students at the *Trilingue* by the middle of the xvith century, was due to the difficulties experienced in their own country by those who clung to the Faith of their Fathers ; that of Germans, probably to the desire to profit in their formation and future career by the intellectual development and progress realized by Busleyden's School, in its complete independence of whatever might hinder or obstruct that restless movement towards human perfection. For the natives of the Iberic Peninsula, Louvain seems to have been chiefly attractive for the means and ways offered by the great Institute in the sifting of Truth and Error when reading and interpreting texts, so as to find the wherewithal to fight the decisive contests about creed and credence that were then raging on the sunny side of the Pyrenees. It was, for certain, the case for Perez and Furió.

Martin Perez de Ayala, of the diocese of Cartagena, was of a poor family, for whose needs he had to work as a teacher. When it became possible, he studied first at Salamanca, later on under Juan de Medina at Alcalá, and was ordained priest. He taught at the recently founded school of Granada, and wrote a *Dilucidarium* on the *Quinque Universalia* of Porphyrius (Granada, 1537), though he soon realized that they were out of date. He entered the service of Francis de Mendoza, Bishop of Jaen ⁵⁾, and followed him on his travels, during

¹⁾ *LibInt* IV, 246, r : he is mentioned in letters of November 1582 and June 1583, announcing to Abraham Ortelius that inquiries had been made for the *Tabula Peutingeriana* : Hessels, I, 278, 294.

²⁾ She died in 1610, leaving a son Conrad : *PeutE*, 24^{bis}, 38.

³⁾ *PeutE*, 24^{bis}, 38.

⁴⁾ *PeutE*, 24^{bis}, 38.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, p 147.

which he was allowed to spend one year and a half in Louvain. Boarding at the Lily, he attended the lectures of the *Trilingue*, learned Greek, and continued his study of Hebrew ¹⁾. By 1545, he went to the Colloquies of Worms and Ratisbon, after which he stayed for some time at Antwerp in a convent, where, in return for the hospitality, he explained St. Paul's Epistles. He there wrote *De Divinis, Apostolicis, atque Ecclesiasticis Traditionibus* (Cologne, 1548), showing the influence of the *Trilingue*, where he had had as fellow-hearer William Lindanus ²⁾: both use as argument against the Protestants that the Bible is not the only source of belief: he vindicated that, before the Synoptic Gospels, there was a tradition from Christ: such as that about the Sacraments; also one from the Apostles: like fasting and celibacy; both of which were enriched by the authoritative use of the Church. That assertion of the predominance of Tradition, suggested in Andrew Balenus' lectures ³⁾, was so seasonable that Charles V proposed Perez for the see of 'Acci', or Guadix, which afterwards was exchanged for that of Segovia, until he was appointed as Archbishop of Valencia, where he died in 1566 ⁴⁾.

Although he had published other writings ⁵⁾, it was especially for his book about tradition that Perez was hailed for the help it supplied against the Reformers, opposing all cult of relics and of saints ⁶⁾; it also implied the needlessness of Bible translations in the vernacular for the people's instruction, as the teaching of the Church amply provides for it, in full contradiction with 'quidam', — viz., Erasmus, whose name was purposely avoided ⁷⁾. Yet, it did not last long before reserve proved necessary: when, in 1562, Perez went to the closing sessions of Trent Council, he took Arias Montanus with him, who advocated fighting the enemy by his own weapons ⁸⁾: instead of invoking tradition, it should be left out of the argument, which was to be carried on exclu-

¹⁾ *EraSpain*, 546.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 378-79.

³⁾ Cp. before, p 305; also I, 297, III, 299.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Viv Vita*, 116-17.

⁵⁾ He also wrote a *De Vera Ratione Christianismi Instructio*: Cologne, 1554, as well as *Sinodo de la Diocesi de Guadix*, 1556.

⁶⁾ *EraSpain*, 546-48.

⁷⁾ *EraSpain*, 594, 767, and before p 413.

⁸⁾ *EraSpain*, 782; *TriDec.*, ff P 9, v, Q 3, v.

sively by Scripture. Owing to Montanus' influence on Philip II, the editing of the Royal Bible was decided on : it was to be printed, not in Spain, but at Antwerp, as near as possible to the fighting-line : the supreme efficiency which was expected from it, explains the cold reception given to Lindanus and his theories ¹⁾, not only by the Jesuit John Guilielmus ²⁾ and the Paris professor, Gilbert Genebrardus ³⁾, but even by the recently converted Hebrew John Isaac ⁴⁾, and the 'Great Master' of the '*Family of Love*', Christopher Plantin ⁵⁾.

Far from connecting Scripture with an arsenal or a cockpit, the teachers in the *Trilingue* tried to move out of the way all obscurity or ambiguousness caused by the ceaseless changing of any language, or the equivocalness of a translation. Since the Holy Books are not merely intended for Bishops or divines, but for the entire Church, they naturally suggest their rendering into the vernacular, on condition, evidently, that such a rendering should be approved of by those who have the authority and the capacity to judge of its faithfulness and accuracy. Those principles highly pleased another Spaniard, who attended the *Trilingue* lectures about 1550, **Fadrique Furió**, a native of Valencia, or, as it is called in the native tongue of that country, **Seriol**, **Ceriol(anus)**. He had probably been already in Louvain for some time, and had started studying divinity, when, on June 27, 1550, a licentiate in theology, John Bononia ⁶⁾, of Palermo, who had received many a preferment, and had recently come from Paris University, wanted to promote as doctor ⁷⁾. Amongst

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 385-86.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 307, 386, 389 ; Miræus, 110.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 302, 389 ; Miræus, 146.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 305-6, 385, *sq.*

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 386-89 ; in a volume of the *Biblia Regia* that was preparing, a malicious remark was inserted, which was omitted, however, on Lindanus' complaint.

⁶⁾ His father was Francis, Baron of Cefalu and Capua, in Sicily.

⁷⁾ Bononia was by then Archdeacon of Palermo Cathedral ; he continued residing in Louvain until 1556. VAnd., 112, indicates as date for the promotion as D. D., the same as that for Michael de Bay, July 15, 1550, whereas Paquot, xviii, 38, fixes it on June 27, 1550. At any rate, V. Andreas' date of Bononia's arrival from Paris to Louvain, 'an. m. d. liii, prid. Kal. Septemb.' is necessarily mistaken.

the propositions which he had chosen for the prescribed debate, there was one, asserting that vernacular translations of the Bible should be prohibited as unavoidably dangerous, since divulging Scripture was considered as sowing heresy. That assertion was vehemently attacked by Furió, who, judging like his masters of the *Trilingue*, that Spain, where, with the exception of towns, good sermons were comparatively scarce ¹⁾, had not the advantage of what about that time was being realized for the Netherlands, a reliable Flemish rendering of the whole Bible by Nicolas van Winghe ²⁾; carefully checked and corrected by Peter de Corte ³⁾ and Ruard Tapper ⁴⁾, divinity professors and '*provisores*' of the *Trilingue*, as well as by the Dominican prior, Godfried Striroy ⁵⁾: approved of by Charles V in 1546, it was printed by Barth. Gravius in 1548 ⁶⁾. The debate between Bononia and Furió at the doctoral function, and most probably on subsequent occasions, was related in all its details by the latter: soon after his contradictor left Louvain to become Abbot of Sant-Angelo di Brolo, in Sicily, to which Charles V had appointed him on May 24, 1556 ⁷⁾, the discussion came out, printed as book: *Bononia, sive de Libris Sacris in vernaculam Linguam convertendis*: Basle, J. Oporinus, 1556: it answers all objections, including those referring to changes in the language, and to difficulties of the understanding. As had been foreseen and mentioned in a dedicatory letter, dated Louvain, January 3, 1555, as well as in a poem to Cardinal Francis de Mendoza y Bobadilla, the Archbishop of Burgos ⁸⁾,

¹⁾ *EraSpain*, 573, 593.

²⁾ Cp. *MonHL*, 557-59; a French translation was also contemplated.

³⁾ Cp. *Cran.*, 83, e; *sup.*, III, 131-35, 574, sq, II, 83, sq, 256.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 575-79.

⁵⁾ Or Strirode, of Diest: Paquot, vii, 403; cp. *sup.*, II, 262.

⁶⁾ When Clement VIII's *Vulgata* appeared, Winghe's text was carefully collated with it, and, after being approved of in July 1598, it was reprinted by John Moretus, 1598: *BibBelg.*, 701; *MonHL*, 558; Paquot, vi, 426, sq.

⁷⁾ Several pensions had been granted to him, and, on returning to Sicily, he became vicar-general of Cardinal Peter Tagliavia, Archbishop of Palermo, in which dignity he died on June 20, 1564. He wrote, besides a *Compendium Dialectices*: Louvain, Barth. Gravius, 1550, *De Aeterna Dei Prædestinatione & Reprobatione*: Louvain, A. M. Bergaigne, 1555: Paquot, xviii, 37-41.

⁸⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 23-28, &c.

the contradiction and bitter criticism did not stay out ¹⁾. Yet far from harming, they procured to Furió ²⁾ Charles V's protection, and his appointment in the personal service of Philip II, for whom he wrote, in 1559, a treatise, *El Consejo y Consejeros del Principe* ³⁾ : he died in 1581, shortly after having described his career in a memoir ⁴⁾.

In 1548, two young men came from Spain to study at the *Trilingue*, Gabriel Enuesia, and his friend Sebastian Fox Morcillo. They had been trained together from their infancy in Sevilla before they repaired to the Brabant University, where the second made himself famous. They attended the *Trilingue* lectures, and in particular those of Peter Nannius : in his *De Historiæ Institutione*, Fox wrote that his master was struck by his facility in composition, declaring that he knew nobody who could write a nice and well stored book in fifteen or twenty days as his Spanish pupil did. In 1550, Fox published his *In Topica Ciceronis Paraphrasis & Scholiæ* ⁵⁾, which he had composed in 1546, but which he worked over again in Louvain ; he repeatedly referred to Rudolph Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica*, which he had not known in Spain. He applied himself to Greek under Amerot, starting his study on Plato's *Timæus*, comparing it with Aristotle's teachings, by 1550, at the age of twenty-three. He then probably had made the acquaintance of Cornelius van Auwater, engaged in training young men of richer families in philosophy, and in preparing his wonderful treatises of various branches, which differ so widely from methods and handbooks used up to then, through the sagacious discrimination between what is essential and what is merely accessory. Fox became his favourite disciple and close friend : to him he owes that clear comprehension, that discerning, acute

¹⁾ SchelAL, viii, 485-86.

²⁾ Cp. before, III, 26-27. Furió, who had left Brabant after January 1555, so as to look after the printing of his *Bononia* in Basle, returned to Louvain where he matriculated once more in August 1557 : Fredericus Furius Cereolanus Valentinensis : *LibIntIV*, 332, v.

³⁾ *EraSpain*, 671, sq, 817 : it is worth while comparing it with Erasmus' treatise on the same matter.

⁴⁾ Cp. M'Crie, 212-13 ; *EraSpain*, 592-94, 736, sq.

⁵⁾ It was printed by John Lœus, at Antwerp, 1550 ; it was dedicated to Peter Afan à Ribera, 'Marquionem Lariffensem' : Kuiper, 201-04.

treatment, which characterizes his writings, and to which he adds the impulse of his peculiarly deep and ever ebullient enthusiasm. Under Valerius' able training and correction, Fox wrote several works in which he compares Plato's *decreta* with Aristotle's *sententiae*. In March 1554 was published his *Ethices Philosophiæ Compendium* ¹⁾; later in the same year, *De Naturæ Philosophia, seu de Platonis et Aristotelis Consensione*, followed by *De Philosophici Studii Ratione Liber*, dedicated to Prince Philip of Spain, who was then preparing to go to England ²⁾. In 1554, Fox finished three more books: one, *In Platonis Timæum Commentarii* ³⁾, is dedicated to Cardinal Francis de Mendoza y Bobadilla, Archbishop of Burgos, the old friend and visitor of the *Trilingue* ⁴⁾; another has as title: *In Platonis Dialogum, qui Phædo, seu de Animorum Immortalitate inscribitur Commentarii* ⁵⁾. The third, *De Imitatione, seu de Informandi Styli Ratione Libri II* ⁶⁾, also dedicated to Cardinal Francis de Mendoza y Bobadilla, points out the advantage and the method of imitating good and suitable authors for the forming and acquiring of a fine style; it gives a most interesting illustration of the ideal teaching of Latin and Greek literature at that time, conceived as model for orations and poems, even in modern languages. It is represented as a dialogue between Gabriel Enuesia, who, since his arrival in Louvain, lived like a brother with Sebastian, and the latter's real brother Francis, to whom he explains the *imitatio* in its nature and its method ⁷⁾, which implies that he, too, is studying in the *Trilingue*, as well as under Cornelius Valerius. Francis, in fact, had rejoined Sebastian at his request in 1554 ⁸⁾: and the

¹⁾ Basle, J. Oporinus: the book is dedicated: Ad Clariss. uirum Alphonsum Ferrandum Cordubensem et Agidarium: Kuiper, 190, 207-10.

²⁾ Louvain, Petrus Colonæus: Kuiper, 191, 210-12, 227-29; bef., p 327.

³⁾ Basle, Joh. Oporinus, August 1554: Kuiper, 189, 204-07.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, III, 23-28.

⁵⁾ Basle, J. Oporinus, March 1556: it is dedicated to Gonzalvo Perez, Philip II's secretary; an edition is said to have appeared in 1554: Kuiper, 195, sq, 213-14.

⁶⁾ Antwerp, Martinus Nutius, 1554: Kuiper, 193, 214-27.

⁷⁾ Kuiper, 193, 214-23.

⁸⁾ In the *De Iuuentute*, he is said to have arrived in Brabant when Philip of Spain reached England: Kuiper, 231.

dialogue takes place during a walk outside the walls of the 'matchlessly beautiful Louvain town'. Francis applied himself there to the study of law, and on his return to Spain, he entered the order of the Hieronymites; he became suspected of favouring heresy, and was obliged to recall his aberrations; unfortunately he afterwards was found to have relapsed; condemned to the stake, he was executed at the Sevilla auto-da-fe of September 24, 1559, after having been degraded since he was a priest ¹⁾).

Francis is further introduced by Sebastian into his *De Iuventute Liber I*, represented as a dialogue between the two brothers in praise of youth, as a match to Cicero's *De Senectute* ²⁾; it gives the occasion to the author to mention the work he has done hitherto, although being only twenty-eight ³⁾. He certainly was most industrious: for, about the same time, he wrote *De Historiæ Institutione Dialogus*, representing his reply to his master Nannius' request for a history of Spain ⁴⁾; also a *Commentatio in decem Platonis Libros de Republica*, dedicated to Antony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, chief Councillor of Philip, King of Spain ⁵⁾; as well as three smaller treatises edited in one volume with *De Iuventute*, 1556 ⁶⁾: *De Honore Liber I* ⁷⁾, *De Demonstratione eiusque Necessitate ac Vi Liber I* ⁸⁾, and *De Vso et Exercitatione Dialecticæ Liber I* ⁹⁾. Finally, with the arrival of

¹⁾ Fray Francisco Morcillo was executed with a group of persons condemned for Lutheranism at the auto-da-fe of September 24, 1559 at Sevilla; there was another Hieronymite, Fray Miguel Carpintero, besides Francisco, as well as a Juan Gonzalez: they were degraded as they were priests: Reg. Gonz. Montanus, *Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes aliquot detectæ*: 1567: 82, sq; Menendez Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*: Madrid, 1880-81: II, 759, sq; *SeviVal.*, 45, sq.

²⁾ The book was probably written in 1554, and may have been printed in that year: the oldest edition known, is that of 1556 (Basle, J. Oporinus), inscribed to J. Cl. Guzman, Count of Niebla.

³⁾ Kuiper, 185, sq, 231-32.

⁴⁾ Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1557: Kuiper, 194, 224-27.

⁵⁾ That seems to date it in 1556: there is an edition printed by J. Oporinus at Basle, September 1556: Kuiper, 196, 229-31.

⁶⁾ Basle, J. Oporinus, September 1556: Kuiper, 197-98, 232-35.

⁷⁾ Dedicated to Rodericus Gomez Sylva.

⁸⁾ Dedicated to Francis de Mendoza.

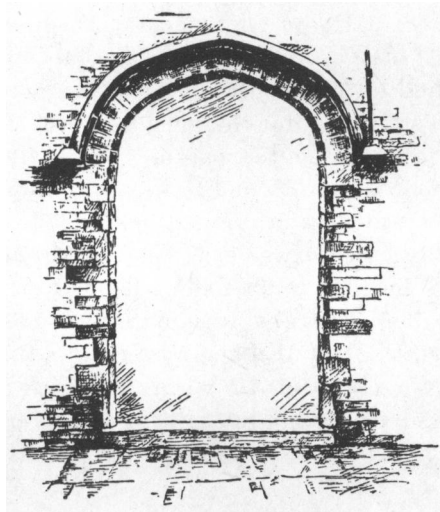
⁹⁾ Dedicated to Inachus de Mendoza.

Philip II in England is connected *De Regni, Regisque Institutione Libri Tres* : it is an argument between a favourer of the Republic and an enthusiastic admirer of Kingship and of its ideal, Philip of Spain, to whom the book is dedicated ; it is most interesting, as it imparts several striking opinions about economic questions, which still are debated ¹⁾, and it closes with a eulogy of Spain ²⁾. It was probably that book which secured King Philip's favour for Morcillo, who, meanwhile, had started studying theology in Louvain ; he appointed him as preceptor for his son Don Carlos in 1560 ; the offer was accepted, but, unfortunately, the promising young man was wrecked and perished on the home voyage in 1560 ³⁾.

¹⁾ P. U. Gonzalez de la Calle, *Ideas Económicas del filósofo hispalense Sebastián Fox Morcillo* : in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliothecas y Museos*, xvii : Madrid, 1914.

²⁾ Kuiper, 198. 235-39.

³⁾ Urbano Gonzalez de la Calle, *Sebastián Fox Morcillo. Estudio Histórico Crítico de sus Doctrinas* : Madrid, 1901 ; Kuiper, 184-239 ; *Saxonom.*, 333 ; *Vita*, 114 ; *Altamira*, iii, 552, 557, 565.



Doorway
leading to
Lecture
Room

EPILOGUE

I

In June 1517, Jerome de Busleyden was sent with two other Imperial councillors to Spain to prepare the arrival of King Charles. As his brother had died there in 1502 ¹⁾, he judged it prudent to make his will, and so he stipulated his wish to found in Louvain, on his friend Erasmus' advice, a school where Latin, Greek and Hebrew were to be taught in a novel way. To lessen the cost, it was to be incorporated into St. Donatian's College, which, founded for seven bursars in 1488, had lost so much by the recent fall of the money, that only one was provided for, the President; he then was John Stercke, of Meerbeke, who himself made a draft of the regulations which the Founder inserted in his will of June 22, 1517 ²⁾.

Busleyden died on August 27, 1517, at Bordeaux, before entering Spain ³⁾, and, advised by Erasmus, his brother Giles and the executors decided at once on the '*negocium pulcherrimum et immortalitate dignum*' ⁴⁾: about the end of February 1518, a Hebrew physician, Matthew Adrianus, started the first lesson, and he reaped a fine success ⁵⁾. The executors applied to the Faculty of Arts, the actual 'trustee' of St. Donatian's College, for the permission of the incorporation: on account of the distrust of 'bonæ literæ' and of Erasmus' influence, harsh conditions were imposed, which could not be accepted, and the admission was refused on August 26, 1518. Busleyden's brother and friends courageously rose to the emergency: they decided on founding an independent college, thanks to some economies on wages and bursars, at least in the beginning, and they surprised their opponents by starting the three lectures on September 1, 1518, with Adrian Barlandus as professor for Latin, and, for Greek, Rutger Rescius, instead of the renowned, but too costly, Janus Lascaris ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Busl., 8.

²⁾ Cp. sup., I, 14, sq.

³⁾ Busl., 97.

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 241.

⁵⁾ Cp. I, 250-53; EllenbE, 104, 111.

⁶⁾ Cp. I, 290-95.

The attendance of those lectures exceeded all expectations, and in the enjoyment of the success, a site was bought at once. Meanwhile Erasmus saw to the spirit of the Institute, describing its 'New Method' for divinity, as an example, in his *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, of November 1518 ¹⁾. The adversaries were bitterly disappointed, and dreaded the extending of the war between '*Obscuri Viri*' and Reuchlinists to Louvain. An imprudent word of Rescius ²⁾, the intempestive zeal of Alard ³⁾, and especially the criticism and the scurrilous pamphlets of an unwise friend, William Nesen ⁴⁾, did no end of harm in the following months. In fact, the Institute, although accepted by the University thanks to Erasmus, on September 20, 1519 ⁵⁾, was repudiated at the end of November with such virulence that Barlandus and the Hebrew professor resigned ⁶⁾, whereas Rescius was placed under arrest for nightly disturbance. At that desperate dead-lock, Giles de Busleyden intervened : the Greek professor was set free ; a temporary Hebrew teacher was found, and Conrad Goclenius was appointed. A few weeks later, the University was put before the choice of admitting the Foundation, or seeing it start in another town : an unconditional incorporation was finally granted on March 13, 1520, on the advice of no less a man than Adrian of Utrecht ⁷⁾.

That lengthy struggle is related in the first volume of this *History*, whereas the second records the entering into the fine Building, on October 18, 1520, with John Stercke as President ⁸⁾. Earnest work continued : the class-room, built for three hundred hearers, had to be enlarged for six hundred after three years, and soon had still to be widened ⁹⁾. Outbursts of the old hostility became milder and rarer, and died down ¹⁰⁾. Not only Louvain, but the whole Christian world, sang the praise of the fine men formed there : such as Viglius and Mudæus, de Schepper and the '*Fratres Belgæ*', Bernaert and Schoonhoven, Gemma Phrysius and Mercator : they were as a living and constantly expanding eulogy of the School,

¹⁾ Cp. I, 303-6.

²⁾ Cp. I, 314, *sq.*

³⁾ Cp. I, 316, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Cp. I, 390-411, 544-602.

⁵⁾ Cp. I, 411-17.

⁶⁾ Cp. I, 453-60.

⁷⁾ Cp. I, 506-32.

⁸⁾ Cp. II, 44-63.

⁹⁾ Cp. II, 123, 236, *sq.*, 249, 328, 347, 606, 621.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. II, 249-96, III, 131, *sq.*

and of Goclenius, who proved a godsend as shaper of leading spirits ¹⁾).

The third volume describes the glory of the Institute in its full expansion from 1530 to 1540 : still, that decennium was not without its difficulties ²⁾, as hardly anything human can be. It records the death of the Great Inspirer Erasmus ³⁾, as well as the untimely decease of Goclenius ⁴⁾, the Grand Artisan of the School's glory, now well and soundly based on disciples like Cornelius van Auwater and Andrew Masius, Cassander and Coster, Vesale and Dodoens, Baudouin and Vlimmer, Martin de Smet and Ogier de Busbeek.

This *History* of the 'Foundation and the Rise' of the *Trilingue* would have been closed after the third volume, if there had not been, after 1539, the up to now ignored disgraceful claim of Rescius, endangering for a long while its very existence ⁵⁾. The action in justice took several years ; all the time the teaching was done without the least sign of disturbance, and the Institute could even send, on request, some old pupils to undertake lectures on languages in the Universities of Erfurt and Ingolstadt ⁶⁾); Nannius and Balenus continued gathering enthusiastic audiences ; and, from the first, Adrian Amerot, devoting himself entirely to teaching, was far more appreciated than Rescius had ever been. That evident prosperity was not merely the result of foregone activity, which, like a fly-wheel, continues for a time the regular motion after the generator has stopped : for the work went on, even at an increasing spurt, throughout the years that followed.

Up to the middle of the seventies, when war and political trouble turned Louvain into a deserted hive, the *Trilingue* was actually teeming with glorious life : Nannius' successor, Cornelius van Auwater ⁷⁾, formed there a group of philologists, who ruled the literary world of their days, and secured centuries of authority to the editions of the works of literators, which had been assigned there as subjects of the researches

¹⁾ Cp. II, 615, *sq.*, 633, *sq.*

²⁾ Cp. III, 154, *sq.*, 179, *sq.*

³⁾ Cp. III, 390-453.

⁴⁾ Cp. III, 565-72.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 25, 67-88, 224-43, 249-52.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 267, 312-18, 351, 353-55.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 294-97, and III, 271-81.

of William Canter, with his brothers, and of Francis Modius; of Hubert van Giffen and of Louis Carrio; of Victor Giselinus and of Martin-Antonio Delrio; also of Andrew Schott and of Janus Lernutius ¹⁾; and, of the greatest amongst the great, Justus Lips ²⁾. Other hearers rendered themselves illustrious in their various fields of activity: theologians, like John Molanus ³⁾ and Henry Gravius, future Vatican Librarian ⁴⁾; jurists, as Philip Zuerius ⁵⁾, as Henry Zoesius and as the famous Gerard Corselius, of whom the latter two even taught Greek, for a time, in the Institute ⁶⁾; physicians, as Peter Beausart, Beausardus ⁷⁾ and as Adrian Romanus ⁸⁾, eminent alike for mathematics and for medicine. Several of them followed the example of Cassander ⁹⁾ and Baudouin ¹⁰⁾, and spread the knowledge and the methods of Busleyden College abroad: in Spain or France, like Schott, Delrio and Carrio; in England, like Drusius ¹¹⁾; in Bavaria and Germany, like Modius, Giphani and Romanus; and even in Austria, where the Imperial physician Biesius ¹²⁾ found, at the Emperor's Court, several of the Louvain glories, Busbeek ¹³⁾, Dodonæus ¹⁴⁾ and Clusius ¹⁵⁾.

The generosity of the teaching, of which the world availed itself, was, about that time, offered, along with safety from Elizabeth's persecutions, to many refugees in the Brabant town: the *Trilingue* actively helped towards the formation of men like Cardinal Allen ¹⁶⁾, and towards the equipment of

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 278-79, and 496 (Carrio), *ibid.*, pp 203 (Modius), 350, *sq* (Giffen); &c. ²⁾ Cp. before, pp 179, &c. ³⁾ Cp. before, p 6.

⁴⁾ Cp. VAnd., 120; Mol., 522, 715; *BibBelg.*, 353-54; Vern., 279.

⁵⁾ Cp. VAnd., 197.

⁶⁾ Cp. VAnd., 202-3, 204-5, 282-83; before, pp 322, &c.

⁷⁾ Cp. VAnd., 234, 249; *AuwCar.*, 61-62; and *sup.*, II, 562, 564.

⁸⁾ Cp. VAnd., 223, 249; and before, pp 373-74.

⁹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 296-303, and before, p 397; *ConstConc.*, 97.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 518-29; and before, pp 319, 350.

¹¹⁾ *BibBelg.*, 495-96: James Drusius, van den Driesche, of Audenarde, taught Hebrew in Oxford, and afterwards in Franeker, where he died in 1616: Wood, I, 339-41, 403, 791; Gabbema, 273-400; *FlandScript.*, 94.

¹²⁾ Nicolas Biesius, of Ghent († 1573): VAnd., 234; *HibBelg.*, 679; Vern., 303; *GandErVir.*, 101; cp. *sup.*, II, 564, III, 341.

¹³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 492-504, 508, &c.

¹⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 335-45, &c.

¹⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 368-76.

¹⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 332-33; *UniEngl.*, 63, 93, 111, 127-32; Wood, I, 235-38; Hamilton, I, 20, 146, 171, *pedigree of*; II, 116, 172.

the 'Louvain School of Apologists', who were so influential that their adversaries saw no other way of reply, except by keeping most drastically their convincing writings out of the reach of their countrymen ¹⁾).

No wonder that Louvain, thanks to the training of the *Trilingue*, became world-famous, and was hailed by encomiasts like Andrew Schott, who, after a stay in the foremost foreign Universities, praises it in 1581 for the great men it produces, asserting that 'nusquam omnes simul disciplinæ tanta diligentia fideque, reiectis quæ ad inanem ostentationem & Sophisticen pertinent, docentur quam Lovanij'. He records by name several of the professors, all of them avowed disciples of the *Trilingue*, and mentions his fellow-students, already renowned throughout Europe: 'Omitto præstantissima ingenia eorum qui e Grudiis, ut olim ex equo Troiano meri heroes, doctissimi prodierunt: Lipsium, Carrionem, Canteros, Giselinum, Fruterium, Gifanium, Duzam, Torrentium, Levineium, Papium, Modium, ceteros: qui rem literariam mirifice exornant, & Belgii decus gnaviter tuentur, nec, ut spero, intermori sinent, quin potius alio migrantes Musas, tamquam e fuga, obtorto collo retrahent' ²⁾).

The present *History* does not describe that glorious group of Schott's fellow-students formed by Cornelius van Auwater, nor those many outstanding pupils taught in the xviith century by the eminent professors who then honoured the *Trilingue*: Justus Lips, Erycius Puteanus and Nicolas Vernulæus, for Latin ³⁾; Henry Zoesius, Peter a Castello, and Peter Stockmans, for Greek ⁴⁾, and Valerius Andreas, for

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., *Harding*, 235-37; *Mémoires*, II, 176-78; *Ramridge*, pass.

²⁾ Letter of May 5, 1581 to Plantin: *PlantE*, VI, 263. — 'Fruterium' is the Lucas Fruytiers, Fruterius, of Bruges, whom Janus Dousa highly praised, and who died prematurely in Paris: *PlantE*, VII, 159; *BibBelg.*, 628-29; — 'Duzam', is Janus Dousa, Lord of Noordwijk, the great philologist, Curator of Leyden University: *BibBelg.*, 437-38; *SchottE*, 333-6; — for 'Torrentium', see before, pp 165-76; — 'Levineium' is his nephew, John Lievens, Antwerp Canon: cp. before, p 165; *BibBelg.*, 527-28; so is 'Papium': bef., p 165, unless it be Peter de Pape, Papeus, schoolmaster of Menin, author of the comedy *Samarites* and of elegies: cp. *sup.*, III, 444, sq; *BibBelg.*, 754; Creizenach, II, 126-27; also Gabbema, 615, 629 (Fruter.), 315, 330, 604 (Dousa).

³⁾ *NèveMém.*, 166-84; *Paquot*, III, 428, sq, XIII, 373, sq.

⁴⁾ *NèveMém.*, 213-17; *NèveRen.*, 343, sq; *Paquot*, I, 49, sq.

Hebrew ¹⁾; nor, for that matter, those trained by Heymbachius and Kerkherdere, Antony van Gils, John-Noel Paquot, Stephen Heuschling ²⁾ and all those who kept up the glory of the *Trilingue* unto the French Revolution, 1797, which abolished the University. Their toils are as well known as the powerful display of a mighty river, affording to extensive provinces and many lands the wealth of her multifarious help and never ceasing benefits. This *History* only intends describing the patient labour of the Institute on its way towards that undiminished expansion of the period from 1550 to 1797, when it is seen in the full glory of its erudites. Indeed the labour from 1517 to 1550, sketched here, was as hard and humble as that of the young river, just risen from its source, struggling against rocks and roots, threading its dark way through pools and lakes, rushing through strids and clefts or waterfalls, hidden all the while under overhanging branches in wild forests, — until strengthened by affluent streams, it opens wide, stately and irresistible in its broad and lordly sway. The glory of that majestic power generally goes to a Lips, a Valerius Andreas or a Paquot. Yet it is primely due to the discrete toiling of humble Goclenius and his colleagues and, before all, to their conscientious efforts to apply the ‘method’ which is the life, the strength, the glory of the *Trilingue*, and of all those who were formed there. That ‘method’ was so subtle that it escaped those who wished to copy the working of the School, and failed in their attempt; nor has it been mentioned by any historians: the older ones took it for granted, and did not refer to it; by the modern ones, it is completely ignored.

II

Quite naturally the *Trilingue* was imitated from the very beginning by other Universities. The attempts made by Cardinal Ximenes’ successors ³⁾, by Bishop Fox and by Wolsey ⁴⁾, also by Francis I ⁵⁾, had only a transitory success. In the

¹⁾ *NèveMém.*, 250-67; *NèveRen.*, 406-26.

²⁾ *NèveMém.*, 184, *sq.*, 194-98, 226, 272-76, 278 88; Paquot, v, 274, *sq.*

³⁾ *Cp. sup.*, II, 41, *sq.*, III, 78-81; *EraSpain*, 372.

⁴⁾ *Cp. sup.*, II, 42, *sq.*, 356-60, III, 370, *sq.*; — also Allen, III, 990, 4.

⁵⁾ *Cp. sup.*, II, 43, 360-63, 596, III, 84-90, before, p 102; *Roy*, 37; also Allen, ix, 2456; *Aléandre*, 99, *sq.*

thirties John Sturm ¹⁾ endeavoured to create a school at Strassburg, intended as replica of the *Trilingue*, for the benefit of the various groups of Reformers. He had studied the working of the Brabant Institute for more than four years ; and his most elaborate programme was expected to cause his model to dwindle soon into oblivion. Unfortunately, it proved, before long, to be only practical for intellectual wonders ; and neither the repeated attempts at recovery, nor the considerable alleviations, could stop the decline of the *Schola Argentinenensis* : endless quarrels with the religious and civil authorities of Strassburg led to Sturm's dismissal in 1581, and were still unsettled at his death, March 3, 1589 ²⁾).

Not even as long-lived was the imitation of the Louvain *Trilingue* by the Cologne Town Council ³⁾, thanks to the help of Justus Velsius ⁴⁾ and of John Isaac Levita ⁵⁾, both of whom had been in intimate connection with Busleyden's Institute. They started their lectures in 1550 : unfortunately, the main spring of the undertaking, Velsius, thought more of Reformation than of linguistics and literature ; the scheme collapsed in 1554, and the Cologne Jesuit John von Rheydt, Rhetius, turned whatever he could save of it, to the good of the *Tricoronatum* ⁶⁾, which became as the model institute for his own incipient Society. As years advanced, at least the work of the *Trilingue* was practically continued also in Douai, Louvain's daughter-University, started in 1562 ⁷⁾ ; as well as in the one founded in Leyden for the youth of the newly constituted Common Wealth ⁸⁾ : they entrusted the teaching of linguistics to masters who had been formed in Louvain, from Reyvaert ⁹⁾, Haræus ¹⁰⁾ and Janus Dousa ¹¹⁾ to the great Justus Lips ¹²⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 579-90.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 589-90, III, 105, 540, 545, 572, and before, pp 212, 291 ; *EpClassArg.*, xxi-xxiii.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 138-43, 303, *sq.*

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 137-43.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 299-306.

⁶⁾ Cp. before, pp 303, *sq.*, 357, *sq.* ; *ConstConc.*, 601-2.

⁷⁾ Cp. before, pp 325, 332, 340, 344, 355, 377, &c.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, pp 42, 374.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, pp 376-78.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. before, pp 411.

¹¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 248, 320-21, and before, pp 207, 215.

¹²⁾ *BBLipse*, I, viii, *sq.* ; *LipsdV*, 844, *sq.*

III

The continuous expansion and prosperity of the *Trilingue*, lasting as long as the University, whilst all imitations failed, can hardly be ascribed to compulsion, either natural, as part of the exercises prescribed by a time-table; or virtual, as a necessary preparing to a test: for the lectures were not at all enforced on anybody whatever. Nor was there any question of making money on the part of the professors or of the School, for the attendance was quite free, and only private lessons had to be paid for. There was no interference of any public power: no King financed the instruction, as in France; no town council had a hand in the management, as it had in Cologne. The personal excellence of the professors may have had some influence, and, under similar circumstances, a Goclenius had more chance to success than a John Campensis¹⁾: yet there does not even appear any trace of discontent about Rescius' teaching, which, in his last years, can hardly have been up to the mark, considering his absorbing concern in his lawsuit and in all its consequences. Nor can even the subject of the lessons explain the prosperity of the Institute: for Latin was then taught in each of the Pedagogies, and in many schools all over the country²⁾; so was Greek³⁾, though to a smaller extent, whereas the necessity of an acquaintance with Hebrew was only felt much later. In fact, the great repute of Goclenius' lectures, if considered merely for the language, can hardly be explained; Latin had even been considered of so little importance by the Founder and by his advisers, that they had decided to pay to its professor, besides board and lodging, only half of the salary due to those of Greek and Hebrew⁴⁾.

Yet it is certain that Goclenius' Latin lectures were the

¹⁾ As explained before, Campensis was not favoured by a regularly numerous audience: he was too earnest and conscientious to limit himself to teaching again and again the beginnings; he, moreover, was often suffering, and he had a disagreeable rival in Clenardus: his leave was a real loss for Louvain: cp. before, III, 164-78, 200-08.

²⁾ Cp. for the Latin taught in the Pedagogies, before, pp 102-06.

³⁾ Greek was taught in the Lily in a regular lecture from January 1528, and, from 1542, in the Castle: cp. *sup.*, II, 84, III, 260, 294, 575; and before, pp 254, 257, 259.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Test.*, 19.

most momentous in the actual working of the Institute : not so much for the subject itself : indeed, Adrian Barlandus ¹⁾, with his ten years' experience, is hardly ever mentioned as popular ; whereas his successor, who had far less practice, drew crowds about his chair that caused the halls to be ever enlarged ²⁾. Nor was that excellence the result of a mere passing fashion : for his wages were raised, and put on a level with those of his colleagues, on February 6, 1522 ³⁾ ; two years later, in March 1524, even an additional yearly payment of 12 gold florins was decided on : it was kept a secret, but it was paid regularly to the end of his days ⁴⁾. That evident appreciation and acknowledgment of the efficiency of Goclenius' work can hardly be explained by the mere excellence of his teaching Latin, which, on December 17, 1536, Viglius had even to point out to Louis Carinus, who had found it an endless repetition of 'eadem... trita illa & vulgata' ⁵⁾. Indeed, besides communicating the notions of the language and the literature of Rome, he actually gave by it a persuasive demonstration of an admirable METHOD, which his hearers applied in their turn to the other matters they wanted to study and acquire, — and that explains the host of pioneers formed by him. The method he introduced was that of Erasmus, that 'Great Unknown', who is still admired by many merely as the author of *Laus Stultitiae* and the *Colloquia*, although those squibs were only intended to point out errors and bad habits, and, consequently, became useless as soon as the evil was corrected or extirpated ⁶⁾. Infinitely more important is the fact that he wanted to replace the old routine of studying, — consisting in just accepting and repeating what had been said and repeated for centuries, — by a new mode, which bases all knowledge on the examination of the object in itself, or on testing accurately the authority and veracity of those who relate things beyond our control ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 267-71, 447-49.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 484-87.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 103-09.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 242-45.

⁵⁾ He had come to Louvain with Nesen in the summer of 1519 and soon left for Cologne : he afterwards quarrelled for good with Erasmus : cp. *sup.*, I, 392-93, II, 114-15, III, 464-66.

⁶⁾ Cp. Maurenbrecher, 349-52 ; *Heresbach*, 127.

⁷⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 312-14, III, 211-12, 452-53.

Thus, taking theology as example, Erasmus explained that knowledge is gained, not by idle debates, but by studying the various books of the Bible, rightly understood by means of the circumstances of life, and of the culture and literature of the writer's nation at the time each of them was written, investigated with the help of the explanations given by the Fathers and, most of all, by the teaching of the Church. He had applied that 'method' practically already in the first edition of the *Novum Testamentum*, of February 1516 ¹⁾, and he exposed it theoretically in his famous *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, of November 1518 ²⁾. That method ³⁾ is not meant merely for theology, which science is only proposed as an example for all others, being the first, the most important, and, at the time, the most studied.

It was that method, practised by the *Trilingue* professors, and particularly by Goclenius, which Erasmus wanted to introduce as the norm for all knowledge, and his insight was so keen and deep, that the rules he enounced four centuries and more ago, are still practically those which lead every modern scientific research worthy of that name. He wished to base the teaching of Busleyden's Institute on it : *that* was the source of its glorious life ; *that*, the secret of its great achievements. Goclenius, most of all, saw clearly in Erasmus' plans : he taught Latin by Cicero, revealing, wherever he could, the only true and rational method of all study for any other branch of intellectual activity, showing how to expand the knowledge thus acquired in a hundred-, a thousandfold way, as days go by. Paris University could, at that time, boast a Budé ⁴⁾ ; Basle, a Paracelsus ⁵⁾ ; Bourges, an Alciati ⁶⁾ : there they stopped ; whereas Louvain actually formed pupils in her *Trilingue*, who, not only felt that de Villa-Dei's treatise is insufficient to the knowledge of unadulterated Latin ; or

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 297, 324, 343, 428, II, 41, 85, III, 150, 153.

²⁾ The final and enlarged text of the *Ratio* was printed in Louvain by Th. Martens in November 1518 : Iseghem, 291-92 ; NijKron., I, 861, II, 2973 ; BB, E, 1125, 1-43, 1126, 1-7 ; Allen, III, 745, *pr.*

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 303, *sq.* 312, 318, 324, 326, 329, 333, *sq.* 336, 343, 346, II, 85, III, 4.

⁴⁾ Cp. Budé, 31, 44 ; BudERép., 235 ; Allen, II, 403, *pr.* ; &c.

⁵⁾ Heinrichs, 3-18 ; Allen, VII, 1808, *pr.*

⁶⁾ Stintzing, I, 121-30 ; Allen, IV, 1250, *pr.*

that Galenus is wanting in logic ; and that the *Mos Italicus* is far from expressing perfection : — but were trained to look for a satisfactory reply to those and many more doubts, to search for a solution to all questions, and were familiarized with a system which grounded all knowledge on the foundation which modern times still accept and recognize as the only possible one, the only real one !

It caused the marvellous expansion not of *one*, but of *all* branches of human intellectual activity in the *one* humble Institute of the comparatively small Brabant town, within the very first decads of its existence, as well for exegesis as for jurisprudence ; for botany as for geography ; for anatomy and epigraphy ; for mathematics and history ; an expansion, which subsequent generations could use as a wonderful flight of sure steps towards heights that had not been explored as yet. That expansion, which extended in every direction of the searching and judging energy of the mind, remained for a good while characteristic of Louvain : as, far from following a general impulsion, it was years and years ahead of all intellectual workers on the glorious way to progress, even for those particular specialities, like law or medicine, which were exclusively cultivated in some place or other. It rejuvenated theology, starting the method of scientific exegesis with Lindanus ¹⁾, and bringing up to date the working arrangement of a Driedo, so that his conclusions were taken over literally amongst the decrees of Trent ²⁾. It made Viglius ³⁾ and Mudæus ⁴⁾ study Roman Law from the original texts long before Cujas reached the age of reason ⁵⁾, at a time that the *Mos Italicus* was still extolled by Boniface Amerbach, Erasmus' great friend ⁶⁾, and, in fact, was still taught, with other old routines, at least until the end of the xvith century in most Universities ⁷⁾. It caused Vesale to enounce theories which subsequent ages have gratefully worked out, whereas

¹⁾ Cp. before, pp 378-98 ; *ConstConc.*, 93, 850, 916.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 505, 606, &c ; R. Draguet, *Le Maître Louvaniste Driedo Inspirateur du Décret de Trente sur la Vulgate* (in *Miscellanea A. De Meyer* : Louvain, 1946) : II, 836-54.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 148-50, &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 209-18, &c.

⁵⁾ James Cujas, 1522-1590 : cp. Stintzing, I, 375-77, &c.

⁶⁾ Cp. Allen, II, 408, *pr* ; Stintzing, I, 123-28.

⁷⁾ Cp. Stintzing, I, 128-30.

Fallopio and Eustachio, his disciples in Italy, scorned them, and whereas his own master in anatomy of Paris, professor James Dubois Sylvius, haughtily sneered at them, calling their author *Vesanus* ¹⁾). Whatever has been said to glorify Italy as *the* place for inventions in Sciences ²⁾), Louvain started the modern way of studying botany and geography, pedagogy, anatomy, cosmography, orientalism, patrology, whereas the country once glorified by Virgil, Cicero and Horace, did not even — to quote a typical example — provide one scholar to note down scientifically the then already rapidly vanishing inscriptions, which had been exposed since centuries to everybody's eyes. For the present-day authoritative collection of Epigraphs is due, for the larger part, to the *Trilinguist* Martin de Smet : it was offered to the brothers Laurin of Bruges, from whom it was taken as a spoil by soldiery, and sent to England, where the curators of Leyden University secured it. It was edited by the man who, also formed by Busleyden Institute, became as its symbol, Justus Lips ³⁾). *His* theatre was the wide world ; he had been active in Rome, in Jena and in Vienna, and having been for several years the pride of the incipient University of Leyden, he chose to return to the Brabant School that had trained him to the 'TRULY SCIENTIFIC METHOD', which is the only explanation of the greatness of the work done by the *Trilingue* and by her pupils, of whom he was one of the greatest. The glory he reaped by his writings on Tacitus, and on the Roman Civilization of that historian's lifetime, fitly crowned the eighty years of the existence of the grand College, and inaugurated the work of a new century, to make up for the sad havoc caused by the last years of the one that had just closed ⁴⁾).

THE END

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 326-30.

²⁾ Cp. *UniEngl.*, 65. — For a long time Louvain had to bear some most nonsensical verdicts (e. g., *UniEur.*, 39, 66, 96-98, and more particularly, 103, *sq.*), which, however, later and better informed scholars apodictically gainsay. Cp. Watson, *xcviii*, *sq.* ; Iseghem, 157-58 ; *ErasLaur.*, I, 515, *sq.*, II, 581-82 ; and *sup.*, I, *vi-ix*.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 316-22, correcting Sandys, II, 145, and Tiraboschi, VII, 825-31.

⁴⁾ Cp. Sandys, II, 301-05, &c.

APPENDIX V

NANNIUS' FUNERAL ORATION BY AUWATER

June 25, 1557

(*NanOF*)

The History

The Funeral Oration of his predecessor, spoken by Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, was left, at his decease on August 11, 1578, with his books and his papers to the *Trilingue* ¹⁾; it was still there at the time of Valerius Andreas, who, in his *Bibliotheca Belgica* of 1623, mentions it in the biographical sketch, after the list of his published books : 'Vidi præterea varias *Cornelii Orationes ac Præfationes in Professionis suæ auspiciis dictas*; itemque *in funere Petri Nannii*; & *Caroli V. Cæsaris* : aliaque quæ in Collegio Trilingui manuss. asseruantur. Vtinam, rei litterariæ bono, lucem ea aliquando aspiciant' ²⁾. Twenty years later, when Andreas published his second edition of his *Bibliotheca Belgica* ³⁾, he mentioned Auwater's documents again in the same terms, except for the last wish about their editing, which he perhaps was then earnestly contemplating for some. As, however, the writing of the manuscripts is so very small that it hardly could be given into the compositors' hands, he will have had to provide a clearer transcript, which would have taken more time in executing than in deciding on. When, in the next century, John-Noel Paquot wrote a biographic and bibliographic account of the xvith century professor ⁴⁾, he had to close it with the despondent statement :

Valerius laissa encore en MS.

α. *Oratio in funere Petri Nannii*.

β. *Variae Orationes, ac Præfationes in Professionis suæ auspiciis dictæ*.

γ. Et d'autres pièces, que Valère André a vûes au Collège des Trois-Langues : mais on n'y trouve aujourd'hui que les débris d'une bibliothèque où il y avait beaucoup de richesses Littéraires ⁵⁾.

By a most happy chance some of the treasures of the *Trilingue*, which had been considered as lost since centuries, came to light in the

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 236.

²⁾ *Bibliotheca Belgica* : Louvain, Henry Hastenius, 1623 : 222-23.

³⁾ Louvain, James Zegers, 1643 : 166.

⁴⁾ *Mémoires* : Vol. XII : Louvain, Imprimerie Académique, 1768.

⁵⁾ Paquot, XII, 155 ; cp. *sup.*, II, 236, 479-80, III, 276, 281.

twenties of the present one : through hearers of the lecture of the 'History of Humanism', was found the original diploma of Busleyden's Doctorate in Laws, Padua, Febr. 8, 1503, which, since time immemorial, had been preserved in a family at Fize-le-Marsal, near Waremmé ¹⁾. Moreover a small, but magnificent, portrait of Busleyden, like the one mentioned in the last xvth century account of the *Trilingue* ²⁾, was offered for sale by a German firm, on the advice of the late Professor W. Bang, to the Louvain University Library ³⁾. About the same time, the pleasure of some service rendered to a congenial friend, the great Archivist H. Keussen, led to the discovery of a small disorderly and unsightly mass of rough draughts and notes, of fragmentary lists of words and of expressions, in a microscopical writing, with just some scarce evasive allusion to an 'Auwater' or 'Langius' ⁴⁾. The experience of the two World-Wars suggests an explanation to those 'finds' ⁵⁾, since Brabant heavily suffered from hostile invasions from the last *decennia* of the xvth century to the first of the xviiith : naturally some of the Louvain Colleges tried to save their treasures by confiding them to their professors, leaving to go and shelter in the Principality of Liège or in the Rheinland : apparently some of them never returned from their flight, or they left their valuables as pledges or trusts in return for unrequited hospitality.

In the busy thirties, the sorting of the medley of hard to be deciphered notes and compositions was necessarily moved aside for more leisurely days, whereas the first forties provided an occasion to concentrate all attention on them : Kuiper's study on Valerius was a timely incentive ⁶⁾. In fact, a certain part of the documents proved to be the rough drafts of Auwater's correspondence or of his orations and lectures. The unravelling of the microscopical writing has taken several months of unremitting labour, but, as mentioned in the Preface to vol. III, it brought most welcome documentation for the ten last years under consideration in this *History*. The letters are chiefly concerned with the study and teaching of languages, and thus provide an illustration of the work performed in the *Trilingue*, whilst the verses sketch the ideals pursued by masters and students : ample use

¹⁾ *Busl.*, 34-39, 125-29.

²⁾ A note in the account by John Verhagen (August 1571 to August 1585 : *FUL*, 1452) mentions that it was brought from Antwerp by a student : probably it was part of the succession of Canon Adrian Josel.

³⁾ *Busl.*, xi : it was not acquired ; cp. *ibid.*, xi, 108.

⁴⁾ Cornelius Valerius, — whose proper name *van Auwater* is hardly ever mentioned, and, if so, mistaken as his birth-place : *BibBelg.*, 165 ; *sup.*, III, 271, — and Thierry de Langhe : cp. before, pp 265-68.

⁵⁾ Cp. Allen, v, iii ; *MoreChamb.*, 218.

⁶⁾ G. Kuiper, *Cornelius Valerius en Sebastianus Foxius Morsillus als Bronnen van Coornhert* : Harderwijk, 1941.

has been made of both in the preceding pages ¹⁾. Most of all, the personality and the significance of Peter Nannius was brought out in full light by the following *Oratio*, which is, in that respect, totally different from the one by Amerot on Rescius ²⁾, and even from that of Nannius himself on his great Master, Goclenius ³⁾: the latter are mere essays about the study of languages, with just a passing mention of the sad event that occasioned them: Valerius, on the contrary, provides a richly furnished record of the life and work of his predecessor, to which the present *History* owes a large debt indeed ⁴⁾.

The Text

The *Oratio* is written on a double folio leaf, folded so as to form a quire of eight quarto pages, handy for the reading out in public. It begins at the top of the recto of the first, and takes up seven full ones and one third of the eighth ⁵⁾. The writing is in the characteristically small hand of Auwater, who added some words over the lines ⁶⁾, erased and replaced others, introduced changes in the original text, lined through one passage to insert it almost literally further on, and crossed off the four lines that close the speech and precede the '*Dixi*' ⁷⁾. Wherever it was possible to make out the words that were deleted, they are added in the textual notes, so as to illustrate the way of working of Auwater, who introduced the alterations in the short time in which he had to prepare the oration: no doubt the College authorities were present at the solemnity, as well as the friends and admirers of the deceased.

The title of the *Oratio*, written apparently along with the speech, indicates the date, June 25, 1557, a Friday. To that title Auwater added: '*pridie quam celebrarentur exequiæ septenariæ. cum ille mortuus esset die 21. et eg<ro> / illo docuissem eo<dem> / die*'. He added that note afterwards: at any rate, the four last words were written on two extra lines in the right margin, as there was no space left between the title and the beginning of the *Oratio*. He probably struck it off on second thoughts, as he must have realized that the *septenariæ exequiæ* were not celebrated on Saturday, June 26, instead of on Sunday, the proper day; but on Monday, June 28, as he explicitly announces in paragraph z,

¹⁾ Cp. for Dodonæus, II, 112, 119, III, 343; Gemma Phrysius, II, 554, 565; Nicolas Grudius and Adrian Marius, II, 451-53; Balenus, III, 212-16; Schott, III, 501, 593; Modius and Lips, before, pp 179, 203, 212; Rataller, before, pp 363-66: also *MalConM*, 121, r, sq; &c.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 246-47.

³⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 569, and before, pp 13, 297.

⁴⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 177, sq, III, 276, 281, and before, pp 13, 294, 296-97.

⁵⁾ Viz., ff 17 to 20, in the bundle *Cornelii Valerii Collectanea*.

⁶⁾ The place in the text is indicated by two small lines: *1*, repeated before the word(s) to be inserted.

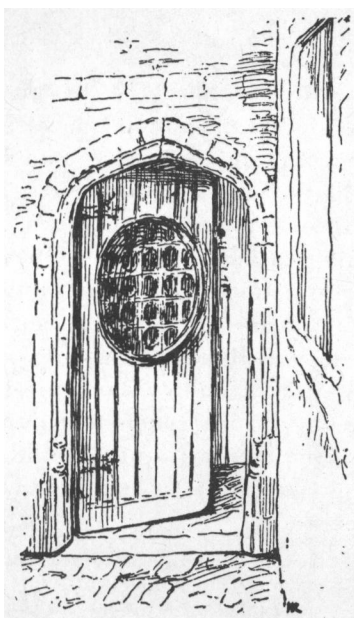
⁷⁾ Viz., paragraph z, ll 392-98.

— which, in its turn, was lightly crossed out, as it did not properly belong to the Funeral Oration as such.

The Edition

The text of the *Oratio* has been reproduced with the utmost exactness; so have all the corrections, additions and changes effectuated by the author, who apparently decided on them before the speech was pronounced. They are pointed out in the textual notes, and, as far as was possible, the original wording given. The punctuation marks have all been reproduced, and — as the text is to be used by present-day readers — further regularized ¹⁾. The only actual change introduced is the division into paragraphs, a-z, so as to allow references; and, in compliance with the author's using large initials, a line of space is left before § c and § d.

¹⁾ Full stops, which in the manuscript are followed by words with minuscule initials, have been reproduced as colons or semicolons.



Entrance
to the
Wendelsteen



ORATIO FUNEBRIS DE OBITU D. PETRI NANNIJ
 HABITA IN COLLEGIO TRILINGUI A COR. VALERIO
 DIE 25. JUNIJ AN. 1557.

a **F**UNEBRES orationes alias alijs de causis haberi solitas
 accepimus, auditores humanissimi, sed vnum tamen
 omnium eorum, qui defunctos vita laudauerunt, stu-
 dium fuisse videtur, ut eos esse fælices ostenderent, qui
 5 præclara per labores egregios obita morte per ora hominum
 gratorum volitantes apud posteros æterna nominis fama
 viuerent, aliosque suo exemplo, quo nullum calcar acrius
 incitat, ad res præclare gerendas adhortarentur. Id Peri-
 clem olim spectasse dubium non est, qui primus in Græcia
 10 eos, qui pro patria in bello Peloponnesiaco fortiter pug-
 nantes occubuissent, pro concione magnæ vi eloquentiæ
 prædicauit; idem Romanos, qui laudabilem illum Græciæ
 morem in suam Rempubicam omnium virtutum exemplis

Oratio &c] on f 17, r. — 1557.] cp. before, pp 456, 296, sq.

Textual Notes. — The following abbreviations are used : *aol* (= added over the line);
cof (= corrected from); *cro* (= crossed off after it, is...); *lm*, *trm* (= in left, right
 margin); *poss* (= possibly); *prob* (= probably)

8 Periclem] Pericles was praised for his powerful eloquence, even by
 his antagonist Thucydides, who records his word after the fights
 of 431 : 'the town has lost its youth, the year its spring'; he died
 before he wrote down more than his decrees : Plutarch, *Pericles*,
 x, xi; Pliny, *Epist.*, i, 20, 17, sq; Sandys, i, 77.

instructissimam transtulerunt; idem nationes barbaras,
 15 quibus modo virtus curæ fuit. Nec abhorret a Christianis
 auribus illa veterum consuetudo, quam scriptoribus etiam
 Ecclesiasticis ante annos fere mille trecentos magna cum
 laude vsurpatam cognouimus : quibus illud visum est
 æquissimum, ut qui nos beneficijs, dum viuerent, affe-
 20 cissent, ijs iam mortuis, cum alia referri gratia non possit,
 at saltem oratione grati animi voluntas ac beneuolentia
 rependatur.

b Quamobrem mihi periucundum fuit, auditores beneuoli,
 vestrum in D. Nannium preceptorem bene meritum carmi-
 25 nibus frequentibus declaratum studium, quorum beneuo-
 lentia nos incitati, quamuis rebus amici nostri componen-
 dis occupati, vix ullum ad scribendum haberemus otium,
 cum tamen a multis hoc nostrum pro mortuo dicendi offi-
 cium requiri videremus, et biduum non totum ad eam
 30 rem conficiendam superesset, quicquid hoc temporis erat,
 arripientes illis necessarijs suffurati occupationibus, amico
 tribuendum putauimus ; ut eum vobis paulisper velut
 coram aspiciendum exhiberemus, cuius adhuc viua mihi
 quidem, credo et vobis, facies obuersatur, nec immemorem
 35 me sinit esse sui. Illum ergo dum vobis eumdem, quem
 optime nouistis, refero, cum reddi maior nescio an ullius
 oratione, certe nostra non possit, vos quæso interea grata
 memoria complectamini : me vero, cui propositum est,
 non tam illum extollere dicendo, quod non ita facile cui-
 40 quam arbitror, uti fortasse nonnulli credunt, quam ut con-
 ceptum de summi viri morte communem omnium nostrum
 dolorem, qui totus auferri non poterit, aliqua ex parte
 mitigem, vestro fauore ac beneuolentia prosequamini.

17 annos fere] *cof* amplius 18 vsurpatam] *cro* magna cum laude vsurpatam 21 at] *aol*
 27 haberemus] *cof* superesset 35 ergo] *poss* ego 37 grata memoria] *aol*

15 Christianis] About 250, St. Cyprian started praising the Martyrs, and by 300, the *Acta* of Maximilian of Thevesta, also those of Marcellus and Cassianus, and others, were leading the way to the great works of Arnobius and Lactantius : cp. Bardy, 42, *sq.*, 51-63 ; Sandys, I, 217, 626, 631, 634.

24 carminibus] viz., the poems in praise of the deceased, affixed by friends to the pall, or to the church door : cp. before, III, 401, and further here, II 196 & 273.

Video solemne quibusdam esse, genus, parentes, patriam, et nescio quæ alia, quæ vulgo bona iudicantur, ex Rhetorum præscripto copiose commemorare, quæ mihi quidem certe, si adsint, non contemnenda; si desint, non admodum requirenda videntur. Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco, ut ingeniosus ait poeta. Virtus externis incommittenda bonis, et magno parta labore optimarum rerum scientia apud omnes veram ac solidam merentur laudem; quæ si primum breuiter indicauero, quis enim dictis æquare se posse confidat? ac deinde nostros animos dolore deiectos, oratione paululum erexero; finem faciam dicendi, nec vos una hora diutius detinebo.

Natus est Nannius parentibus inter suos ciues honestis Alcmariæ, superioris Hollandiæ quæ Frisiam inferiorem spectat oppido celebri et amæno. Fuit statura mediocri, viribus ingenuis, sano atque alacri corpore, sed quod ætate ingrauescente multis studiorum laboribus debilitatum factum est imbecillius: at ingenio fælicissimo, ac semper vegeto, et ad quidvis prompto atque parato, et ad omnem humanitatem atque festiuitatem facto. Puer preceptoribus in disciplinam traditus celerrime prima elementa didicit, et ingenij fælicitate cæteros condiscipulos præcurrens ad non mediocrem eruditionem progressus est.

Sed infelix tota fere ætate iuuenili cum fortuna, quæ

48 genus et] aol 49 voco &c] on f 17 v 59 amæno] cof peramæno
 59 Fuit] ero corporis 63 quiduis] poss quoduis 65 celerrime] cof ubi
 66 didicit] cof cognouit 67 est] ero in desiderio habuit ut hoc quicquid
 ingenij bonitate et magno labore consecutus esset cum alijs communicaret.
 Itaque vix adolescentiæ extrema egressus ad docendum se contulit, vocatus ad
 ludum litterarium Alcmarianum, quo nullum antea tota Hollandia fuerat
 celebrius. Hoc munere, quamuis iuuenis, prudentia et magna dexteritate
 functus florem ætatis patriæ impendit: cui enia potius debuit quam vnde
 vitam acceperat, ei fructum aliquem vitæ non ignauæ atque inutilis reddere?
 Tota fere (l 68)...

50 poeta] the idea is expressed in Juvenal, *Satyra* viii, 19, sq; also in Seneca, *Epist. Mor.*, 44, 4-7, to which Ausonius refers, quoting Cleobulus and Solon (*edit. Zweibrücken*): 148-49.

57 Natus] evidently in 1496, as results from the age 61 recorded by Auwater: § n, l 221; sup., II, 177, and before, p 297; the indication on the epitaph (before, p 296) is wrong: it caused the most improbable birth-year 1500: cp. Polet, 3.

sæpe virtutibus obstat, ita colluctatus est, ut puer adhuc
 70 et feliciter in literis progrediens, subito Musarum iucun-
 dissima consuetudine, quibus addictissimus esse cæperat,
 deserta, ad opificium tractandum se conferre sit coactus :
 ac primum pellioni, mox huius illiberalitatem perlæsus,
 pictori dederit operam, cogniturus artem graphicam non
 75 omnino illiberalem, nec inutilem studijs humanitatis, ma-
 xime vero poeticæ gratam atque etiam demonstrationibus
 mathematicis exhibendis prope necessariam; sed paulo
 post non sine manifesto numine a patre iam melius per-
 suaso ad gymnasium litterarium reductus, in gratiam cum
 80 Musis redijt, ac magno animo fortunæ iniquitatem ita
 sustinuit, ut patris etiam deficiente iam liberalitate, sibi
 ipsi quærendum fuerit vnde aleretur : adeo difficulter
 emergunt quibus obstat Res angusta domi.

f Tandem superatis omnibus difficultatibus Louanium ad
 85 maiorem ingenij cultum capiendum profectus est. Hinc
 domum reuersus et sacris initiatus, interdum et ad popu-
 lum vernaculo sermone concionatus est, sacris interim
 vacans litteris. Deinde cum iam fama eruditionis inclares-
 ceret, ut numquam latere diu virtus potest, et per totam
 90 Hollandiam viris doctis innotesceret, cæpit et patria viri
 laudes cognoscere, et eius desiderio tangi; quamobrem a
 magistratu reuocatus scholæ Alcmarianæ, qua nullum

69 adhuc ... progrediens] *cof* vix gustatis literis 71 quibus ... cæperat] *aol*
 72 se] *cof* sese or se se 80 ita] *aol* 84 ad ... capiendum] *aol*

72 deserta] either then, or at his return to Alkmaar School, he had there as masters Bartholomew Muer, of Cologne, John Murmellius, of Roermond, his future colleague Rutger Rescius, of Maaseyck, and, by 1511-12, Alard of Amsterdam : Gelder, 86-109; Murmell., 95-114, 86, *sq*; MurmO, I, 4, *sq*, III, 12, *sq*; Polet, 4, 239-40.

81 sibi ipsi] he was for a time employed as a notary's clerk : Valerius Andreas says that he τὴν γρᾱτὶκὴν exercuit : VAndEx., 50; Paquot, xiv, 58.

83 Res angusta domi] Juvenal, Sat. III, 165, VI, 357.

84 Louanium] he matriculated on November 2, 1518 : Petrus Nannonis de alcmaria traj. dioc. : *LibIntIII*, 249, v; *Excerpts*, 100. He studied languages in the *Trilingue*, being there till 1520 : VAndEx., 50; and *sup.*, II, 177; also APPEND. VII : *Subject*.

92 scholæ Alcmarianæ] he first taught under Kempo of Texel, and then became *Ludimagister* of Gouda, from where he was recalled to Alkmaar in 1521 : cp. Gelder, 113; Polet, 5-7; and *sup.*, I, 199.

antea tota Hollandia gymnasium fuerat celebrius, præfec-
tus est. Hoc munere, quamuis iuuenis, prudenter et magna
95 dexteritate functus, florem ætatis patriæ impendit : cui
enim potius debuit, quam vnde vitam acceperat, ei fructum
aliquem vitæ non ignauæ neque inutilis reddere ?

g Eo tempore carmina quædam et comædias conscripsit
ab eruditis sæpe laudata, quæ me aliquando legere memini
100 magna delectatione recreatum. Sed ille tandem, suorum
illiberalitate offensus, ingenti spiritu resumpto fortunam
contemnens, cum literarum viatico satis instructum se
putaret, Louanium redijt, et tantisper auditores priuatim
docuit : primum in Collegio Hieronymiano, dum Conrado
105 Goclenio doctissimo ac disertissimo linguæ Latinæ pro-
fessori Nannius vnus qui succederet dignus hominum
doctorum suffragijs est iudicatus. Hinc iam tandem omnem
fortunæ iniuriam superauit, et victoria politus luctari
desijt. Hunc autem quem consecutus erat locum, quanta
110 cum laude sit tutatus, vobis ignotum esse non potest, qui
et illum audistis docentem, et varias eius lucubrationes
legistis, quæ doctorum manibus passim teruntur, qui
insanis hominis ingeniosissimi laboribus iucunde fruuntur.

98 Eo tempore &c] *on f 18, r* 99 laudata] *cof laudatas* 99 quæ] *cro quarum vnæ*
104-105 Conrado Goclenio ... disertissimo] *cof Conradus etc.* 105 Latinæ]
aol profitenti cro 112 quæ] *cro in* 113 hominis] *cro quasi*

95 impendit] cp. Gelder, 113-14; Polet, 8, *sq.*

98 carmina ... comædias] cp. Polet, 5-7, 33-42, 209-35.

101 illiberalitate] Gelder explains Nannius' leave as a result of the insecurity of the town exposed to the attacks of the Gelderland troops and pirates; still his countryman Auwater may have known the circumstances more exactly, having been his intimate friend.

105 Goclenio] There does not seem to have been much intimacy between Goclenius and Nannius, for on March 10, 1537, the latter declared to Olah that he had not submitted to Goclenius the elegiac poetry about Erasmus, which they wanted to publish: 'Conradum', he wrote, 'ut ingenue fatear, non adhibui: non quod contemnerem, sed quod illi non tam familiaris sum, quam amicus': OlaE, 598. Auwater, for certain, was of a more generous nature.

113 insanis ... laboribus] *insanus* has here the sense of: *valde sanus*, hence: exalted, inspired: cp. *Thesaur.*, Ttt 2, v, b; and *Bucolica*, x, 44: Nunc insanus amor ... me detinet; Persius, *Sat.* III, 46: Discere ab insano multum laudanda magistro; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvi, 115: *insanæ ... vites*.

h Credibile est illum vehementibus et nimijs lucubrationi-
 115 bus suis fata longius aliquanto fortasse distantia vitæ suæ
 proprius admouisse. Fuit enim, ut in alijs, ita vel maxime
 in lucubrando vehementior quam valetudo ferret. Quid
 vero citius omnes corporis quamlibet valentis vires frangat,
 quam impetu magno excitatus, et continens ac sepe intem-
 120 pestius studiorum labor? carpitur illo forma; canities
 ante senectutem (licet aliæ quoque sint huius rei causæ)
 caput inuadit: mors ante diem tacite obrepens velut accer-
 sita accelerat gradum. Nec enim vino tantum forma perit
 et Venere, quod interdum, sed falso ut opinor obiectum
 125 Nannio fuit, sed quocumque etiam immoderato atque con-
 tinenti studio, maxime vero literato. Hoc naturalem illum
 ac necessarium corpori succum, quem vulgo radicale
 humidum Medici vocant, imminuit: hoc amicum naturæ
 calorem inflamat atque corrumpit: hoc totum tandem
 130 hominem extinguit.

i Hoc Nannium nobis eripuit, et continenti febris æstu,
 Mors quo et calor ille natiuus extinctus est, omnisque succus
 exhaustus, oppressit; quem ego summo meo dolore vidi
 totum triduum cum morbo ac morte grauissime luctantem:
 135 quo mihi quidem et amicis astantibus nullum spectaculum
 potuit obijci tristius. In ea tam tristi pugna id omnes
 admirati sumus, cum iam vires corporis omnes essent
 absumptæ, solam illam ingenij acerrimi vim ac mentem
 totam ad extremum usque spiritum, saluam incolumemque
 140 permansisse. Mors denique consecuta est ea, quam nemo

114 Credibile est illum] *cof* Nemo sane nescit

116 proprius]

116 enim] *cro* vehementior

117 ferret] *cof* ferat

124 sed ... opinor] *aol*

125 atque] *cro* terso

127 vulgo] *aol*

132 *trm* Mors

133 meo] *aol*

137 iam] *aol*

123 vino ... et Venere] according to the old proverb, based on *Ecclesiasticus*, xix, 2: Vinum et mulieres apostatare faciunt sapientes; *ErAdag.*, 490, b.

124 falso ... obiectum] cp. the record of Ascham's visit to the *Trilingue* on October 6, 1550: before, pp 13, 286-88.

127 radicale humidum] cp. Bertrucii Bononiensis *Compendium siue Collectorium Artis Medicæ* (Cologne, March 1537): f ix, v, a: (Caliditas) depauit humidum suum radicale aliquantulum; lxxxiv, r, b: Debilitas cordis ... aduenit ... propter consumptionem humidi radicalis, &c.

131 Hoc N. eripuit] cp. before, pp 295-98.

pius sibi non optaret, ut, cum sit omnino moriendum omnibus, eiusmodi hinc eripiamur exitu, quo pietas amabili stipata virtutum choro nos sacrosancto viatico rite communitos, et iam longe ante meditados mortem ad vitam
 145 immortalem beatamque deducat.

j Hoc illius pietas præmium, hoc in pauperes benignitas, hoc in omnes beneuolentia atque iuuandi studium merebatur. Sed ex virtutibus, ne multas prosequar, quod mihi per festinationem non licet, ille religionem semper, quam-
 150 uis nonnumquam hilarius loqueretur, et iucundius cum amicis viueret, vnice tamen et ex animo coluit, quod eius opera ac literarij labores æterna memoria digni satis declarant : qui cum esset profanarum literarum interpres, ac plurimum versaretur alias in Virgilio, modo in Cicerone,
 155 interdum in Terentio, Horatio, Liuius, ceterisque Linguae Latinæ auctoribus ; sacra tamen sæpenumero et interpretatus est, et lucubrationibus suis illustrauit.

k Pietatem illius erga consanguineos primum ac propinquos summam fuisse nouerunt omnes, quibus familiaris
 160 Nannius fuit, ut mihi certe fato quodam natus ad cognatos iuuandos atque eos ad fortunam splendidiorem subuehentos fuisse videatur : quorum rebus amplificandis ita semper studuit, ita se suasque fortunas quantulascumque impendit, ut in eo quod non satis interdum sui in largiendo
 165 rationem habere putaretur, ab amicis, qui illi optime vole-

143 nos] *cof* quos 144 vitam] *cro* æternam 146 illius] *aol*
 146 pietas] *cof* pietatis 148 virtutibus] *cro* ne singulas prosequar
 153 profanarum] *cof* prophanarum 156 sacra &c] *on f* 18, c
 157 illustrauit] *cro* Testimonio superest ab illo conuersum opus totum sancti Athanasii, auctoris prolifici : testant insuper sanctorum Græcorum mystica et alla interpretata

158 Pietatem] Nannius provided a living, and afterwards a public appointment to his brother, whom he helped in his trouble in 1548 : Polet, 3, 21, 306 ; cp. *sup.*, II, 178, and before p 270. It explains his kindness to the brothers Nanning and Peter van Foreest, of Alkmaar, — the latter a renowned physician : cp. before, pp 140-42, — who probably were relatives, possibly sons of Jorden van Foreest and Margaret († 1537), sister of Nannius (Polet, 321), though they are not mentioned in his correspondence. In his letter to Bishop Fieschi, of November 27, 1541, he refers to some relations, who rely on his help, which prevents him accepting the invitation to Italy : Polet, 272 ; before, pp 88, sq.

bant, argueretur. Hæc nos breuiter quidem ac tenuiter, quæ maxima sunt ac maximis efferenda laudibus, tantummodo perstrinximus. Erunt fortassis qui nostra hac oratione tanquam commentario vsi, latius omnia magnis
 170 eloquentiæ ornamentis, et quidem sigillatim sint explicaturi.

l Quid ? illa, quam hominum oculis occultam, ac soli Deo cognitam esse maluit, in pauperes exprompta vbique liberalitas, quo nullum Deo gratius officium præstari potest :
 175 quo peccatorum operitur multitudo : quo nullum extat iustitiæ genus ad opem egentibus ferendam necessarium magis : quanta, inquam, illa fuerit, ipsi pauperes lachrymis suis, quas ipse vidi, faciunt fidem. Quid referam eius in omnes humanitatem ac benignitatem ? quid iucundissimam
 180 cum eruditis præsertim consuetudinem ? quid animum candidissimum ? quid variam eruditionem, cognitionem antiquitatis, studium cum alijs, quodcumque magnis laboribus inuestigasset, communicandi ? Alijs illius amicis quid accidat nescio, me certe non facile illius obliuio
 185 ceperit, cuius lepores, cuius acute ac festiue dicta, cuius totum illud ingenium Musis et Gratijs consecratum, denique totus Nannius animo meo fixus inheret.

m Audire mihi hominem videor adhuc mecum, ut sæpe solet, de literis colloquentem, res gestas antiquorum et
 190 nostræ memoriæ referentem, omnibus sese exhibentem, excludentem neminem, nec minus inferiores, dummodo beneuolos, admittentem quam superiores ad colloquium, ad deambulationem, ad lusum, ad seria, ad ioca : erga omnes humanum, comem, affabilem, gratum atque iucundum.
 195 Quam carus vobis præceptor fuerit, auditores humanissimi, epitaphiorum multitudine, quæ superioribus diebus et hesternis maxime atque etiam hodierno, valuis primarij templi et huius collegij foribus affixistis, et funeris celebrandi officio ac pietate declarastis. Sed hac virtutum,

184 nescio] *cro* certe mea anima omnia illius et dicta mihi certe præsens ille mihi
 185 (1st) cuius] *cro* recordor omnia ea festiua seria nasuta 185 (2d) cuius] *ilm*
 185 (3d) cuius] *cof* denique 188 hominem] *aol* 188 mecum ... 189 literis] *cof*
 conuersantem 191 excludentem] *cro* neulquam 199 officio] *cro* declaratum est

196 epitaphiorum] cp. before, note to l 24, and further, l 273.

200 amici mei, commemoratione grauem mihi atque acerbum
dolorem, quem ex eius morte cepi, recrudescere sentio : et
dum ex multis pauca refero, quæ Nannio quidem omnia
fuerant expetenda, minus id efficio, quod initio mihi pro-
positum esse dixi, ut id studerem quo mitigari noster
205 aliqua ex parte queat dolor.

n Verum quid hic adferri possit, quo noster leuetur dolor ?
Nobis ereptus ille est cui parem quem opponamus, ut
leuior efficiatur dolor, non inuenimus. Nannium amisimus,
quem cum nomino, quantum virum intelligam, quam
210 eminentem, quam raris dolibus ornatum, quam eruditum,
quam disertum, quam amabilem, ipsi cognoscitis. Quis
enim vobis quidem notior esse potuit eo, qui decem et
octo, nisi fallor, annos, in hoc celeberrimo loco summa
cum laude, nec mediocri studiosorum fructu, cum omnium
215 audientium admiratione docuit ? Iustus est ille quidem
vester omnium dolor atque luctus, sed hic tamen eo leuior
ac tolerabilior esse debet, quod, cum sit omnibus calcanda
semel via leti, ut ille ait, et, serius aut citius sedem pro-
peremus ad vnā : serius quam citius ad expetendam
220 Christiano homini quietem Nannius euocatus est, annos
iam natus vnum et sexaginta : quam ætatem veteres
naturæ vires diligentius intuentes non esse grauius one-
randam censuerunt, nec exhaustiendum senile corpus labo-
ribus minorem potius ac robustiorem ætatem requiren-
225 tibus ; et sexagenarios de ponte solere deiici non ignoratis,
quasi ad virile munus inutiles et in otium ab omni func-
tione relegandos, publicisque negocijs liberos, ac velut
emeritos milites propter ætatis imbecillitatem vnde iam
donandos, vacatione soliti muneris accepta.

o Et quando amicus fuit omnibus, in commune semper
prodesse conatus, nos ei vicissim amicos esse conuenit, et
mutuam reddere beneuolentiam. Nam si dolere pergamus
eum e vita sublatum suis laboribus prodesse desijsse, non
tam amicitiae dolore quam commodi nostri damno affecti
235 naturam incusare videbimur. Perijt ille quidem vobis, at

206 adferri &c] on f 19 r

213 octo] cro ferme

221 vnum et sexaginta] later underlined, and marked irm

jam grandior. Viuere fortasse per ætatem etiamnum robustam diutius potuit : at iam tertium grauissimo deiectus morbo, ut valde metuendum fuerit, etiamsi conualescere contigisset, ne corpore sæpius afflicto, et quotidianis occulti
 240 cuiusdam et amicis aliquot intimis tantum noti vitij fluxionibus omnem salutarem ac vitalem succum exhaurientibus, non admodum diu nobis superesse potuisset. Dignus ille vita longiore fuit : quis negat ? Vixit tamen pro communi fere doctorum hominum fato satis diu.

p Animaduertere siquidem licet Parcas, inexorabiles deas, doctis ac bonis viris iniquas plerumque fuisse, iisque varijs morborum generibus insidiatas immaturam ac peracerbam mortem accelerare consueuisse. Quam multos eximia virtute ac præstanti eruditione viros recensere
 250 possim, et inter hos præcipe poetas, qui in primo ætatis flore, cum iam ingentem sui expectationem concitassent, atque omnium in se oculos conuertissent, subito e medio studiorum cursu abrepti sunt, et quasi in herba læta seges prostrata atque enecta perierunt. Nannio nostro vita si
 255 non quanta dignus fuit, at certe non omnino parua contigit : nec enim immatura mors sexagenario videri potest, præsertim hoc quicquid vitæ fuit bene perfuncto, et fama iam per vniuersam propemodum Europam claro, et apud eruditos gratioso.

q Nec mortuum destituet vnquam ea, qua per tot annos quibus publice docuit, apud beneuolos auditores valuit gratia, qui magna semper, uti par erat, illum amore sunt prosecuti : cuius ea fuit in docendo suauitas atque varietas, ut nullum ille tam longo tempore sui fastidium senserit
 265 vnquam ; quod homines etiam doctissimi interdum euitare non potuerunt ; eadem semper cum gratia in auditorium, eademque cum sui admiratione reuertens : mortuus autem omnibus ingens sui desiderium reliquerit. Quantum vero docendi laboribus studiosæ iuuentuti profuerit, tum autem
 270 quid ab eo fructus vos perceperitis, auditores studiosi ac beneuoli, ut alia laceam argumenta, mihi satis id probant illa, quæ plurima paucis diebus etiam ex tempore scripta

251 sui] *cro* omnium 252 se] *cof* sese 253 seges] *Georg.* I, 1 260 qua per tot annos]
cof qua valuit apud omnes (*left in by mistake*) 262 semper &c] *on f 19 v*

vidisse me dixi carmina in obitum præceptoris et amici
vnice cari, quæ et fructum studiorum ingenijque literis
275 exculi facultatem, et gratum erga bene meritum præcep-
torem animum beneuolentiamque declarant. Desijt ille
quidem viua voce auditoribus prodesse : at in libris quos
conscripsit, perpetuo superstes, etiam absens et tacitus ac
litterarum notis non hoc tantum in loco, sed in quocumque
280 docens semper proderit.

r Quid ego hic literatos illius labores commendare pergam,
quos plerique omnes nouistis, ac sæpe legistis ? in quibus
totus Nannius relucet : eius genius, indoles, vigor animi,
acrimonia, festiuitas, alacritas, summa denique vis ingenij
285 fæliciter audentis, magna molientis, rerum abdita scrutan-
tis, ac veteres Linguæ Latinæ thesauros e tenebris extra-
hentis. Qui libri, nisi essent præclari, numquam eos arro-
sisset liuor, qui summa petit, sed post fata quiescit. Quod
si magnus hucusque Nannius habitus est, posthac liuore
290 quiescente et per gratos hominum animos volitante fama
erit maximus. Quibus autem studijs eam vitæ partem,
quæ reliqua seni videbatur, fuerit traducturus, testatur
beatum illud Ecclesiæ lumen Athanasius, immensis Nannij
laboribus nunc demum totus ad Latinos translatus : tes-
295 tantur idem lucubrationes illius in Sapientiam Solomonis,
et in Cantica, psalmi quoque carmine redditi, quæ paucis

279 non ... quocumque] aol

292 testatur] cro præ se-

273 carmina] cp. ll 24 & 196.

286 thesauros e tenebris] viz., *Consulti Chirit Fortunatiani Rhetorico-
rum Libri III* (Louvain, M. Rotarius & R. Velpius, 1550); *Sym-
machi, et Ambrosii de Religione Epistolæ adversariæ* (Antwerp,
Plantin, 1564) : Polet, 168-71, 177-79.

293 Athanasius] *Athanasii Magni ... Opera* (Basle, Froben, 1556) :
Polet, 116-24.

295 in Sapientiam Solomonis] *Sapientia Solomonis una cum Scholiis
Petro Nannio interprete* (Basle, Froben, 1552) : Polet, 110-13.

296 in Cantica] *In Cantica Canticorum Paraphrases et Scholia* (Lou-
vain, St. Gualteri & Jo. Batenii) : Polet, 171-73.

296 psalmi carmine] Of the psalms which Nannius translated in verse,
fourteen were edited by James Latomus in *Psalmi Davidici quadra-
gintaquinque* (Antwerp, G. Silvius, 1562). Corn. Valerius added a
poem to that edition, expressing the wish that Latomus should edit
the other renderings of the psalms by Nannius besides those 14 :
it was not executed : Polet, 86-90.

abhinc annis, ut erat in scribendo mire promptus atque dexter, litteris prodidit : ex quibus quanto sacrarum literarum studio flagrauerit, in quo iam grandis natu mira
 300 voluptate acquiescebat, nullum huic sanctissimo et certe
 fœlicissimo studiorum generi præferens, intelligi potest.

s Quanta ego illum diligentia, Deus bone, quam auide vidi Græcum Bibliorum codicem cum Latino conferentem, et singulorum verborum ac pene syllabarum pondera expen-
 305 dentem, quam grauitè et tamen religiose de omnibus ac rectè iudicantem. Quantus ille admirator eloquentiæ beatorum ac fœlicium scriptorum, ut Chrysostomi, Basilij, Nazianzeni, Hieronymi, Augustini ac ceterorum, quos et pietas et singularis eruditio, suauissima dicendi facultate
 310 exornata commendant. Hoc igitur illi posthac Sacræ Scripturæ pernoscendæ studium placebat ; in eo versabatur multum : et quicquid temporis a necessaria linguæ Latinæ professione superfuit, id in sacris libris euoluendis, eorumque et Græcis et Latinis interpretibus cognoscendis collocabat ; ut qui antea omne fere tempus eloquentiæ docendæ,
 315 atque eius auctoribus explicandis tribuerat, nunc eius temporis dimidium, pietatis ac Sacræ Scripturæ studio sibi decidendum putabat.

t Quam vero fœlix faciendæ Latinæ fuerit interpres, præ-
 320 ter multas ab illo docte ac diligenter explicatas Ciceronis

319 Quam &c] on f 20, r

303 Græcum ... codicem] Nannius studied Greek most zealously, and not only published the result of his comparison of the Bible texts (cp. before, II 293-99), but several Greek Fathers and authors.

307 Chrysostomi] *Tres Homiliæ D. Joannis Chrysostomi* hactenus nunquam uisæ ... in linguam Latinam traductæ (Antwerp, M. Crommius, 1542) : cp. Polet, 103-4.

307 Basilij] *D. Basilij Magni ... in Sanctam Christi Natuitatem Homilia* (Louvain, R. Rescius, February 1537) ; *D. Basilii ... Homiliæ tres* (Rescius, March 1538) : Polet, 94-95.

308 Hieronymi] cp. Polet, 53, 114, 207.

308 Augustini] cp. Polet, 76, 169, sq, 209, 291, 312.

320 Ciceronis] *Ciceronis Accusationis in C. Verrem Liber V. Oratio VIII cum Scholiis & Castigationibus* (Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1546) : cp. Polet, 54, sq, 141-44, 163-65, 191, sq.

orationes, præter Virgilianam Aeneidem, præter Liuium Historicum, aliosque nonnullos Latinæ linguæ principes auctores, ex quorum scriptis ideam quamdam eloquentiæ animo conceptam docuit : certissimi testes erunt orationes
 325 illius, quas olim plurimas conscripsit : quarum nonnullas typis euulgatas legisse vos arbitror : testes erunt amabiles illi sanctissimarum Virginum dialogismi septem, quibus nihil elegantius ac dulcius fingi potest : ut alia illius omittam opuscula, ut tot libros eleganter versos, tot annotationes
 330 in orationes Ciceronis, in Virgilium, et alios : ut Comædiam et Neniam, quas olim a me lectas supra dixi, docta sane carmina, ut gratulationes, ut vtilissimum illud Miscellaneorum opus : quæ nunc omnia mihi difficile sit recensere : nec omnia mihi legere fortassis adhuc contigit.

u Vt autem perpauca modo de magnis illius virtutibus attuli, velut primis tantum ac tenuibus depicta lineis, nullo dictionis lenocinio, nullis exornata coloribus : sic nudam aliquot librorum nomenclaturam audistis : quorum si sigillatim vtilitates addere velim, metuo ne constitutum
 340 dicendi tempus extrahatur longius, et nondum finitam orationem cogar abrumpere. Atque hæc illa sunt, auditores optimi, quibus factum est, ut nunc illius tam graue nobis,

334 legere] *aol* 338 quorum] *cof quo* 340 et] *cro pridem and minime*

- 321 Aeneidem] *Deuterologie ... in Quartem Librum Aeneidos* (Louvain, R. Rescius, Sept. 1544) ; *In Virgillii Bucolica Commentaria* (Basle, J. Oporinus, Febr. 1559) : cp. Polet, 52-54, 134-39, 160, *sq.*, 173-77.
- 321 Liuium] *Castigationes in Titi Livij Librum Tertium Decadis primæ* (Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1545) : cp. Polet, 55-7, 139-41, 158, *sq.*
- 324 orationes] viz., *Orationes Tres* : Virgil, *De Laudibus Agriculturæ*, Cicero, *De Eloquentiæ Laudibus*, Tit. Liv., *De Laudibus Historiæ* (Louvain, R. Rescius, December 1541) : cp. Polet, 52-57.
- 327 dialogismi] *Dialogismi Heroinarum* (Louvain, B. Gravius, 1541) ; *Dvarum Sanctissimarum ... Dialogismi* (Louvain, P. Phalesius, 1550) : Polet, 42-49.
- 330 Comædiam] *Vinctus* (Antwerp, S. Cocus & G. Nicolaus, July 21, 1522) : cp. before, 198 ; Polet, 33-42, 210-35.
- 331 Neniam] no doubt the *MS of Somnium, sive Paralipomena Virgillii & Somnium alterum in Lib. II Lucretii Præfatio* (Louvain, Ph. van Dormael, 1611) : cp. Polet, 61-68 ; and further, *Appendix VII*.
- 332 Miscellaneorum] *Miscellaneorum Decas Vna* (Louvain, S. Zassenus, June 1548) : cp. Polet, 144-68.

tam acerbum, tam triste sit desiderium : qui tot insignibus ornatum dotibus, tot egregijs virtutibus, tanta tamque
 345 varia eruditione præstantem virum amisimus. Quis enim non doleat, eum esse nobis ereptum, qui et longa erat dignus vita, et per ætatem nondum omnino debilitatam prodesse diutius poterat, idque vnum studebat, qui non auditoribus solum docendo, verum etiam scribendo vtilis
 350 erat futurus omnibus.

▼ Multa breui editurus erat præclara, quæ longo iam tempore fuerat meditatus, plurimum non studiosis modo, sed eruditis etiam profutura ; inter quæ memini cum ego et amicus noster Sebastianus Foxius, qui se de Republica
 355 scribere constituerat, ea de re cum eo colloqueremur, illud mihi tum visum fuisse pernecessarium, quod tum paucis verbis complectebatur, et tamquam per transennam tantum spectandum dabat de Iudicijs, seu more iudiciorum veteribus vsitato, eorumque varijs mutationibus opusculum,
 360 nondum quidem nec cæptum nec ullis verbis delineatum aut capitibus distinctum, sed mente tamen ac cogitatione sic omnia tum comprehensa, ut fieri potuerit paucis diebus liber : qui cum alijs plurimis locis, tum vero Ciceronis orationibus atque actionibus magnum ac necessarium

346 esse] aol

355 ea de re] aol

363 locis] aol

351 Multa ... editurus] some of Nannius' works were edited soon after his death : *Virgilit Bucolica*, 1559, *Symmachi*, & *Ambrosii Epistolæ*, 1564, *In Artem Poeticam*, 1608, *De Claris Corneliis*, 1608-9, besides the *Somnia*, 1611 : cp. Polet, 173-87, 61-68. Several writings were preserved by Nic. Micault, at Tournai, as Valerius Andreas records (*BibBelg.*, 751 ; *sup.*, III, 505-6) ; he mentions, besides, the *Gratulatio ad Mariam Angliæ Reginam*, which was then still at the *Trilingue*, though mutilated (cp. before, pp 289-91), as well as the *Oratio de Amore*, of which Bonaventura Vulcanius had the manuscript : it has been printed, along with a letter to Vulcanius, by Polet, 196-209, 313, sq. An interfoliated copy of Cicero's *in Verrem* (Louvain, 1550) with Nannius' notes was preserved, along with the *Sapientia Solomonis* and the letter to Stephen Gardiner (Polet, 287-92), in the restored Library of Louvain, to which they had been offered by Dr A. B. Cook, of Queen's College, Cambridge, in August 1930, and where they, unfortunately, were destroyed in the Fire of May 1940 : Polet, 191-95 ; cp. before, p 275.

354 Foxius] Sebastian Fox Morcillo, Morzillo, one of the last and the most glorious of Nannius' disciples : cp. before, pp 400, and 438-41.

365 lumen attulisset. Eam nobis vtilitatem mors inuidit, quæ
multa præterea interuertit, quæ Miscellaneis passim fue-
rant inserenda.

v Talis igitur Viri, a quo tam multa fuerant expectanda,
quo animo nos mortem ferre credendum est? qua tot simul
370 commoda interciderunt. Equidem si me negem hac publica
iactura grauitè commoueri, valde mentiar: nec dubito,
quin omnes et docti et studiosi, præsertim amici, cum
quibus ille, ut erat homo candidus, sua studia communi-
care solet, permoleste ferant optimum ac doctissimum
375 virum, tot præclaris operibus nondum perfectis, ac ne
inchoatis quidem quibusdam, subito studijs omnibus ab-
ruptis fato coactum esse decedere. Verumenimvero quando
mortem effugere mortalium nemo potest, recreare nos
rursum, atque animum reddere debet, auditores optimi,
380 pius ille hominis plena fiducia decedentis ac fælix exitus,
et illa bonis omnibus expetenda mors.

x Quamobrem liceat dolere nobis, qui tali viro frui diutius
non possumus: gaudendum vero est omnibus cum sit ille
vitam immortalem morte consecutus. Deo gratias agamus,
385 qui tam exoptato pijs hominibus exitu sit illum dignatus,
et ex ærumnosa hac vita ad æternam transtulerit fælici-
tatem. Nunc cum rebus humanis ereptum videre præsentem
nemo possit, nemo audire docentem: in libris tamen, quos
satis multos reliquit, eum licebit et coram intueri toto
390 ingenio expressum, et audire varijs de rebus eleganter
atque vtiliter disserentem.

z Quod superest, auditores humanissimi, ite, quæso: die
Lunæ, atque ad horam octauam, huc frequentes conuenite,
et septenarias ac tricenarias exequias nobiscum vna coho-
395 nestate, communemque præceptorem supremis decorate
muneribus, atque hominis optime de omnibus meriti memo-
riam renouantes ac repetentes sepulchrum de more cele-
brate.

Dixi.

368 expectanda,] *cro* ne orbatas frui 372 præsertim] *cro* vos
376 subito] *cro* cunctis 380 pius &c] *on* f 20, v 383 sit ... immortalem] *cof*
sit ille sempiternam felicitatem sua 386 æternam] *cro* transtulisset animam
392 Quod ... (398) celebrate] *deleted by spaced slanting lines*
394 ac tricenarias] *aol*; de more celebrandas *cro*

APPENDIX VI

STUDENTS' ATTESTATIONS IN THE LAWSUIT AGAINST RESCIUS

September 1546-April 1547

(*StudAtt.*)

The History

If not as illustrative for the intimate knowledge of the life and labour of the *Trilingue* as the Funeral Oration of Auwater's friend and predecessor, two other documents deserve more than oblivion, on account of the information they provide about the conditions in which the Institute performed its grand work. One imparts a vivid idea of the efforts Nannius made to deter hearers from the dangers to which youth is naturally exposed, and of the peculiar shape which he gave to his earnest warnings, namely a description of the *Inferi*, with some well known characters and even recently ruined fellow-students, as natural victims of their aberrations : it served as pause in his reading and commenting on the Sixth Book of the *Æneis*, in 1545 ¹⁾.

The second, a set of three deeds, does not sketch so much the conduct of some 'Trilinguists' outside, as the life of professors and boarders inside, of the Institute. Rescius' suit against the College had become a real danger, jeopardizing its existence : for he had destroyed, during his short management in 1539, whatever documents he could lay hands on ²⁾, if they were unfavourable for his claim ; and he fully availed himself of the ignorance of the 'Provisores', like of that of the President and the staff, about the conditions and circumstances of the founding and of the arrangement of the *Trilingue*. Vesseem and the other executors of Busleyden's Will ³⁾, as well as Erasmus, had gone home, and so had Stercke and Goclenius, the very artisans of the initial development : besides, they had done their work and had fought the hard struggle for its growth and for its existence, not in the broad and blatant daylight, like a well tended rose-bed, but in the discrete dusk and silent solitude, suggestive of the shady corners in which violets and lilies of the valley come to life and bloom. As he did not live in the College, Rescius claimed a considerable indemnity to make up for the meals and the room, which were part of his wages, and

¹⁾ Cp. before, p 279 ; Polet, 61-62 ; and further, *Appendix VII.*

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 589, and before, pp 76, *sq.*

³⁾ The last, Josel, an invalid, had never meddled with the College.

which, as he said, had been withheld during several years after his marriage, until, on May 5, 1534, a yearly indemnity of 18 £ was granted to him on that head, by accepting which, he lost all right to further board and lodging ¹⁾).

Being totally ignorant of the circumstances in which the Greek Professor had been appointed and paid before 1534, Tapper and Curtius, the 'Provisores', looked about for information, and, most fortunately, found, in the forties, the account of the execution of Busleyden's Will, which included the management of the College during the first years, and which had been kept by van Vessem ²⁾). That precious document was thoroughly studied ³⁾, and, meanwhile the plan of consulting the old students was probably suggested by the veteran Professor, the teacher of Hebrew, Andreas Balenus; appointed in the first days of February 1532 ⁴⁾, he, unfortunately, had not been at any time a regular inmate of the College, as a well established practitioner and a married man ⁵⁾. Yet, as a highly esteemed Professor he had made many friends, and he had asked the advice on the matter of one of his oldest hearers, Jerome Sandelin, or Zandelin, Sandelicus, of Antwerp, Imperial Receiver for Zeeland and Bewester Schelde ⁶⁾, who had resided in the *Trilingue* from January 15, 1530 to February 1, 1532 ⁷⁾. He answered from Brussels on September 18, 1536, and his welcome information had probably caused the 'Provisores' to apply to Cornelius Suys, Susius, Lord of Ryswyck, Councillor of The Hague since 1534 ⁸⁾, who had been an inmate of the *Trilingue* from February 13, 1527 to April 29, 1532 ⁹⁾. He was requested to give about Rescius' claim and right, first his own opinion, and moreover that of three of his colleagues in the Holland Council. Two of them, Adrian Sandelin ¹⁰⁾ and Peter Suys ¹¹⁾ had entered the Institute as inmates on May 4, 1530, and had stayed several years: Adrian, to April 8, 1538, and Peter, to the summer of 1539. The third councillor, Arnold Sasbout, Lord of Spalant, had come as a boarder on October 31, 1531, and had remained till August 14, 1538 ¹²⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 123-25.

²⁾ Viz., the *Rekeninghe ende bewijs*, FUL, 1436, by van Vessem, which had been made by him, and had remained amongst his private papers: it was a real godsend for the *provisores*: cp. before, pp 227-28.

³⁾ The same *Rekeninghe* has provided the most ample information from which this present *History* has been built up: cp. before, p 228.

⁴⁾ Balenus started his lectures on Febr. 26, 1532: cp. *sup.*, III, 212, sq.

⁵⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 216-17, and before, pp 306-7.

⁶⁾ He was Lord of Herenthout and Herlaer: cp. III, 223-26, and before, pp 234, 237.

⁷⁾ Cp. *sup.*, III, 215, 223-24.

⁸⁾ He afterwards became President of the Holland Council: cp. *sup.*, II, 237, 376-78, and before, p 234.

⁹⁾ Cp. II, 376-77: he had been absent from the College for 3 months and a half.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. II, 378, III, 225-27, and before, pp 234, 237.

¹¹⁾ Cp. III, 225-27, and before, pp 51, 234, 237.

¹²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, II, 199, III, 234-36, and before, pp 52, 234, 237-38.

Those four Councillors thus could testify to all events that happened during a stretch of twelve years, and their attestation derived a particular strength both from their juridical training and their declaration of readiness to testify to their assertions in any court of justice at any request ¹⁾).

The first of the three deeds enounces the various points about which the 'Provisores' wish to be ascertained, and has the actual replies written by the four Holland Councillors ²⁾); the second is a letter of April 30, 1547, by which Cornelius Suys transmits his answer and that of his colleagues; the third is the letter of Jerome Sandelin to Andrew Balenus of September 18, 1546, about Rescius' connection with the life of the College before 1532.

The Text

The three deeds constitute the 3rd, the 4th and the 5th (C, D, E) of the six annexes submitted by the 'Provisores' along with their *Motivum Juris* of November 14, 1547, which closed the long suit in favour of the College ³⁾). The first that is reproduced here, D, is a double folio leaf, which has, on three pages, the questions and doubts proposed for answer to the Holland Councillors. They are written by the same hand which drew up the *Motivum Juris*; space was reserved on the left side and at the bottom of each page; it was used for the replies. Cornelius Susius wrote his testimony in the left margin and at the bottom on pages 1, 2 and 3 ⁴⁾); Arnold Sasbout put his attestation below that of C. Susius on p 3, and at the top of p 4 ⁵⁾); Peter Susius added his declaration underneath that of Sasbout, on p 4 ⁶⁾), whereas Adrian Sandelin's closes the series on p 4, after having inserted notes in the margin of pp 1 and 2 ⁷⁾). Those questions and answers form §§ 1 to 36.

The document was folded by Cornelius Susius inside his letter to Tapper and Curtius, — a single folio sheet, — dated from The Hague on April 30, 1547: it is marked C amongst the six deeds appended to the *Motivum Juris*; and has the address on the reverse side ⁸⁾). That C and D were folded together, follows from the identical place of the slits through which the paper wedge was inserted to receive the seal, and close the sheets before being sent off. Susius' letter is reproduced here as § 37.

The third of the writings referred to here, is marked E at the top; it takes up a single folio leaf, which, on the obverse side, has Jerome Zandelin's letter, Brussels, September 18, 1546, and, on the reverse, the address to Andrew Balenus ⁹⁾): it comes here as § 38 of the *StudAtt.*, to which reference has been made in this *History*.

¹⁾ Cp. further, §§ 26, 37.

²⁾ Cp. before, pp 237, sq.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 232, sq; *MotJuris*, 50.

⁴⁾ §§ 7, 13, 17, 24, 25, 26.

⁵⁾ §§ 27 to 31.

⁶⁾ §§ 32 to 34.

⁷⁾ §§ 5, 11, 16, 35, 36.

⁸⁾ Cp. before, p 234; *MotJuris*, 50.

⁹⁾ Cp. before, p 234; *MotJuris*, 50.

The Edition

The text of the three deeds described in the preceding lines has been reproduced from the originals in the following pages, as exactly as was possible to human attention; the abbreviations have been expanded, and the punctuation marks have been, just exceptionally, regulated. The only change introduced is the division of D into 36 paragraphs, so as to allow references to it throughout this *History* (viz., *StudAtt.*, with number of § added). For facility's sake, the questions and the doubts proposed by the 'Provisores' are printed in ordinary Roman text, leaving a small margin to the *left*. The replies are added as near as possible to the places where they are found in the original: they have a small margin to the *right*; the identity of the councillor replying, is indicated, first by the name added to the number of the paragraph; as well as by a different kind of type: the small writing of Cornelius Susius is represented by the smaller Roman letter; that of Adrian Sasbout, which is equally tiny, by small italics; Peter Susius' reply is in ordinary italics; whereas what Adrian Sandelin added in his larger and widely spaced hand, is set in a fount imitating type-writing.

The Documents

D

§ 1 Mortuo D. Egidio Buslidio, Sucketo, Erasmo Roterodamo, Courado Goclenio et executoribus testamenti Dñj Hieronymi Buslidij fundatoris Collegij Buslidianj atque adeo omnibus qui vel Collegium erexerunt vel a

5 primis annis administrauerunt et rexerunt, tum demum prodijt M. Rutgerus Rescius professor grecus petens et exigens a prouisoribus dicti Collegij, ingentem pecunie vim quam sibj a Collegio deberi dicebat.

§ 2 Qui cum rogaretur quo nomine sibi Collegium

1 Egidio Buslidio] Giles de Busleyden (cp. *Busl.*, 16-25, 106, *sq.*, 118, *sq.*, 159; *sup.*, I, 248, 292, *sq.*, 305, II, 75, 129, 230, 612, &c) died on July 14, 1536.

1 Sucketo] Antony Sucket, Privy councillor (cp. *Busl.*, 95-96; *sup.*, I, 55-59, II, 75, 92, &c), died on August 31, 1524.

1 Erasmo] he died in the night between July 11 and 12, 1536: cp. *sup.*, III, 380, 390, *sq.*

2 Goclenio] Goclenius died on January 25, 1539: cp. *sup.*, III, 567, *sq.*, and, for the disappearance of the witnesses of the foundation, III, 589.

6 Rescius] cp. before, for his actions against the College, pp 70-88, 224-43, 249-52.

10 tantam pecuniam deberet Respondit Ego (inquit) ad-
missus sum ab administratoribus Collegij ad profes-
sionem lingue grecæ vigore testamenti D. fundatoris
ea lege ea conditione vt haberem omnia commoda et
15 emolimenta in testamento expressa. Quapropter debentur
mihi (aiebat) ratione stipendij mej :

i § 3 Primo, summa quinquaginta duarum librarum
Flandrie. Nam singulis tredecim primis annis mee
professionis iuxta ordinationem D. fundatoris exoluere
mihi debebat Collegium, duodecim libras flandricas et
20 pro his singulis tredecim annis non accepi amplius
quam octo libras.

ij § 4 Secundo (inquit) mihi debentur a Collegio ratione
victus seu mense portione iuxta piam ordinationem
D. fundatoris sexaginta tres libre flandrice. Nam ab
25 anno xxv quo vxorem duxj vsque ad annum xxxiiij
nec mensam nec mense pretium habuj a Collegio.

§ 5 *ASand.* Rescio semper patuit suus lo-
cus in mensa collegij, ad quam fre-
quenter venit atque tum etiam illi
30 locum potio rem aut honestiorem cessit
goclenius : qui alioqui in absentia
rescij eius sedem occupavit et quo-
ties a professoribus aut conuictori-
bus conuiuæ ad mensam inuitabantur,
35 semper studendum fuit ne plures voca-
rentur quam mensa posset capere, et
rescio suus locus integer maneret ;
qui tum etiam sepius venit numquam
tamen (quod sciam) vocatus.

10 Respondit &c] cp. before, pp 70, sq.

16 Primo &c] cp. before, pp 70, sq ; also *MotJuris*, 13.

22 Secundo &c] cp. before, pp 71, sq ; *MotJuris*, 13-14.

27 Rescio &c] cp. before, p 237, and II, 320.

40 *iiij § 6 Tertio (ait) mihj debentur ingentes et grandes pecuniarum summe ratione omnium conuictorum qui toto tempore mee professionis habitauerunt in ipso Collegio. Nam voluit (inquit) D. fundator quod omnes et singuli conuictores siue de magna siue bursariorum*
 45 *mensa fuerint, quotannis exoluerent vnam libram flandricam super impensas mense, attenta doctrina speciali quam ex ipsis professoribus continue accipient : cum quibus familiariter super dubijs loquentur. Totaque summa hinc collecta ipsis tribus professoribus distri-*
 50 *buetur equis portionibus.*

§ 7 *CSus. Præsupposita testatoris voluntate : Ex taciturnitate Rutgeri, nemo commensalium aut bursarior. eloquentior euasit.*

iiij § 8 Quarto (dixit) mihi debetur incerta quedam pecunie summa de lucro quod fecit Collegium in alendis conuictoribus toto tempore mee professionis. Quia voluit
 55 *D. fundator quod vtilitas et lucrum quod proueniret ex conuictoribus cedere deberet partim in rem Collegij, partim vero in vtilitatem ipsius presidentis et trium professorum et hoc etiam equis portionibus.*

60 § 9 *Nos vero non credentes quod Collegium ab ipsius initio per viros summos erectum et administratum, D. Rescium professorem grecum defraudasset annis tam multis suo stipendio : inspeximus igitur prima Collegij registra, in quibus scriptum inuenimus quod*

40 *Tertio &c]* cp. before, pp 71, 81-85, 224, 236, 238 ; *MotJuris*, 14.

51 *taciturnitate Rutgeri]* cp. *sup.*, II, 320.

54 *de lucro &c]* cp. before, pp 71, 236 ; *MotJuris*, 14.

56 *quod proueniret &c]* on page 2 of D.

61 *per viros summos &c]* the argument deducing from the high character of the executors that they would not treat any professor unjustly, is also developed in *MotJuris*, 30, sq.

63 *prima Collegij registra]* no doubt the *Rekeninghe* of the execution by Vessem, of which the almost wonderful aid in this matter has been pointed out in this APP., p 474, and before, on pp 227-28.

64 *scriptum inuenimus &c]* no doubt *Rek.*, 91, v : 'Item meester Rutgheere professorj greco die zijn lesse oick begonst prima septembris xvij betaelt zijn stipendien geuallen prima septembris xix anno reuoluto te wetene voer de vors. zijn costen xxxvj £ ende voer zijn stipendien gelycke xxxvj £ viz. tsamen lxxij £'. — In the left margin is marked, in different ink : 'patet per diuersas quitan'. Cp. *sup.*, I, 294.

65 D. bartholomeus Vessem primus executor et præci-
pius erector collegij D. Rescium conduxerit anno xviiij.
vt grece doceret stipendio octo librarum flandricarum.

§ 10 In alio quoque registro scriptum inuenimus
quod anno xxij. facte sint per D. Egidium Buslidium,
70 D. Sucketum, D. Nicolaum Nispen et alios executores,
mutationes et moderationes aliquot testamenti funda-
toris quas D. Myrbeekanus, Collegij tunc presidens, in
dicto Collegio publicauit et ipsi professores omnes
acceptarunt. Que quidem moderationes inter cetera
75 continent quod omnes professores habebunt annis
singulis pro stipendio et omnibus emolumentis nouem
libras flandricas.

§ 11 ASand. De his moderationibus fre-
quenter a goclenio multa audiui, et
80 quod testamento fundatoris ipsis exe-
cutoribus esset potestas reseruata
addendi mutandi aut minuendi in dis-
positione testatoris ex ipsorum ar-
bitrio.

§ 12 Item in omnibus rationum libris scriptum repe-
ritur satisfactum Rescio de anno in annum atque in
margine registorum per executores et rationum audi-
tores, scribitur hec Clausula, vt patet per quitantiam.
Ad hec respondit rescius : nullam omnino fidem adhi-
90 bendam esse registris aut rationum libris eo quod
penes auditores rationum fuerit facultas scribendj
quicquid illis placuit. Ipse igitur innitj vult testamento
et non moderationibus.

71 mutationes et moderationes] the original of those deeds of February 6-14, 1522, had been sent by Vessem to the *Trilingue* (cp. *sup.*, III, 587, sq) ; as it hindered him in his scheme to claim part of Goclenius' hoard, Rescius destroyed it : cp. before, pp 76-77. Fortunately there was a copy of the documents in a register kept by President Judocus van der Hoeven, which, in its turn, was copied to become the annex F to the *MotJuris*, 67-70 : cp. *sup.*, II, 103-7 (= *Mut.*), which preserved its text, and before, p 77.

72 Myrbeekanus] Pres. John Stercke van Meerbeke : cp. *Busl.*, 90-92, 120 ; *sup.*, I, 14-16, 286, II, 61, sq, 93, 105, 225, 229, 238-41, 297, sq.

81 potestas ... mutandi] cp. *Test.*, 83.

§ 13 *CSus.* Non nudis registris sed professorum quitancijs
 95 conformibus eisdem registris plena fides adhiberj debet. Nec
 spectandum quid Rutgerus sustineat, sed quid per professores
 dictos, aut maiorem eorum partem sit acceptatum.

§ 14 Addit ad hec Rescius se numquam contentum
 fuisse solutione sibj facta sed semper protestatum se
 100 dicit de iniuria ob diminutum stipendium nec vnquam
 (vt dicit) dedit plenas quitantias sed pecuniam accep-
 tam a collegio semper accepit ad bonum computum.

§ 15 Rogatus D. Rescius cur actionem suam non
 citius instituisset dum adhuc viuerent primj admini-
 105 stratores et erectores collegij. Ad quod respondebat se
 ante mortem D. Goclenij numquam vidisse testamen-
 tum D. fundatoris. Interim tamen dicit se semper ab
 initio collegij fuisse protestatum de diminuto stipendio
 nec vnquam dedisse plenas quitantias.

110 § 16 *ASand.* Rescius hic sibi est con-
 trarius : si enim ignorauit volunta-
 tem testatoris quomodo potuit protes-
 tarj de diminuto stipendio ?

§ 17 *CSus.* Protestatio contraria actuj nihil operatur. Si Rut-
 115 gerus pensionem annuam 9 lib. fl. accepit in solutionem sti-
 pendij sui vt videtur patere per quitancias eius & registra
 Collegij : idque precedente consensu super moderatione supra
 allegata maioris saltem professorum partis, nihil illj patrocini-
 abitur protestatio.

120 § 18 Similiter mox post mortem D. Conradi Goclenij
 priusquam effregisset arcam Collegij in qua seruatum
 erat testamentum, vniuersam pecuniam quam Gocle-
 nius moriens reliquit abstulit, dicens sibj competere
 jus et actionem jn pecuniam Conradj : quod ex testa-
 125 mento se probaturum affirmabat.

§ 19 Præterea et ipsum Rescium et alios professores
 audiuius habuisse clausulam illam testamenti jn qua
 mentio fit de Collegio. Ex his igitur et similibus signis

94 quitancijs] fortunately a few were found : cp. before, p 77.

99 protestatum &c] cp. for the contradiction in those requests : before,
 pp 81-82 ; *MotJuris*, 33, 51.

106 numquam vidisse testamentum] (*words underlined*) *sup.*, III, 588.

120 Similiter &c] *on p* 3.

121 effregisset arcam] cp. *sup.*, III, 587, *sq.*, 590, *sq.*

130 verisimile est, aut Rescium vidisse aut aliquam habuisse inspectionem testamentj.

§ 20 Negat quoque Rescius se vnquam venisse ad mensam Collegij ab anno xxv quo duxit vxorem vsque ad annum xxxix, nisi vocatum et inuitatum.

135 § 21 Dicit preterea se semper habuisse et seruasse in Collegio cubiculum illud quod est supra sacellum.

§ 22 Jtem dicit et Dominationes vestras et reliquos conuictiores omnes qui ab initio vsque ad finem sue professionis in Collegio habitauerunt supra impensas mense singulis annis exoluisse vnam libram Collegij 140 presidentibus, distribuendam equis portionibus ipsis tribus professoribus.

§ 23 Super his omnibus virj clarissimj ac ornatissimi documenta et testimonia veritatis a vobis expectamus. Nam Rescius nobis non persuasit quod ab initio Collegij protestatus sit de iniuria ob diminutum stipendium. Aut quod plenas quitantias non dederit. Aut 145 quod testamentum .D. fundatoris non viderit. Aut quod moderationes non acceptauerit. Aut quod cubiculum sibj in collegio semper reseruauerit. Et quod ad 150 mensam Collegij post matrimonium suum numquam nisi inuitatus accesserit.

§ 24 CSus. Mihi Cornelio Susio qui in Collegium veni mortuo Jacobo Bergensi, preceptore meo anno 1527, constat Rutgerum

131 venisse ad mensam] that is contradicted by the five former students : §§ 5, 24, 27, 33, 38.

134 seruasse ... cubiculum] also contradicted by the attestations of the old inmates : §§ 25, 28, 33, 35, 38.

139 exoluisse vnam libram] Rescius had used it to claim part of Goclenius' fortune, as if his colleague had unduly kept that money for himself : cp. *sup.*, III, 587-89.

152 Cornelio Susio] cp. II, 376-78 ; *ManHoev.*, 3, r ; *OpMBoek*, 126, 152.

153 Jacobo Bergensi] viz., James Volkaerd, Volcaerd, of Geertruidenberg, Bergensis, tutor of Viglius, author of an *Oratio de Vsu Eloquentiæ*, 1526 : cp. *sup.*, II, 146, and authorities quoted. — Susius wrote his name 'Jacobus bergensi', which I misread as 'brugensi' suggesting 'Jacobus Wittebroet de bruges' : *sup.*, II, 377 : the identification with Volcaerd seems unimprovable, although the date of his death, 'anno 1527', is only approximative, as he is said to have died in the beginning of 1528.

centies in Collegio pransum vel coenatum esse inuocatum ;
 155 idque circiter annis quinque quibus ibidem habitauit. Et solet
 illuc venire ad mensam quoties aliquis extraneus adesset sæ-
 pius ex improviso vt vix locus pateret illi venientj.

§ 25 CSus. Et quoad cubiculum eius, ipse ego Cornelius illud
 ad tempus inhabitauit, et post me quidam D. Balthasar de
 160 Kienring baro austriæ cum consensu presidis collegij et per
 promotionem D. Goclenij preceptoris nostri. Idem cubiculum
 meo tempore inhabitauit quidam Cornelius a Zegerscappel
 frater vxoris D. Corn. Scepperj.

§ 26 CSus. Quantum ad vnam libram fl. collegij presidenti-
 165 bus distribuendam &c : Ego Corn. Susius qui supra, solui in
 initio aduentus mej pro mensa in collegio quadraginta philip-
 peos annue aut eo circiter (si bene memini) & D. Goclenio pro
 institutione priuata solui certam summam 20 uel 24 florenorum,
 plus minus, pro ratione temporis. Nec vnquam mentionem fieri
 170 audiui communis libræ professoribus distribuendæ. Imo scio
 alios plus, alios minus D. Goclenio exoluisse : idque vel in
 pecunia numerata vel in poculo argenteo deaurato alioque
 quouis simili munere : paratus in omne tempus quæ supra
 manu mea annotauit prouisoribus Collegij per modum certifi-
 175 cationis vel aliâs modo, juramento adfirmare ad hoc requisitus.

§ 27 ASasb. *Quantum ad suprascriptos articulos mihi Arnoldo
 Sasbout constat quod Rescius ad mensam Collegij sæpius non
 inuitatus venerit quotiescumque illi opportunum videbatur ;
 idque circiter annis septem quibus in Collegio habitauit. Nam eo*
 180 *veni anno tricesimo primo.*

§ 28 ASasb. *Quo tempore spatio dimidij anni inhabitauit cubi-
 culum quod Rescius sibi reservatum sustinet vna cum Cornelio
 a Zegerscappel. Et post discessum Zegerscappel inhabitauit*

160 Kienring] viz., Baltasar de Künring, or Coenrinck, who was inmate
 of the *Trilingue* from May 11, 1529 to April 24, 1531 : cp. *sup.*, II,
 383-85, &c.

162 Cornelius a Zegerscappel] : cp. *sup.*, II, 385-86.

163 vxoris D. Corn. Scepperj] Cornelius de Schepper : cp. *Cran.*, 249, *a-f*;
sup., II, 166-71, 609, *sq.*, III, 15, *sq.*, 557, *sq.*, and before, pp 128-30, 185,
 367. He married, October 1528, at Bruges Peter Laurin's widow,
 Anne Isabella d'Onche, whose mother, Jacqueline de Clichtove, had
 become the wife of Christian of Zegerscapelle and mother of the
 future inmate of the *Trilingue*, Cornelius : *Brug&Fr.*, II, 111-14 ;
sup., II, 167-68.

167 Goclenio] in his devotion to his work and his students, he took
 care of several of the inmates, who rewarded him by gifts or
 payments : cp. *sup.*, II, 377, 383-86, III, 555, *sq.*, 581, &c.

176 Arnoldo Sasbout] cp. before, pp 234-38 ; *OpMBoek*, 126.

183 Zegerscappel] cp. before, p 238.

illud idem cubiculum quidam Carolus Souastre; et post eum
 185 duo fratres Syluagij. Ita ut non meminerim quin tempore meæ
 habitationis idem illud cubiculum semper sit inhabitatum.

§ 29 ASasb. Nec vnquam meo nomine aut aliorum meorum
 condiscipulorum persoluta fuit libra flandriæ quæ professori-
 bus communis esset, nec memini de ea re questionem motam.
 190 Sed nomine victus persolui collegio 40. florenos et Goclenio pro
 cura & institutione 2[4.] florenos, quos solus Goclenius sibi et
 recepit et reseruauit.

§ 30 ASasb. Et quod Rescius dicit se non accepisse modera-
 tiones &c. friuolum est cum si Rescius nolisset stare modera-
 195 tionibus et legibus per executores factis potuisset abstinuisse
 professione. Nec erat in eius potestate aliter <se liberare a>
 moderationibus: Nam executoribus libera competeat potestas
 mutandi vigore clausulæ in testamento adiectæ.

§ 31 ASasb. Imo quod consenserit <in> mutationes ex eo
 200 patebit quod testamentum (ni fallor) continebat quod profes-
 sores diebus dominicis prelegerent Bursarijs lectionem priua-
 tim quod per Rescium obseruatum non est; et quod vicissim
 vnus presideret in mensa bursariorum et ex similibus.

§ 32 PSus. Mihi petro Susio qui in Collegium veni
 205 mense maio anni 1530, vbi quinque annis continuis
 habitauit, et postea ad idem Collegium in principio
 anni 38 redij vbi etiam post mortem D. Conradi fere
 ad annum commoratus sum; numquam auditum est
 de ulla protestatione Rescij propter diminutum stipen-
 210 dium; imo re ipsa docuit se moderationes executo-
 rum accepisse per rationes superius annotatas a
 duobus prioribus.

184 Carolus Souastre] cp. sup., III, 242: he was an inmate for some time after October 9, 1534.

185 fratres Syluagij] John le Sauvage, grandson of the Great Chancellor, became an inmate on January 26, 1533, and was rejoined by his brother Francis, who matriculated on February 25, 1535, and left on August 19, 1538, a few months after his brother: cp. sup., III, 239-41.

190 persolui ... Goclenio] cp. ManHoev., 4, r.

196 <se liberare a>] part of the paper with the writing on the lower border of p 3, is worn away.

197 potestas mutandi] cp. Test., 83.

199 mutationes &c] on p 4.

201 dominicis prelegerent] Test., 8.

203 vnus presideret] Test., 49.

204 petro Susio] cp. sup., III, 225-27; ManHoev., 4, v.

207 redij] cp. before, p 51.

§ 33 PSus. *Mihi itidem constat Baltassarem, Zegerscapellum et cæteros omnes in eodem cubiculo*
 215 *supra sacellum habitasse : quia ipse vidi; et quod Rescius frequentissime ad mensam Collegii accesserit, soluens suum symbolum quemadmodum cæteri professores et commensales.*

§ 34 PSus. *Solui pro expensis mense 50 florenos,*
 220 *et seorsum D. Conrado pro institutione. Nec vnquam audiui quod ullus professorum participasset de libra flandrica quam Rescius falso dicit nos supra condictum pretium victus numerasse. Aut quod Conradus aut Rescius participassent de libra Michaelis horrio-*
 225 *nis quem Campensis discipulum domesticum habuit.*

§ 35 ASand. *Mihi Adriano Sandelin qui in collegium veni aº 1530 atque ibi continue quinque fere annis habitauit, constat cubiculum rescij sem-*
 230 *per inhabitum fuisse a conuictoribus collegij, supra per alios nominatis, pro arbitrio presidis collegij et goclenij.*

§ 36 ASand. *Solui pro victu annuo in*
 235 *collegio quinquaginta florenos caroleos et preterea certam pecunie summam goclenio, pro institutione, et preterea nihil : nec vnquam audiui quod rescius participauerit in vlla re*
 240 *aut commodis collegij quæ ex conuic-*

213 Baltassarem] cp. l 159.

214 Zegerscapellum] cp. ll 162, 183.

217 symbolum] probably part in the (free) scot for the drink offered to invited guests.

224 Michaelis horrionis] Michael de Horion, who entered the *Trilingue* as inmate on August 3, 1530, became the *discipulus domesticus* of Professor Campensis : cp. sup., III, 232-34; *ManHoev.*, 3, r, 5, r.

226 Adriano Sandelin] cp. sup., III, 225-27; *ManHoev.*, 4, v : he entered the College on May 4, 1530 and left on April 8, 1538 : *AccGocl.*, 3^{1a}, r.

230 inhabitum]

237 goclenio] *ManHoev.*, 4, v.

239 pertici-]

toribus prouenerunt, et si prouiso-
res meum desiderant testimonium pro-
lixius, mitti mihi cuperem exemplar
testamenti fundatoris, nam mihi mul-
245 torum videor meminisse quæ non ita
commode scriptura comprehendere queo
nisi prius viso testamento.

§ 37

C

S. P. Honorandj Domini.

250 Literas Dominationum Vestrarum per præsentium Lato-
rem D. Ghisbertum, V. J. Licenciatum mihi inscriptas
accepi, cum inclusis articulis, quos cum meis tum cogna-
tis, tum commilitonibus olim in Vniuersitate Louaniensj
communicauj, super negocijs Collegij Buslidianj. Pro res-
255 ponso, singuli in eadem articulorum carta annotauimus,
quorum meminimus, & de quibus etiam testimonium vocatj
ferre possemus. Si videatur D. V. expedire vt quæ isthic
breuiter annotauimus, per modum certificationis aut alias
informationis per Literas requisitoriales deponamus &
260 attestemur, erimus & ego & cæterj omnes ibidem denomi-
natj paratissimi in omne tempus testimonium reddere veri-
tatis. Præcipuæ quod ea res bonum publicum Collegij &
Literarum bonarumque artium concernat.

Honorandj Dñi, D. Deus conseruet D. Vras diu jncolumes.

265 Ex Haga Comitiss Holl., prid. Calend. Maij 1547.

D. D. v̄rarum deditissimus

Cornelius Suys

consiliarius Cæs. Mat^{is} in Holl.

Eximijs Magnificis ac
270 honorandis M. N. Dñis
Ruaro Eccłæ S. Petrij
Louanieñ Decano & Petro
Curtio eiusdem Eccłæ Plebano
Louanij

249 S. P. &c] on C, r.

269 Eximijs &c] on C, v.

275 § 38

E

Andrea Charissime,

Significasti mihi grauem difficilem et obscuram litem
ortam jnter collegium et Rutgerum rescium : quare oras
vt tibi nudam et meram veritatem scribam super his duo-
280 bus punctis : An prædictus Reschius mensam et cubiculum
meo tempore jn collegio habuerit.

Ego Hieronymus Zandelicus Receptor generalis de
Bewesterschelt jn Zeelandia, habitauī Louanij jn collegio
trilingui ā^s xxx, xxxj et xxxij. Quibus annis Rutgerus
285 prædictus nullum habuit cubiculum quia omnia per con-
uictores et bursarios collegij occupata erant. Sed mensam
semper habuit liberam vt alij professores et conuictores
quandocumque illi placuit ad mensam accedere quemad-
modum sepissime ego presens jn mensa illum vidi et cum
290 eo comedi.

Amice charissime his paucis valebis et tuum Hierony-
mum vt soles amabis.

Bruxelle xvii^a Septemb. a^o xlvj

Tuus vt suus

295

Hieronymus Zandelin

Eruditissimo Dño. Dr.

Andreae Baleno professori

Hebræo

Louanij jn collegio

300 Trilingui

276 Andrea &c] on E, r

276 Andrea] viz., Balenus : cp. before, pp 474-75.

282 Hieronymus Zandelicus] Jerome Sandelin, Zandelin, Sandelicus,
Zandelicus, of Antwerp, Lord of Herenthout and Herlaer : cp. *sup.*,
III, 215, 223-26; *ManHoev.*, 4, r : he, too, was entrusted to the
special care of Goclenius.

296 Eruditissimo &c] on E, v.

APPENDIX VII

NANNIUS' ORATIO DE REBUS INFERORUM

Dicta in Media Enarratione Libri Sexti Aeneidos

The Subject

In his great zeal, Nannius, the Professor of Latin, was always looking out for occasions to keep the interest of his students awake to their studies, and he often availed himself of the beginning of a new text to raise their expectations ¹⁾. He did not always succeed. When, in the first days of October 1542, after the Siege of Louvain, he wished to start the second book of Lucretius, and related his dream of a ride on Pegasus to the Elysian Fields so as to interview the author ²⁾, his hearers were hardly pleased ; he consequently began, three days later, Cicero's *Pro Lege Manilia*, which he introduced by a most welcome *Oratio de Obsidione Louaniensi*, of the preceding August, and by his comments on the students' brave behaviour ³⁾. In 1543 or 1544, before reading the fourth book of the *Aeneis*, he discoursed on the representations of Venus and on the three kinds of love, warning his hearers against any ruinous consequence ⁴⁾. Similar earnest, but beneficent, advice was imparted by the oration which Nannius inserted in the midst of his explanation of the sixth book of the *Aeneis*, exposing the dangers that threaten youth : he related his visit in a dream to the *Inferi*, where Virgil showed him the sad fate inflicted on the wild and lawless youths, that he might make them turn to work and resipiscence ⁵⁾.

The idea of shaping a wise advice in a dream is very old. Cicero used it with a remarkable effect in his *De Republica*, in which Cornelius Scipio Africanus points out to his grandson Cornelius Aemilianus, the insignificance of the quarrels of man, even those in Rome's apparently large Empire, by reminding him of the immensity and the depth of the celestial spheres and of the Milky Way, as well as of the eternal survival of the souls, saying :

‘cernis quantis in angustiis vestra se gloria dilatari velit !’ ⁶⁾

That impressive *Somnium Scipionis*, dating from about 54 B. C., was reproduced by Macrobius Theodosius at the end of the fourth, or in the

¹⁾ Cp. Polet, 52, sq.

²⁾ Polet, 64-68 : *Somnium Alterum* in Lib. II Lucretii *Præfatio*.

³⁾ The *Oratio* was published in September 1543 : Polet, 57-61.

⁴⁾ Polet, 68-70.

⁵⁾ Polet, 61-64.

⁶⁾ Cp. Sandys, I, 183, 509 ; Pichon, 222-24.

beginning of the fifth, century; he provided it with extensive comments on the celestial spheres and their music, as well as on the existence of life beyond the grave ¹). It was most popular during the Middle Ages, being one of the oldest assertions — and that by a pagan, — of the immortality of the soul, as well as of the perpetuity of the world, according to the Neo-Platonic theory that nothing dies, and nothing is destroyed. It was imitated by Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, in the beginning of the vith century, in his *Mythologiarum Libri III* ²), and it was quoted as authority by Gerbert ³), Abelard ⁴) and even by Thomas Aquinas ⁵). It kindled a desire for more; unfortunately in the latter half of the xiiith century it was found out that it was all that remained of Cicero's *De Republica*, which caused a general disappointment ⁶), and contributed to enhance the high esteem in which the splendid part preserved by Macrobius was held. No wonder that the growing literature got hold of the *Somnium Cypionis*: it provided a framework to the first part of Guillaume de Lorris' *Roman de la Rose*, besides ample inspiration for its continuation and for its imitators ⁷). Most honour was done to the subject by the great Chaucer, who connected it with the betrothal of King Richard II with Anna of Bohemia, announced in 1381, and leading to a marriage in 1382: in one of his most exquisite poems, *The Parlement of Foules*, he relates the story of Scipio, thus introducing his own dream, in which the 'African' leads him to a garden, where all the birds assemble for St. Valentine's feast, and takes him to where three tercel eagles have a contest for a wonderful 'formel', which, after a vain debate, is closed by the latter's request for a year's respite, on which the assembly sings a roundel and concludes with a shouting that awakes the poet ⁸).

Cicero's admirable *libellus* was thoroughly studied by John Louis Vives, in Louvain; he had the text printed with an '*argumentum*' in

¹) Cp. Sandys, I, 240, 228, 237, *sq.*, 488; Pichon, 802, 805.

²) Ebert, I, 476-79; Manitius, I, 8, 320, 336, 350, 499, 535, 635, &c; Sandys, I, 242, 634.

³) Sandys, I, 509, 512, 633.

⁴) E. Gilson, *Héloïse et Abélard*: Paris, 1938: 33, 231, 237.

⁵) Sandys, I, 240, 488; *CHEL*, II, 366; M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*²: Louvain, 1905: 92, 152, 260; &c.

⁶) It was only in the xixth century that Angelo May discovered it on a palimpsest manuscript of the Vatican, under the commentary of St. Augustine on the Psalms: it has the first third of that *De Republica*, which, however, does not include the *Somnium*: it was published in 1822, and has been reproduced recently as *M. T. Ciceronis de Re Publica Libri e Codice rescripto Vaticano latino 5757 phototypice expressi* (*Studi e Testi*, 34): Vatican, 1934: *LiEBiVa.*, 130-31; Lounsbury, II, 277; Sandys, I, 509; Gasq *Veil.*, I, 58.

⁷) G. Paris, *La Littér. Franç. au Moyen Age*: § 111; Lanson, 122, 126.

⁸) Chaucer, I, 417, 498, 505-9, III, 246; Lounsbury, II, 180, 271, *sq.*, 277, *sq.*; BriBra., II, 86-89; F. J. Snell, *The Age of Chaucer*: London, 1901: 170-75.

the beginning of 1520 ¹⁾, so as to explain it in his lessons : having requested the permission to lecture on it in the Halls, it was granted, in return for the service recently rendered to the University by his illustrious pupil, Cardinal William de Croy ²⁾. Still, as Vives wrote to his friend Francis de Cranevelt, there had been some doubt and much disputing there as to which Faculty the *Somnia* properly belonged ³⁾. His lectures were appreciated so much that he published them as comments, adding to the *Somnium Scipionis* a *Prefatio* about all the good and all the bad forms of dreams, and, in a splendid *Vigilia*, an explanation of Cicero's text, which, besides being Christian, is far richer and far more thorough than that by Macrobius ⁴⁾.

Vives' fine and amply furnished commentary on dreams as well as on proofs of man's immortality and the wonders of cosmography, brilliantly exposing Cicero's *Somnium* and providing it with seasonable lessons for time and eternity, deeply influenced Nannius. In 1520, he still was studying in Louvain, and, without doubt, attended the lessons of the great Spaniard. He certainly imitated him when making use of that literary process for the practical and peculiarly moral aim, for which, after all, Cicero had intended it ; its effect on the students is not recorded, but can be easily guessed.

¹⁾ *Somnium Scipionis* : Louvain, Th. Martens, 1520 : 8 leaves (4to), A-B⁴ : Vives' *Argumentum* ; Cicero's *Somnium*... 'ex libro de republica excerptum' : NijKron., II, 2669 ; it was reprinted at Antwerp, M. Hillen, but without date : 8 leaves (4to), A-B⁴ : NijKron., I, 575.

²⁾ FUL, 2 : 335-41 : difficulties had been caused to *suppositi* of Louvain University, appointed by 'nomination' in Cambrai diocese : the question was satisfactorily solved, thanks to Cardinal de Croy's interference ; cp. *sup.*, I, 527-29 ; de Jongh, *18-20.

³⁾ *Cran.*, 2, 1-12.

⁴⁾ J. L. Vivis... 'Somnium. Quæ est præfatio ad Somnium Scipionis Ciceronis. Eiusdem Vigilia. Quæ est enarratio Somnij Scipionis Ciceronis. Et alia nonnulla'. That bundle of comments was most probably first issued in Louvain by Th. Martens, who had recently printed the *Somnium* with Vives' *Argumentum* (cp. preceding note 1) ; for it came out soon after March 28, 1520, date of the dedication to Erard de la Marck, on his appointment as Archbishop of Vives' native town Valencia. On May 26, 1520, Thomas More, who knew it through his 'protégé' Adrian Ælius Jacobi Barlandus (cp. *sup.*, II, 518, 521-22, III, 45 ; Allen, III, 760, 14), wrote about it to Erasmus : in... *Somnio*... multorum superat peruigilatas vigiliis : Allen, IV, 1106, 103-4. When in Paris in May 1520, Vives lectured on the same subject : 'Somnium illis somniaui Scipionis', as he wrote to Erasmus from Bruges, June 4, 1520, on his return : Allen, IV, 1108, 201-2. The book was reprinted at Antwerp by John Thibault, without date, and with a faulty title : 'Somnivms/Et Vigilia' : NijKron., II, 4065 ; in March 1521, John Froben provided a fine (4to) edition in Basle, of which the title is quoted in the first lines of this note. Cp. *VivVita*, 37-38 ; *VivE*, 156.

The History

At Nannius' decease, the manuscripts of his *Somnia* remained at the *Trilingue*, where Cornelius van Auwater highly admired the *De Rebus Inferorum* : he added two corrections to the text ¹⁾ and wrote on the right side of the title :

Oratio iocosa dicta a Nannio / in media enarratione libri sexti /
Aeneidos, non tantum iucunda et festi / ua, sed et vtilis dissolute
iuuentuti / amoribus luxuque diffuenti om[nino] / perditæ.

In the beginning of the xviith century, the manuscripts were found by Erycius Puteanus ²⁾, who was highly charmed with the 'sermo' of 1545; he praised it as *festivus*, as *doctus*, and as characteristic of P. Nannius in his dedicatory letter of July 9, 1611, to Englebert Masius ³⁾. He obtained the approval to have both *Somnia* printed :

Hæ duæ orationes cum honestate iucundam habent festiuitatem ;
ideoque idoneæ quæ in lucem emittantur. Guilielmus Fabricius,
Apostolicus et Archiducalis Librorum Censor ⁴⁾.

Unfortunately, neither his admiration, nor that approval prevented him from injuring the clever and witty text most cruelly : in his typical conceitedness, he crossed off what he did not understand ⁵⁾; he introduced changes which do not plead in his favour ⁶⁾, made even mistakes occasionally ⁷⁾, and rendered more than twenty-five lines quite illegible. As no manuscript copy of the *Somnium alterum*, about Lucretius, is preserved, it can only be guessed what changes were introduced into it when they were both printed in Louvain (Ph. van Dormael) in 1611 ⁸⁾, under the title :

Petri Nannii Somnium, sive Paralipomena Virgilii : Res Inferæ

¹⁾ Cp. *ll* 194-95, 259-60 ; probably also on *ll* 201 and 331.

²⁾ He succeeded to Justus Lips as professor of Latin in the *Trilingue*, where he was at work from 1607 to 1646 : *NèveMém.*, 172-80.

³⁾ Englebert Maes, of Antwerp, studied laws in Louvain (VAnd., 213) and became auditor general in the army which the Duke of Parma took into France to help the 'Ligue' ; having been appointed, on March 1, 1590, as member of the Great Council, he was promoted to the Privy Council on July 20, 1603, and to its Presidency, October 8, 1614 ; he died on October 9, 1630 : *Alexandre*, 398.

⁴⁾ He was Dean of St. Peter's, Louvain († March 7, 1628) : VAnd., 131, sq., &c.

⁵⁾ E. g., *Georgium Both*, l 80 ; *Abbatium*, *ll* 143, 199, where only the second *b* is faulty.

⁶⁾ E. g., altering *Protestantem* into *Barbarum*, l 33 ; also *Nirem* into *nomine*, l 233 ; the quality of being *agilis*, attributed to Spaniards, who like climbing, is made into *magnanima* on l 265 !

⁷⁾ He corrects a sentence into : *Neronem... iam ob paupertatem musicum factum*, l 89 !

⁸⁾ Paquot, xiv, 76-77 ; Polet, 61-68.

a Poeta relictæ. Hactenus non editum. — Somnium alterum In lib. II Lucretii Præfatio. Habita, Lovanii, in Collegio Trilingui¹⁾. By an unexpected fortune, an original manuscript of the *Paralipomena* came to light when, in the spring of 1914, the last two Faculties²⁾, Theology and Laws, left the Old Louvain University Halls for Spoelberg Institute, on account of their expansion, and the rooms thus made empty were adapted to the needs of the extending Library : the removing of the old ornamental woodwork in the chief lecture hall of Jurisprudence, revealed a never suspected rich treasure of old books mixed with some manuscripts³⁾. They were stored for classifying and cataloguing in one of the rooms of the Rega Building⁴⁾, where the serviceableness of some of the professors was heartily welcomed, and even required by the first use of some of the documents discovered. Amongst them were most interesting papers of John Francis van de Velde, last President of the Holy Ghost, which the late professor Henry de Jongh at once prepared for an edition, as the great Defender of the University was just then being honoured by a statue in his native Beveren⁵⁾. Amongst them also was Nannius' report of his visit to the *Inferi* under Virgil's lead, as well as other documents of humanists : they took far more time to be made ready for publication, and thus escaped destruction in the merciless Fire, that was started in the late evening of Aug. 25, 1914.

The Manuscript

The manuscript of Nannius' speech takes up five double quarto leaves, two of them being single ones stuck together ; eighteen pages are entirely covered with writing, the nineteenth has eleven lines ; the

¹⁾ Those *Somnia* were reprinted in Louvain in 1640, and were reproduced by John Maire, in *Elegantiores Præstantium Virorum Satyræ* : Leyden, 1655 : 1, 235-80. Cp. Polet, 61.

²⁾ The Old Cloth Hall of Louvain had been bought by the University and arranged from 1680 to 1682, so as to provide lecture halls for the upper Faculties : *ULCinqS*, 113, 107-20 ; *FUL*, 186-89 ; most of the lectures were still given in the Halls after 1837 ; only in the beginning of this century the exodus began to wider, more appropriate buildings.

³⁾ Cp. *ULCinqS*, 245 : many of the books were of the xvth century, several of them being on the *Index*.

⁴⁾ It had been constructed on the Old Market, of what used to be the Old Town Hall and the neighbouring houses, from 1720 to 1730, chiefly to serve as library : *FUL*, 190-93.

⁵⁾ Cp. *ULCinqS*, 245-59 : Professor de Jongh's paper, which only considered a very limited part of v. d. Velde's documents, was already composed at the printing-office when the Fire of August 1914 destroyed it, as it also did all the newly found books and records. He himself had suffered heavily in the trouble of the War, and, being of a very weak constitution, died in his native village near Antwerp, on April 6, 1915, in his fortieth year. His paper was edited from his rough drafts and stray proof-sheets, along with his inventory.

twentieth is blank. After the title, on one line, the text begins with a fine capital H and the first word in bigger letters : it is written in a rather large and very distinct and regular hand, most probably by a copyist, evidently so as to facilitate the reading out in the lecture : it shows several small corrections, made in another hand with a different ink, no doubt, by Nannius ¹⁾; later on, Cornelius van Auwater added, in two places, a few words which make the sense clearer ²⁾. The quire was loosely sown together with a leaf, evidently added by Puteanus, bearing the title he composed for the edition : PETRI NANNII SOMNIVM, / PARALIPOMENA VERGILII : / sive / DE REBUS INFERIS / a Poeta relictis / Anno ∞ . D. XLV. Publice Lovanii / in Collegio Trilingui recitatum. As already mentioned, the merciless Puteanus cruelly handled the poor text, of which many words and sentences were crossed out, whereas several others were completely covered by curly lines, so as to render even the most sharp and patient scrutiny disappointingly useless.

The Edition

The text of this Oration has been reproduced from the manuscript with utmost care and exactitude ; whenever it was possible to restore the original wording, it has been given, with, in the notes, the — mostly nonsensical — alteration that was added in its stead : in a study of Nannius one is out for his unchanged expression, and not for that of a man who shows very little respect for the ideas of a predecessor, and who simply leaves out, if he does not quite obliterate, whatever refers to people or things he ignores. It has thus been possible to put right some silly alterations that had been introduced, and to save from oblivion some facts alluded to, which Puteanus failed to understand, although he was 350 years nearer the time when they happened and were recorded ; unfortunately an amount of lines remain undecipherable.

The only change introduced is the division into paragraphs, which helps to hide the passages irretrievably deleted for ever. Regularity has also been realized by a very discrete dose of punctuation marks, added so as to render as easy as possible the following of the author on his fickle and fanciful tour through the lugubrious vastness of the *Inferi* ³⁾.

¹⁾ E. g., cartilagineis (l 12), historico (23, 30), tondeat (38), Batauum (91), progressis (111), impetravit (151), æternaliter (200), ἀγρηματιζν (252), His (283), cementarios (287), eadem (317).

²⁾ Cp. before, p 490.

³⁾ In the *Textual Notes* use is made of the abbreviations : *aol* (= added over line), *chi* (= changed into), *cof* (= corrected from), *cro* (= crossed off), *exp* (= expunctuated), *ilm*, *irm* (= in left, right, margin), *str* (= struck off). — The text is written by a *Scriptor*, S, and 'corrected' by *Puteanus*, P, unless marked N, for Nannius, putting right a few mistakes, or A, for Cornelius van Auwater, who inserted two sentences.

PETRI NANNII

ΠΑΡΑΛΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ

VERGILII

& DE REBUS INFERORUM

HESTERNO die sedulo mecum cogitabam, vnde maior
peritia rerum infernalium Vergilio, quam Homero :
nam apud illum omnia sunt distincta in nouem man-
siones, cum descriptione quinque fluuiorum ; apud istum
5 omnia confusa : profluunt enim quasi ex alueari examina
mortuorum, sed quas sedes in alueari habeant, non depin-
gitur. Hæc dum mecum reuoluo, Morpheus deus somnio-
rum autor, & nocturnæ quietis assecla, non per vnam
portam, siue eburneam siue corneam, vt Homerus fabu-
10 latur, sed per binas fenestras simul me ad inferos demittit,
statimque post ingressum meum fenestræ illæ clausæ sunt
cuteis & propemodum cartilagineis foribus, non aliter
quam oculi palpebris clauduntur.

Statimque deducor ad ipsum Vergilium, cui in proximo
15 assidebat Horatius, sinistrum latus Lucanus claudebat, qui
mihi subinuidere Horatio videbatur, tanquam in loco dig-
niori recubanti. Agnitus ab vtroque, & blande acceptus,
sed præsertim a Vergilio, ob recentem atque adhuc duran-
tem illius operum interpretationem, itineris causas expono,
20 rogoque ut mihi commonstret, si quid in quarta mansione
omissum esset, vbi amatores sua domicilia habent. Opor-
tune atque adeo ex voto, inquit, te mihi offers : multa
enim hic nouata sunt, & egent fido & eloquente historico ;

1 die] cum cro S

12 cartilagineis] cof char- N

14 Statimque] chi Mox igitur P

20 si quid &c] p 2

23 historico] cof hys- N

2 Vergilio] the visit of Virgil's hero to the under-world is related in
Æneis, vi, 237-898.

2 Homero] *Odyssey*, xxiv, 1, sq.

9 portam &c] *Æneis*, vi, 893-96 ; *Odyssey*, xix, 562-67.

19 illius operum] cp. before, pp 89, 96, sq, 244, 268, 270, 278-79.

quamobrem necessarium est, vt quemadmodum Quintus
 25 Calaber scripsit Paralipomena Homeri, ita sit aliquis qui
 describat a me omissa : nam ex quo hic vixi ad mille
 quingentos annos, multa depræhendi quæ ante latebant ;
 multa enim singulis ætatibus acciderunt : ingens materia,
 si sit probus artifex ; nec de ingenio tuo diffidimus, modo
 30 fidem colas, nec ut solent Græci in historijs græcizare velis.

Promisi diligentem & sedulam operam, sed quia mihi
 barba in itinere nonnihil accreuerat, rogavi ut mihi tonstri-
 nam commonstraret, ne inferi ex barba me Protestantem
 arbitrentur. Vbi tecto successi, occurrebat illic Dalila
 35 Sampsonis cum nouacula & forfice : huic quia Sampsonis
 capillitium totondit, pro poena ab inferis datum fuit, ut
 tonstrinam exerceat, nec solum viros, sed etiam camelos
 & hircos tondeat. Maxime autem illa conquerebatur, se
 apud superos iam non esse, cum nunc & laici omnes caput
 40 radant et ecclesiastici mentum : posse hoc tempore ingens
 emolumentum & quæstum fieri, præsertim in Gallia, vbi
 audierat etiam alias corporis partes radi. Deinde rogat
 quid velim ; respondeo me lippitudine laborare, nam nullo
 modo a scelerata meretricula radi volebam ; ac proinde si
 45 collyrium haberet me libenter ab illa etiam satis improbo
 precio redempturum. Negavit se chirurgam ; iussitque ire
 ad Medæam pharmacorum peritam, aut si expectare pos-
 sem, ad Stephanum circulatorem, qui quotidie in equo
 petrinum oleum vendit, & inter garriendum non minus
 50 strenue bibit quam mentitur : nam vtrunque ad æquili-

30 historijs] *cof* hys- N

33 Protestantem] *chl* barbarum P

38 tondeat] *cof* tonderet N

38-40 Maxime ... mentum] *cro* ; *in lmg* Maxime

autem illa conquerebatur, se apud Superos jam non esse, posse P

40 posse &c] *p* 3

40-41 posse ... fieri] *cro*

41-42 præsertim ... audierat] *exp*

42 audierat] præter caput et mentum *aol* P

24 Quintus Calaber] Quintus Smyrnæus Calaber, 14th century author
 of an epic poem on the Trojan war, Τῶ μεθ' Ὀμήρου : it is well
 ordered, but lacks poetical originality : Sandys, 1, 360 ; Croiset, 802.

33 barba] cp. portraits in *GeschRef.*, 95, 96c, 102, 104, 106, 110, 125,
 129b, 159, 189, 193, &c.

34 Dalila] *Judic.*, xvi, 17-21. 45 collyrium] an eyesalve.

47 Medeam] the daughter of Aëtes, King of Colchis, famous for her
 skill in magic : *HygFab.*, 9.

48 Stephanum] no doubt a Louvain celebrity of Nannius' days.

brium facit. Hac causificatione elusi foeminam, statimque abscedo.

Inter procedendum ad domunculam instar scholæ tri-
uialis, audio ploratum quasi puerorum sub ferula vapulan-
55 tium : quæro ex Vergilio ecquid sibi illa lamentatio vellet ;
aiebat esse pædagogium Omphales, vbi stultos amatores
Omphale sandalio, vt quondam Herculem, verberabat.
Atque adeo dum ista loquimur, prodijt e schola Hercules
vultu lachrymis suffuso, sed tamen hilariori, vt scires eum
60 de poena gaudere.

Progressus longius, ac iam itinere defatigatus, valde
optabam vel currum vel cymbam, nam equitationem ut
homo Batauus exhorrebam. Vtriusque mihi copiam fecit
Vergilius. Aderat enim hipposophista, amica quondam
65 Aristotelis, quæ quia tanti viri os frenare ausa fuerat, &
calcaribus tanquam equum fodere, ad aurigationem dam-
nata fuerat. Mihi, ut paucis dicam, auriga non placuit ;
quamobrem cymbam Iasonis inscendi ; est enim ille apud
inferos nauclerus, proreta autem Aleander, gubernator
70 Alceus. Orpheus, ut solet, celeuma cantat. Ibi ex Leandro
didici, carmen, quod de ipsius amoribus Musæo ascribitur,
falso titulo venditari : adiecit quoque Orpheus argonautica,
quæ sub ipsius nomine circumferuntur nihil omnino habere
Orphicum ; multo adhuc minus illud opus de lapidibus,
75 rogauitque me, ut id tacitum inter Louanienses non habe-
rem.

Inter traijciendum inueni, quod ab Aristophane descri-
bitur, malos poetas in ranos mutari, atque in eo stagno
perpetuo brekekismo coaxare. Certe audiui ibi, vt paucos

62 currum &c] p 4

79 brekekismo] *cht* brekekekis- P

56 Omphales] Omphale, Queen of Lydia, daughter of Iardanus, whom Hercules served as slave : *HygFab.*, 280, b.

62 equitationem ut... Batauus] Erasmus wrote to Nic. Cannius, May 29, 1527 : Nosti prouerbium Βάττωος ἱππεύς : Allen, VII, 1832, 52.

64 amica ... Aristotelis] referring to his infatuation for Pythias.

69 Aleander] probably a mistake for Leander : cp. l 70.

73 nihil ... Orphicum] several Greek poems were unrightly attributed to Orpheus : Croiset, 5, 218, 804.

77 Aristophane] namely in his *Ranæ*, in which he criticizes Euripides : Sandys, I, 53-54, 60 ; Croiset, 366-67.

80 attingam, Mæuium, Zoilum, Busconium, Georgium Both ingenti strepitu brekekekec acclamare, adeo ut Vergilius impatiens strepitus instar Vlyssis aureis cera obturauerit, iussitque idem a me fieri si saluus esse vellem. Transmissa palude vbi in ripa consistimus, audio dulcissimas modula-
 85 tiones, & phonascum præ cæteris suavi voce vtentem, cæterorumque cantus castigantem. Aderant ingentes greges puellarum, fistulæque circumcirca Æolijs, Lydijs, Phrygijs modis resonabant. Indicauit mihi Vergilius hunc esse Cothurnatum ex amplissimo rege iam ob paupertatem
 90 musicum factum.

Nihil hic morati incidimus in Ioannem Secundum, Bata-
 uum hominem, Hagensem patria, insignem poetam, ac
 parem propemodum Tibullo ac Propertio, & haud dubie
 superiorem futurum, nisi e vita adulescens surreptus
 95 fuisset. Hic, ut inter conterraneos, miri & arctissimi com-
 plexus, nec homo, ad oscula pronus, vllum fecit basiandi
 modum : multum ille me interrogauit non sine lachrymis
 de suis fratribus Grudio & Mario, vtroque insigni poeta :
 dixi illos opibus florere, sed eam rem obstare illorum
 100 summis ingenijs. Hic quia egregium opus de basijs præter
 cæteros amatorios libellos ædedit, non procul habitat a
 Solomone, in loco, si quis certius & exactius cognoscere
 velit, qui dictus est latine, Osculatorium osculantis, siue
 Gallice, Baise moy, Græce, Autophilomathion : plura indicia
 105 adserere non possum, sed patet, si quis ijs assuescerit, non
 cohærere omnia. Huic Secundo, quod in vita non conti-

80 Georgium Both] *cro* 84 audio &c] *p 5* 89 Cothurnatum ... rege] *str* ;
 Neronem ex Imperatore *aol* 90 factum] *3 lines and 7 words cro* 91 Batauum]
cof Batha- N 101 non procul] *cro* 101 habitat &c] *p 6* 102 a Solomone] *cro*
 103-4 latine ... moy] *cro* 104-6 plura ... omnia] *cro* 106 Huic] *chl Eldem P*

- 80 Busconium] Peter Gherinx, Busconius, Metrarius, would-be poet :
 cp. before, II, 208-9.
 80 Both] a ' Mgr Joannes both anglus lichfildiensis dioc. ' matriculated
 on January 23, 1523 : *Excerpts*, 104.
 91 Ioannem Secundum] cp. *sup.*, II, 432-51.
 98 Grudio & Mario] cp. *sup.*, II, 432, *sq.*, 445-52.
 102 Solomone] Solomon's aberrations and God's warning are related in
Lib. Regum III, xi, 1-13 ; his punishments start in the rest of the
 chapter.
 104 Autophilomathion] cp. *φιλημα, φιλημάτιον* and *φιλομάθεια*.

gerat, Iulia sua in vxorem data fuit. Omnia mihi in illa puella placebant : nisi quod labijs nimium erat attenuatis, & quasi attritis; credo id fecisse Ioannis Secundi in sua-
 110 uiando immodestiam.

Minimum deinde progressis ingens sodalitiū doctorum hominum occurrit : Ouidius cum sua Corynna, quam multi etiamnum apud inferos Iuliam Augusti arbitrantur, Propertius cum Hostia, quam Cynthiam vocauit, Getulicus item
 115 cum Cesennia; Tibullus cum Plancia, quam sub nomine Deliae describit. Solus ibi sine amica fuit Catullus, nam Lesbia ob auaritiā iussa est a Plutone Lanionis officium exercere, ut *glubat magnanimos Remi nepotes*. Cum istis mihi breue colloquium, utpote cum hominibus alienioribus :
 120 credo quod eorum studia genusque scribendi iampridem deseruissem, cum olim adulescens nihil æque affectarim. Norunt enim inferi quicquid apud nos fit, & quanquam seiunctissimi a nobis sunt, tanquam euenit astrictim assentientibus, notum habent quicquid vbique terrarum geratur;
 125 nec mirum, cum quotidie tam multi eo proficiscantur, qui res nouas annuncient.

Pergentes deinde vltius ad loca omnibus cultoribus vacua peruenimus, amoena tamen satis & luculenta, vt est earum regionum genus. Miranti mihi solitudinem, ait
 130 Vergilius, quatuor iuuenes cum suis sodalitijs expectari, qui quia essent egregio ingenio, nec minori eruditione, sed tamen plus quam oportet amoribus sese dederint, omnino futurum esse, ut sint asscriptitij illius glebæ. Mira me ibi auditas eorum nomina cognoscendi tenuit. Sed, inquit
 135 Vergilius, frustra tibi nomina dixero, quum apud nos aliter quam apud superos vocentur : quæcunque enim sunt vocabula rancida, desita & emortua, ijs nos mortui in nostra dialecto vtimur : nam nos bellum guerram, pacem treugam, frumentum bladum, tributum gabalam, concionem aren-

111 progressis] *cof*-*ssu* N 123 -ctissimi &c] *p* 7 123 tanquam ... assentientibus] *cro*

107 Iulia] *cp. sup.*, II, 439, 441.

118 ut *glubat ... nepotes*] quoted from Catullus' poem *Ad Caelium*, de Lesbia : *Glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes* : *CaTiPro.*, 14, v.

121 adulescens &c] as youth Nannius wrote much poetry : *cp. Polet*, 5-8.

140 gam appellamus. Si tamen cupis nostra vocabula, quæ-
cunque inde tibi notitia parari potest, non inuidebo. Est
quidam gigantiae molis vastis viribus ac plane Hectoreis,
animo excellenti, ingenio præclaro, Abbatium Priamiden
nos illum dicimus : sæpe est in Acropoli, non apud Palla-
145 dem, sed apud suam Andromachen. Alter non minoris
staturæ, sed gracilioris corporis, humanis excultisque
moribus, linguarum bene peritus, Daphnis apud nos
appellatur : oriundus ex Laurolauinio ; sæpe commoratur
in monte Oliueti. Fama est illum ibi quandam nympham
150 Callicleam deperire, quæ quia multos scholasticos sua
venustate in sui amorem illaqueat, voluit Pallas, & impe-
travit a Plutone, ut apud inferos auceps esset, quod genus
vitæ apud nos est contemptibilissimum, quasi apud vos
vel lictor, vel carnifex.

155 Innouantur apud nos plæraque vocabula, habemusque
ferme easdem res, sed alijs nominibus : nam quod vos dici-
tis *Louanium*, nos *Ludiuanium* ; quod vos *Falas*, nos *Fal-
las* ; quod vos *pædagogium*, nos Coloniensi vocabulo *Bur-
sas* appellamus, siquando latine loqui volumus ; si græce,

143 Abbatium] *cro* & rewritten P 144 -ladem &c] p 8 151 impetravit] *cof* -trasset N
154 carnifex.] 7 lines *cro* after tt 155 apud] *aol* ut dixi

143 Abbatium Priamiden] Abas, Abatius, of Argos, Trojan lover of Hector's wife Andromache ; — possibly an old student who had left the memory of his romantic adventures : cp. *ll* 199, sq.

147 Daphnis] Δάφνις, the beautiful Sicilian shepherd, son of Hermes, whom Pan taught to play on the flute, was struck blind by a Naiad, to whom he proved faithless. His name may have been suggested here by δάφνις, laurel berry, and the mention *oriundus ex Laurolavinio* possibly connected with a device on the coat of arms, or the name of a family, — probably one of the Laurins, of Bruges, who were famous for their services to Charles V as accountants : cp. *inf.*, *ll* 273-76. — *Lavinium*, founded in memory of Aeneas' wife *Lavinia*, was called *Laurolavinium*, when the inhabitants of *Laurentum* were transferred there under the Antonines.

149 in monte Oliveti] a beerhouse and inn : its name in Castle Street, is not yet extinct : cp. further, *l* 236.

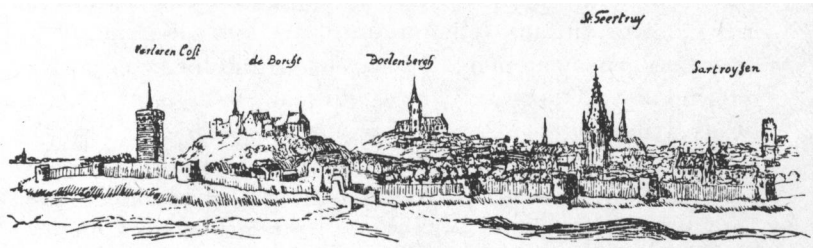
150 Callicleam] viz., Καλλιχλεα.

157 Falas] viz., *phalæ*, movable wooden structures, protecting against stones and arrows, under which assailants moved as near as possible in storming places ; they were called 'cats' in Louvain, where the street, skirting the town-wall in which they were stored, still goes by the name *Katten Straat*.

¹⁶⁰ *phrontisterium* nuncupamus; quod vos *turrīm impensarum perditarum*, nos latine *Frugiperdam*, græce παρανάλωμα dicimus; quod vos *pagum sancti Iob*, nos latine vocamus *terram Hus*, & græce Parthenapolin, quia multæ puellæ ibi virgines esse desinunt.

¹⁶⁵ Berosus & Arrianus, duo reliqui, insignes sunt poetæ & superarent omnes elegiographos, nisi alter equam Duriam (idem enim est ac si diceres equum Duratæum, quo Troia capta est; nam fuit re vera equa, vnde est illud, quod illi vterum attribuerim, qui in maribus non reperitur, cum
¹⁷⁰ dico: *Vterumque armato milite complent*): alter iuencam nimis adamaret. Istis insanijs fit, ut tam sublimia ingenia, ac propemodum diuina, frugem non tam vberem ferant quam debent. Istis, o me miserum, pars est meminisse doloris: pro poena assignatum est, vt alter in equa Duria
¹⁷⁵ perpetuo habitet; vellet quidem solus, sed non sinunt Græci principes, qui ante Troiam in hoc animali latuerunt.

Arriano a Parcisi adnectum est, vt cum ad nos venerit, fiat sacerdos Isidis, & vitulam in Oreb perpetuis victimis



160 vos &c] p 9 175 vellet] aol et P 177 adnectum] cof-nen- N 178& - colat] cro

- 160 *turrīm impensarum*] high tower, part of the old wall of Louvain between Tervueren- and Brussels-gate, from where the approaching enemy could be seen from afar: cp. further, ll 214, sq. On account of the few occasions it was used and the large amount it cost, it got the name of 'Lost Expense': *LouvBoon*, 186, 403, 442; *LouvEven*, 150, sq.
 162 *pagum S. Iob*] Wesemael, near Louvain: Gestel, 1, 228, sq; cp. l 309.
 165 Berosus] priest of Belus, 260-242 b. Ch., who wrote a history of Chaldea: Croiset, 627. — Arrianus] Arrian (fl. 130) imitated Xenophon; also Thucydides and Herodotus: Sandys, 1, 311.
 167 *Duratæum*] cp. Palæphatus, *Fab. Nar.* 1: *HygFab.*, 115, b; *Æn.*, 11, 20.
 178 Oreb] viz., Horeb: *Exodus*, xxxii, 4-6, xxxiii, 6, and Psalm cv, 19.

colat, atque deinde pro Arriano ex Sceria vocetur bubseque
 180 ex Taurica Chersoneso. Puellæ pro supplicio attributum
 fuisset, ut piscatrix fieret, quod genus quæstus æque odio-
 sum est ac ipsum aucupium, de quo supra dixi. Nos enim
 ut homines mediterraneos, quales sunt Haunonienses,
 Burgondiones, aues appellamus : ita pisces vocamus maris
 185 accolas, vt Frisones, Hollandos, Zelandos, Flandros. Sed
 obstitit gratia Apollinis, qui grauiorem poenam in mollio-
 rem suis precibus conuertit : statutum est enim vt summa
 sit inter pedissequas Mellonice Deæ, cuius inuentum est,
 ex boue putrefacto, apes procreare, vt abunde a me
 190 descriptum est in 4° Georgicwv.

Quintus est (quem fere silentio præteriram) Latinus
 Misoparthenus, & ipse quoque insignis eruditionis, & viuidi
 ingenij ; quod ipsum ne ad legitimos fructus ematurescat,
 conuiuia & perpotationes cum amatoribus faciunt : nihil
 195 enim ipse amat, sed cum amatoribus assiduus est, & magno
 studio Dianam sequitur ; quamobrem illi nihil a morte
 durum expectandum, nam est illi locus assignandus apud
 Roscium Comoedum, vt Histrionicen exerceat & habitu &
 oris distortu quiduis feliciter imitetur. Abbatio Priamidæ,
 200 de cuius poena hactenus tacuimus, is, proh dolor, æternaliter
 damnatus est, quia dixit se libidinem suam inferre velle
 puluinaribus cuiusdam pulcherrimæ deæ semper in templo
 habitantis, et si voto potitus fuisset, nunquam vllam
 poenitentiam eius peccati admissurum ; nunc miser nec
 205 voto potitus est, et ad hanc poenam est damnatus, ut
 phalanges Troianorum instruat, nunc plutoni currum
 triumphalem adornet, nunc gladiatoriam tyrones doceat.
 In summa hæc sedes vacuæ, vbi tantam incolarum solitu-
 dinem vides, Ludiuanensibus scholasticis deputatæ sunt,

180 ex &c] p 10

194 faciunt ... amatoribus] aol A ; note in *lmg* 'Ista manu

C. Valerij addita sunt'.

199 feliciter &c] p 11

199 Abbatio] *cro* & *rewritten*200 æternaliter] *cof*-nabiliter N201 libidinem] *cof*-bidem A

179 Sceria] Σχερία, fabulous island of the Phæaces, the luxuriously
 gluttonous people, mentioned by Homer, *Odyssey*, XIII, 160, and
 Thucydides, VIII, 104.

190 descriptum] *Georgics*, IV, 281-314.

198 Roscium] Q. Roscius, the most celebrated comic Roman actor († 62).

199 Abbatio] (probably supply de) cp. ll 143, sq.

210 qui aut ocio aut amoribus, aut alijs nequitijs tempus perdunt, ingenia situ obducunt. Fac igitur, inquit, vt eis ista vel publice renuncijs, ne veniant in hunc locum poenarum; ac puto me iam impleuisse fidem.

Progressum est inde vltcrius, vbi ingens turris ædificabatur, adeo ut illam Babylonicam crederes, quam vsque ad coelum educere olim in campis Semnar satagebant, tanta erat hominum ligna, lapides, calcem, bitumina comportantium multitudo; quæsiui nomen: responsum est hanc turrim ad Louaniensem illam perditarum expensarum 220 nomine insignem ædificari, & apud ipsos Frugiperdam, siue παρανάλωμα dici, vt antea memoratum fuit. Bone Deus, quot ibi cohortes scholasticorum vidi Sysiphi saxum voluere, quot Danaidum urnas illas perforatas gestare. Alij calcem, alij bitumen, alij naphtham macerabant, non, me hercule, 225 aqua, vt fieri solet, sed cereuisia & vino, quarum rerum illic mira est copia. Sunt ibi fontes partim vino, partim cereuisia scaturientes: hoc est discriminis, quod labra siue crepidines fontium, vnde vinum ebullit, auro inædificata sunt: vnde cereuisia argento; crateres per quos defluit 230 humor, cum crepidinibus materia respondet; inferi suo vocabulo Crumenas appellant, fontes vero Epidamna. Singuli fontes Naiadas habent, ipsi Germanisante vocabulo *Naiaras* dicunt. Vidi fontem Nirem Toxarim: aliquot Græ-

219 hanc &c] p 12

233 Nirem] str; aol nomine P

214 ingens turris &c] cp. *ll* 160, sq.

216 in campis Semnar &c] cp. *Genesis*, xi, 2, sq.

222-23 Sysiphi saxum ... Danaidum urnas] alluding evidently to the frequent failures in the young roisterers' studies.

226 fontes] evidently the *crumenæ* (*l* 231), wine- and beerhouses, where students lost no end of money.

231 Epidamna] alluding to Plautus' *Menæchmi*, ii, i, 33-39: natio Epidamnia, Voluptuarij atque potatores maximi &c... Propterea huic urbi nomen Epidamno inditum est, Quia nemo ferme huc sine damno diuortitur.

232-33 Naiadas ... Naiaras] evidently referring to the girl serving in wine- and beerhouses: occupied, when free, with needle-work, she is called in Louvain 'naateres', 'naajés', 'naaister', seamstress.

233 Nirem Toxarim &c] evidently names of wine- and beerhouses, from their sign-boards: Νιρεύς Τόξαρις, the young Scythian with his bow; *Boucrenem*, viz., βουκράνιον, oxhead; *Eleopagen*, prob. ἑλαιος πέργος, olive-garden, no doubt the old inn and beerhouse *Olivetenhof*, in Castle Street: cp. before, *l* 149.

culi mihi interpretabantur idem esse ac si arcum diceret;
 235 alium item Boucrenem, de boue nomen deductum aiebant;
 alium Eleopagen, quod oleo redundaret, præter aliorum
 fontium morem.

Erat quoque lacustris quædam immensa scaturigo, palu-
 dem Pollionis non pauci, plurimi tamen Ithyphalliam
 240 nominabant. Erat etiam fluuius ibi Rhodanus : quidam a
 rosa, alij a rubicundis vinis Gallicis originem vocabuli
 deducebant. Nomina omnium fontium nunquam recen-
 suero, qui quotidie noui emergunt, adeo ut Homérico
 vocabulo vere illam regionem πολυπίδακα appellare liceat.
 245 Vidi quoque quosdam fontes, non nisi coenum eructantes ;
 dira inde Mephitis, ac teterrimus odor nascebatur : aquæ
 Sextiæ siue mortuæ dicebantur, nonnulli per metaphrasin
 aquas lutantes nuncupabant. Hæ suo concursu ingentem
 fluuium efficiebant, qui sese exonerabat in mare mortuum
 250 iuxta pagum S. Iob, in terra Hus. Fontes Polyposiam,
 Ebibium, Perbibium, Nauteam, atque inde non procul
 Emetida & Cephalalgiam, & in extremo fine ἀχρηματία in
 præsentia omittere placet.

Vidi ibi multas gentes strenuam operam nauare, & in
 255 maceranda calce nihil sibi reliqui facere. Cæterum vt forti-
 tudine & robore facile principes erant Germani, ita quoque

- 236 quod &c] p 13 240 Erat etiam] *cro* ; *aol* Praeterea erat P
 246 nascebatur :] *two lines cro* 247 nonnulli ... nuncupabant.] *str* 254 Vidi &c] p 14
- 239 Pollionis] no doubt, Vedius Pollio († 15 bef. Ch.), Augustus' friend,
 who fed his lampreys with the flesh of all slaves that displeased
 him.
 239 Ithyphalliam] the erected phallus at the Bacchus festivities.
 240 Rhodanus] probably an inn kept by the Louvain family de Rode.
 244 πολυπίδακα] *vis.*, the place with many sources of the *Iliad*, viii, 47,
 xiv, 157, 283, &c.
 246 Mephitis] the goddess of fetid exhalations : *Æneis*, vii, 84 ; Pliny,
NatHist., ii, 208.
 246 aquæ Sextiæ] mineral waters of Aix, found in the colony started by
 C. Sextius Calvinus in 122 bef. Ch.
 250 pagum S. Iob] Wesemael : cp. before, *ll* 162, *sq.*, and *inf.*, 309, *sq.*
 250 Fontes &c] no doubt alluding to the ways of drinking and the
 results : *Polyposia* (many glasses at a stretch), *Ebibium*, *Perbibium*,
Nautea (seasickness), *Emetida* (emetic), *Cephalalgia* (κεφαλαλγία,
 headache), ἀχρηματία (lack of money : Nannius corrected this word
 from ἀχρημ- S).

ibi principatum gerebant : de tota natione non dubitabatur, quin palmariam mereretur, nisi quod dubium erat Hollandi ne an Frisones præstarent, sed quia patria mea
 260 ad vtramque gentem pertinet — sum enim Frisobatauus, — parum curabam, hij ne an illi in hoc stadio præcederent. Processi ad ipsam crepidinem turris : ibi vidi Gallos perpetuo cantillare, nec sine successu : lapides enim ad illorum tam emodulatam musicam sese velut ad Amphionis vocem,
 265 in ordine vltro construebant. Hispani, ut est gens agilis, in altissimis pontibus circa laquearia turris intrepide hærebant, et scandulis, laminis lapideis, alijsque tegulis summum culmen integebant; ad tantam audaciam incitabat eos amor & gloriæ, & Veneris : vtriusque enim sunt studio-
 270 sissimi. Sed Italus, ut præualet ingenio, architecti officium nimia euulsione sibi arrogabat, & facile concessum fuit : non enim habebat acres competitores.

Hic audiui ex Vergilio Daphnidem Laurolauinianum a multis expectari, qui vt est egregius calculator, rationes
 275 omnium supputaret, & censum diligentissime cogeret, quo pecunia tantis sumptibus suppeteret. Aderant quoque quidam ornatus & elegantiarum auidi, homines certe & serij & sobrij, qui pauimentum interius tessellato opere construebant : quamobrem ut asarota illa excultissima essent,
 280 non nisi ossiculis quaternatis certo numero punctorum vermiculatis vtebantur : nonnulli vocant tesseras ; sunt etiam qui cubos, vt in rebus natura coniunctis; inferi appellant nummiperdias. His artificibus, quia tantopere huic curæ insudant, ut sæpe etiam vestes abijciant, Gymnoso-
 285 phistarum nomen inditur.

Hactenus si non læta, sed saltem non admodum tristia vidi ; hic dum ad læuam respicio, video cementarios, lapidas, segmentarios, quaternatores complures, quibus

259 sed quia ... pertinet] *aol* *hy* A ; patria *cht* origo P 265 agilis] *cht* magnanima P
 269 Veneris] *cro* ; *aol* Virtutis P 271 nimia &c] *p* 15 271 nimia euulsione] *cro*
 283 His] *cof* *Hijs* N 287 cementarios] *cof* *sem* N

264 ad Amphionis vocem] Amphion, son of Jupiter and Antiope, built the walls of Thebes by playing on the lyre he had received from Hermes.

273 Daphnidem] *cp.* before *l* 147.

278 tessellato opere &c] allusion to dice and dicers.

negocium datum fuit, vt lapides polirent, et ad normam
 290 quadrarent; sed, me miserum, illi sæpe dum lapides cædunt
 se ipsi atrocissime vulnerabant, idque tanta insania, ut
 nunc manum, nunc aures, nunc pedes atque adeo ipsa
 capita detruncarent. Membra statim diuulsa Stryges, Har-
 pyæ, Lamiaë & Furiaë rapiebant, atque ipsi turri inædifi-
 295 cabant, non aliter quam in quibusdam templis ad ipsos
 parietes caluarias hominum infixas vides. Quærenti mihi
 quinam illi vesani & excordes essent, responsum est gras-
 satores nocturnos esse, apud inferos dictos nycticoraces,
 qui ob publicam matulam, publicum scortum ad perniciem
 300 mutuam non raro depugnant.

Sed dum me refero ab his diris & immanibus spectaculis,
 video quendam aqualiculo præpingui, marcidis oculis,
 ceruice multis puluinaribus suffulta, turgidis in speciem
 hydropis membris, magno satellitio, multisque apparito-
 305 ribus circum stipari; quæro quid hominis esset; aiunt esse
 Scholiarchum vacantiarum, feriarum, iusticiorum, ocio-
 rum, ludorum. *Caussasque & crimina discit* : duos ibi
 reos vidi, alterum peculatum accusatum : alterum iudicio
 datum, quod prouinciam Hus, atque adeo templum sancti
 310 Iob, omnibus suis gemmis & carbunculis spoliasset. Negauit

289 negocium &c] p 16

307 -na discit &c] p 17

307-308 duos ... accusatum] str; Reum ibi vidi qui accusabatur sacrilegi] aol P;
 after it eight lines are str

308 alterum ... datum] str

291 vulnerabant &c] viz., ruin caused by misconduct.

293 Stryges] prob. meant for Striges (strix, στρίγξ), the legendary vamps
 of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xi, 232), Plautus (*Pseudolus*, iii, ii, 31), &c.294 inædificabant &c] viz., like some bones and skeletons in churches,
 as is seen in Cologne.

298 nycticoraces] cp. νυκτι-κόραξ, night-raven.

307 Caussasque ... discit] cp. *Æneis*, vi, 487 : iuvat ... discere causas.309 prouinciam Hus &c] cp. *ll* 162, sq, 250, sq — evidently warning for
 the sad consequences of dissolute living : in those days venereal
 diseases seem to have been most common, especially in seaports,
 as they were generally ascribed to the contagion brought by the
 sailors from America : according to John Reygersberg, it appeared
 in the Netherlands at the arrival of the Spanish ships by which
 the Infanta Jane of Castile came to meet and marry Philip the Fair
 in 1496 : it was called *St. Job's evil*, and gave a great impulse to
 the devotion to that saint, and to pilgrimages to Wesemael, Dam-
 brugge and wherever he was venerated : Torfs, i, 64, sq.

quidem ille strenue factum ; sed inspecto corpore, gemmatissimus apparuit & papulis, & pustulis ; re deprehensa damnatus est, vt nunquam nisi duobus scipionibus incederet, & si quando saltare vellet, non saltaret nisi in cho-
 315 reis quas græci vocant βαχτριασμούς, quosque claudi suis baculis, pro ludicro, aliquando in bacchanalibus exhibent.

Vidi in eadem structura turris non minimum deberi pædagogis, qui aut male docerent, aut ingratos docerent : diligenter inspexi, nunquid & ego opere in tanto aliquam
 320 partem haberem. Nihil meum vidi ; nec mirum, qui nuper a clarissimo oratore Imperatoris Eustatio Chapusio, mineral bene opimum ac ingens donarium dignum illius amplitudine acceperim.

Hic ego admonitus sum, ut domum redirem : instare
 325 enim horam nonam, qua mihi apud Louanienses docendum esset : celeriter igitur percurri omnia & inprimis rempublicam Platonis, latam, me hercule, ditionem vbi Massagetæ & Nicolaitæ habitant, eo quod habent communes vxores. Quendam autem amicum meum iuuenem in primis eruditum,
 330 Nicodemum ὀφνίθων, ob communionem nominis valde eo inuitabant, sed ille, ut est moribus clarissimus & integerrimus, omnesque ex suo ingenio metitur, adeo non patitur esse communes vxores, vt subegre videatur ferre si sua Isis vel alium aspiciat ; sed ut est vir bonus & docilis,

315 quosque] *cof* quos N

317 eadem] *cof* ea N

317 deberi] *cof* debere S

318 pædagogis &c] p 18

331 eo] *cof* eum A

334 vel] *in MS* v1

315 βαχτριασμούς] the word βαχτριασμός is quoted by Liddell and Scott as the name of a comic dance, like μυχτρισμός.

321 Eustatio Chapusio] cp. before, pp 422-23 ; Nannius took care of the studies of his son Cæsar Louis Stephen, and dedicated to him his *Deuterologiæ* on August 28, 1544.

327 Massagetæ] the wild, warlike people of Central Asia, Μασσαγέται, described by Herodotus, i, 201, sq.

328 Nicolaitæ] heretics in the *Apocalypse*, ii, 6, 15 ; *Acta Apost.*, vi, 5.

330 Nicodemum ὀφνίθων] the jealous husband might be a relation, possibly a brother, to Masius' fellow-student Louis Voghele, of Ghent : cp. III, 261, — if the name were not so common.

334 Isis] one of the chief Egyptian divinities, wife of *Osiris* and mother of *Horus*. As goddess of the Earth, later on of the Moon, she was identified by the Greeks with *Demeter* (or *Ceres*) and *Io*. Under the Empire she became popular in Rome as *Isis Campensis*, as she had a temple in the *Campus Martius*.

335 spero quod aliquando cum sua zelotypia in gratiam redibit.

Abiturus deinde Louanium quærebam an per Birbekiam, Vlierbekiam dicerem, iter facerem. Respondit mihi carmine Vergilius : *Per Parcam recta carpe viator iter*, & adiecit, vt vos quoque admonerem vt per per parcam, per parsi-
 340 moniam, per frugalitatem semper incederetis : eas enim optimas esse vias & ad honores, & ad opes, & ad eruditionem.

Iam finita ista commentatione, quam addam coronidem mecum subdubito. Subijciam plaudite ? non est comoedia.
 345 Subijciam dixi ? non est oratio. Dicam, ite missa est ? non est sacrum. Dicam, nugatus sum ? sed adsunt quædam gra-
 uia. Dicam, iocatus somnium ? sed adsunt seria. Iam scio quid subijcere debeam. Dicam enim Miscellania mea iam absolui. *Ite domum saturi, si quis pudor, ite iuuenci*; et si
 350 Athenienses audissime audierunt Demosthenem de asini vmbra loquentem, me quoque de fabulis poëtarum ludentem, vt diligenter auscultastis, ita in bonam partem consulite. Anno .1545, apud Inferos.

343 -mentatione &c] p 19

345-46 Dicam ... sacrum] cro

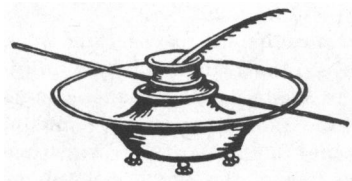
347 Dicam ... seria] cro

336 Birbekiam, Vlierbekiam] two localities, one to the S.E., the other to the N.E. of Louvain. Nannius probably makes a pun, suggesting that students prefer going where there are beerhouses.

338 *Per Parcam*] viz., the Abbey of *Parc*, between the two, to the E. of Louvain : *LouvEven*, 458, *sq*; *Parc*; — once more a moralizing effect is aimed at; — *carpe ... viam* : *Æneis*, vi, 629.

349 *Ite ... iuuenci*] *Bucolica*, vii, 44 : *Ite domum pasti, si quis* &c.

350 de asini vmbra] Erasmi *Apophthegmata* : EOO, iv, 364, A-B.



APPENDIX VIII

SYNOPTICAL VIEW

OF THE WORK AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE

COLLEGIUM TRILINGUE

from 1517 to 1550

STAFF — VISITORS — FRIENDS — STUDENTS

Limitations

The following list is intended to provide a general view of the work accomplished, and of the development realized, by Busleyden's Foundation, from 1517, when it was decided on, to 1550, when its viability was soundly established, having warded off Rescius' ominous claim, which, after a decad of prosperity, had threatened it with utter destruction. This Synoptical View is exhibited by a recapitulation of all the members of the staff, of the visitors and the friends, and, particularly, of the hearers, grouped according to the various presidencies, so as to indicate approximatively the time when they took the lessons, and the fellow-students they met at them.

The list of hearers, unfortunately, cannot lay any claim on completeness : as has been pointed out already ¹⁾, there never existed a roll of attending students : the lectures were quite free, and, although highly formative, they did not lead to any test, nor to any degree : they just were intended to turn those who cared to avail themselves of them, into well-equipped searchers and ripe scholars. Bursars are only mentioned exceptionally in the College accounts, and the names of the inmates are given just as far as payments were due for their residence or their expense ; to make matters even harder, those documents are missing for more than half the time over which the present *History* extends ²⁾. It follows that the information about the attendance of the

¹⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, v, sq, III, viii.

²⁾ The *regular* yearly accounts by the Presidents to the Executors that have been preserved, cover only 7 years and 3 months of the 30 years and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ months over which this *History* extends : FUL, 1450, 1, 2, 4, 1451, 1-4. For the 23 years remaining, there are only three irregular and incomplete *Manuale*'s : one, by van der Hoeven, for December 1530 to 1533, is fragmentary ; so is, especially, the second of the two of van der Borch, December 1539-41, and December 1541-August 1543 : FUL, 1450, 3, 5, 6. It thus leaves a blank of over 15 years.

lectures in the *Trilingue* has to be gathered from various quarters ¹⁾. One is the connection with the intimate friends of the Founder, or with his chief promoters: it thus is most probable that 'Hadrianus Hadriani', of Antwerp, who matriculated in Louvain in July 1536 ²⁾, should have been a regular hearer of the *Trilingue*, if, what seems to have been the case, he was the son of Adrian Herbouts, pensionary from 1506 to 1546, a friend, not only of Erasmus, but of Jerome de Busleyden, who exchanged poetical letters with him, and, in result, had helped him to secure a satisfactory employment ³⁾.

Other and more reliable sources are the various biographies of the humanistic personages and their contemporaries, as well as the multifarious documents referring to the intellectual, cultural and scientific activity of that most interesting period. As a work of this kind has to be based only on certainty and first hand knowledge, the traditional literature on the matter had to be sifted and controlled minutely to ensure accuracy, for which a most appreciable service, amongst others, was rendered by the very rich, and yet only scantily explored, Archives of Louvain University. On the other hand, an immense amount of reliable information about the life and thoughts, about the facts and the aspirations in that century, are offered in full veracity and earnest sincerity, by the equally neglected 'familiar letters', written long before vain parade and empty ceremony impaired them ⁴⁾. Indeed, it is hard to overestimate the wealth of details imparted by the early Humanistic Correspondence, not only that of Erasmus or of Vives, but that of More and Cranevelt, of de Schepper and J. Dantiscus, of Pighius and Masius, of Viglius and Auwater, and of several more, and it amply rewards the unceasing efforts to trace those wonderfully suggestive documents over all the parts of Europe, where the influence of our people could penetrate in the reign of the Great Son of Ghent ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ If the College documents offer little help for the lists of students that attended the *Trilingue* lectures, they are an admirable mine of never suspected information about the conditions of the Foundation, about the ups and downs of the incorporation, and, especially, about Rescius' disgraceful 'exit': cp. *sup.*, I, viii, sq, II, vi, sq, III, viii.

²⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 321.

³⁾ Cp. *Busl.*, 173, sq, 230-38, 320-22, 395-96, &c.

⁴⁾ *BeitKlette*, III, 8-11. — At the time of Lips, the *epistolæ* of the learned men were losing their right to the title 'epistolæ familiares'; whereas in de Schepper's and Busbeek's days, they still imparted knowledge and experience in full simplicity, they afterwards became as a mere means to spread about the glory of the writer's admiration for his own achievements.

⁵⁾ Not only the public collections of England, France, Switzerland and Germany, but the out-of-the-way libraries and archives of Copenhagen, Uppsala, Lund, Frauenburg, Cracow, Llow, Poznan, Breslau, amongst other places, contain a wealth of letters of the xvith century, illustrating the history and literature of our Provinces: cp. *sup.*, I, ix-x, II, vi-vii, III, ix-x, and before, *Preface*, pp vi-vii.

In many instances, those 'epistolæ' attest most surprisingly to the far reaching influence of the *Trilingue*: for from the very beginning, it extended beyond the walls of the schoolroom, and soon even beyond the boundary of the town and the country. Indeed, it convincingly appealed to all clear-sighted men, such as, for example, John Louis Vives¹⁾. Chased in 1512 by the danger of the approaching war from Paris, where he was the invincible champion of dialectics, he came to the Netherlands and to Louvain. He there soon learned to burn what he had adored, as results from his letters and his writings²⁾, in so far that, in May 1519, he dreaded to return to his old University on a visit to France, as he had just proclaimed, in his famous *Liber in Pseudodialecticis*, the inanity of the theories still taught there³⁾. In his high admiration for Erasmus, he followed out his method, which had been made the base of the teaching of the *Trilingue*, and he applied it, both in practice and theory, to the benefit of instruction. He denounced the old routine in his *De Causis Corruptarum Artium*, 1531, whereas, in the subjoined treatise, *De tradendis Disciplinis*, he sketched the new, the rational pedagogy⁴⁾. He founded it on the study of man, in so far that, abandoning the old systems⁵⁾, he became the *Father of Modern Psychology*⁶⁾, pointing out the strength of the laws of heredity, the power of imitation, the advantage of using the native language, the necessity of the education of woman, as the first and most influential instructress of humanity⁷⁾, and many more modern theories, whereas, in full accordance with the *Trilingue*, he enounced the primordial necessity of adapting all teaching to truth and reality, instead of to custom and tradition⁸⁾.

That complete veering of the great Spanish scholar was not the

¹⁾ Cp. *VivVita*; *VivNam.*, 15-75; *Cran.*, *passim*; Bonilla, 96-129; *Mon-HL*, 1-60, 425-58; *BN*; *FlandIll.*, II, 170, 413, b; W. Ziegenfuss & G. Jung, *Philosophen-Lexicon*: Berlin, 1949-50, II, 798-800; *VivEst.*, 89, 95, 97.

²⁾ Cp. *sup.*, I, 189, 231-34.

³⁾ *VivNam.*, 39-42; cp., however, Woodward, 181, sq. and Watson, *lxvii*, who wrongly attribute Vives' humanism to Paris University!

⁴⁾ *VivNam.*, 51-75; Watson, *xcviii-clvii*.

⁵⁾ De Wulf, 163, makes him, on that account, 'un piètre philosophe'; cp. Watson, *lxi*.

⁶⁾ F. Watson, in *The Psychological Review*, **xxii**: September 1915.

⁷⁾ Cp. *VivLeWe.*, 28-36; H. de Vocht, *Vives*, in *ULAnn.*, 1940: 515-29, 547; Woodward, 183-90.

⁸⁾ VOO, vi, 296: ei qui de quaque arte commentatur, et præcepta format, subinde est oculus ab experimentis et usu ad naturam ipsam revocandus, ut exactissima tradat magis quam consueta. Vives showed a new direction for Apologetics, of which he learned the aim and use in his connections with the Mohammedans of his native Valencia: P. Graf, *Vives als Apologet*: Freiburg i. B., 1932; he had studied political economy at Bruges: J. Mayer, *Brügge als Wiege neuzeitlicher Armenreform*: Freiburg i. B., 1935.

result of a fancy either for Erasmus or the *Trilingue*: he has been even suspected of having broken with the one ¹⁾ and disapproved of the other ²⁾; it was rather a consequence of the principles of the Great Humanist and of his Institute; and as responsive recipient of that influence, Vives was not at all an exception; there were many who, equally enthusiastically welcomed and equally gratefully hailed the beneficent method which Erasmus and, on his prompting, Busleyden College, proposed, and insistently recommended ³⁾. All the known hearers — and, who can tell how many remain unknown? — accepted it, ripened it, and expanded it everywhere in their turn, — like the powers that revive Nature in spring, conjuring life and light, flowers and fruit, after the barren winter had killed and ruined all.

Representation

In the following catalogue of the names of the staff, of the friends, favourers and, as far as possible, of the hearers of the *Trilingue*, reference is made to the place in this *History* where they are recorded, and to the title and position which were theirs in later life. The extent of each account indicates, in a way, the importance of the influence the studies had on the men's careers; for several reached admirable results, becoming remarkable innovators in the intellectual and scientific world, and proved genial benefactors of humanity. This list thus provides an idea of the development of the grand Institute during the first *decennia* of its existence: account, however, has to be taken of the fact that the absence of official documents does not allow to point out as many names for the last decad as for the two preceding periods: all the same, proper elements of glory, such as Andrew Gail ⁴⁾ and Sebastian Fox Morcillo ⁵⁾, who are not mentioned in any College document, can hardly escape renown on that account, or fail to bring due honour to their *Trilingue*.

¹⁾ Notwithstanding the apparent coolness in later life, possibly caused by the great difference in the characters of the two most remarkable men, their mutual esteem and 'intellectual' affection lasted throughout their existence, as results from their letters of 1531-1533: Allen, ix, 2502, x, 2892, 215, 2932.

²⁾ When, in July 1530, Peter de Corte became D. D., Vives had come to Louvain, and at Goclenius' request for a message to Erasmus, he had replied that he would write if there was anything that he wished Erasmus to know; as he was then looking out to have the *Causæ Corruptarum Disciplinarum* printed, he announced the book by two *orationes*, which had not the result he expected. He had no news to send to Erasmus, as he told Goclenius, who refers to the contemplated issue: *Maxima tanti promissi est expectatio*: Allen, viii, 2352, 344-54, 369, 372-76, 2353, 1-5. Yet, with all that, such and similar evasive excuses did not give the impression of a hearty encouragement on Vives' part.

³⁾ Cp. before, pp 450-53.

⁴⁾ Cp. before, pp 338-40.

⁵⁾ Cp. before, pp 438-41.

To the names of the Founder's Advisers and Executors are added those of the 'Provisores' ¹⁾. — To the PRESIDENTS' NAMES are joined those of the PROFESSORS, in CAPITALS; those of distinguished visitors, in Roman letter; *and, in italics, those of the congenial friends, of the whole-hearted favourers and of the ready collaborators of the Institute.*

Under each presidency the names of the hearers, in small type, have been grouped in the order in which they occur in this *History*, with references to other places of any importance where they are mentioned; the nationality is indicated, if they do not belong to the Netherlands; and, if they are known to have filled a place of dignity, or to have secured a title by their accomplishments, it is pointed out by the following *sigla*: A(ustria), abb(ot), abp (archbishop), adc (archdeacon), adm(iral), adv(ocate), ald(erman), amb(assador), amlđ (army leader), amn (amanuensis), atm (anatomist), atq (antiquarian), B(avaria-n), bbph (bibliophilist), bot(anist), bp (bishop), bs (bursar), cc (councillor), chron(ologist), cn (canon), cnn (canonist), cosm(ographer), ctv (controversialist), D(ane, Danish), dmt (dramatist), dn (dean), dv (divine), E(nglishman), edt (editor), epg (epigraphist), erđ (erudite), exg (exegetist), F(inland), fin(ancier), G(erman), geog(rapher), GP (Greek Prof.), grc (grecist), H(ungarian), hist(orian), hm (humanist), HP (Hebrew Prof.), hebr(aist), I(talian), im (inmate), imp(erial), jp (jurisprudent), kt, kts (knight, knights), lat(inist), Lđ (Lord), lg (linguist), lm (ludimagister), LP (Latin Prof.), lt(literator), mch (merchant), Mcn (Mæcenas), md (medical doctor), mdl (medallist), mk (monk), mt (martyr), mthm (mathematician), N(orwegian), nbm (nobleman), nmm (numismatist), ort (orientalist), P(ortuguese), patr(ologist), pc (preceptor of prince, &c), pdg (pedagogist), pens(ionary, town lawyer), pf (university professor of Louvain, unless otherwise stated), phls (philosopher), PL (Pole, Poland), plt (politician), pp (parish priest), pr(inter), pres(ident), pt (poet), pv (provost), rcg (receiver general), Rct (Rector), rf (reformer), S(paniard, Spain), scl (sociologist), SD (Swede, Sweden), secr(etary), ST (Scot, Scotland), stm (statesman), SZ (Switzerland), tch (teacher), tt (tutor of princes, noblemen, &c), wr(iter).

¹⁾ At van der Hoeven's decease, August 12, 1536, no executor was able to attend to the appointment of a fit man to take his succession, with which Goclenius was burdened. At his death, the last of the original professors, Rescius, was provisionally entrusted with the presidency, which nearly caused the ruin of the Institute. On that account, two of the 'provisores' indicated in the Founder's Will were appointed a few weeks before Vessem's decease. The third was nominated at the death of Adrian Josel, the last executor, some time before January 1549. Cp. before, pp 221, 253, 473.

List

Founder : JEROME DE BUSLEYDEN

Life, I, 1-4 ; Plan of Institute, 4-8 ; Testament, 20-49, Execution, 49, *sq*, 238, *sq*, IV, 473, *sq*.

Advisers & Patrons :

JOHN ROBBYNS, Dean of Mechlin : I, 8-12, III, 373-74.

ERASMUS : I, 12-14, 60-62, 240-41, 303-06 (*Ratio Ver. Theol.*), 342-58, 386-90, 402-06, II, 80-94, 255-59, 263-96, 311-14, 319-49, 361-63, 602-05, 610-15, 628-35, III, 87-93, 144-53, 384-453, IV, 17-31, 473-74, 476.

JOHN STERCKE, of MEERBEKE : I, 14-20, III, 374-75, 473-74, 479, & *below*, as Pres.

GILES DE BUSLEYDEN, Brother : I, 48, II, 103-09, 129, *sq*, III, 58, IV, 476, 479.

Executors :

Adrian JOSEL, Antwerp canon : I, 50-1, IV, 58, 221-22, 473. Nicolas van NISPEN, secr to Bp of Cambrai : I, 51-53, II, 103-09, IV, 479.

Bartholomew van VESSEM, cn of Aire & Mechlin : I, 53-55, II, 44-60, 103-09, III, 379, IV, 7-9, 473-74, 478-79.

Antony SUCKET, Mechlin cc : I, 55-59, 506-14, II, 103-09, IV, 476, 479.

'Provisores' :

Peter de CORTE, CURTIUS, plebanus of St. Peter's : III, 132-35, 572-75, IV, 68-80, 252, 473-75.

Ruard TAPPER, President of the Theol. Disputations : III, 575-81, IV, 68-80, 252, 260-62, 380, 473-75.

Hubert KNOBBAERT, CNOBBAERT, Prior of Carthusians : IV, 221-22.

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN STERCKE, OF MEERBEKE

Summer 1518 — January 21, 1526

Cp. I, 359-64, II, 60-63, 76-78, 225-41, 297-98, III, 374-75.

MATTHEW ADRIANUS, H P : I, 241-56, 334-42, 369-75, 533-43, III, 530-34.

- ADRIAN BARLANDUS, L P : I, 226-37, 267-71, 447-49, 487-89, III, 530-33.
 RUTGER RESCIUS, G P : I, 277-79, 293-94, 314-16, 470-78, II, 115-18, 316-34, 621-28, III, 104-30, 413-14, 534-38; provis. admin. : 581-84, 585-93; suits : IV, 62-88, 99-100, 224-45, 249-52, 473-86, — 245-49 (+).
 ROBERT WAKEFELD, H P : I, 379-86, 447.
 CONRAD GOCLENIUS, L P : I, 484-87, II, 95-109, 109-15, 241-49, 615-21, III, 93-103, IV, 473, 476, 479-80, 518.
 ROBERT SHIRWOOD, H P : I, 500-03.
 JOHN CAMPENSIS, H P : I, 503-05, II, 120-22, III, 154-208.

- October 1518 : Eoban Coci Hesus, & John von Werter, of Erfurt : II, 31-36.
 May 1519 : Justus Jonas & Gaspar Schalbe, of Erfurt : II, 36-7.
 May 1520 : John Draco, sent by L. Platz, Rector of Erfurt : II, 32, 38-40.

Thierry Martens, pr : II, 7-11, 116-21.

- Sebastian Neuzen, hebr, pf Marburg, cc : I, 376-79.
 Renerus van der Meulen, Molanus : II, 12-13.
 Thomas Paynell, E, wr : II, 16-20.
 Robert Barnes, E, dv : II, 16-17.
 Haio Herman Ubbena Hompen, Phrysius, cc : II, 13-15, 26.
 Vincent Lunge, D : II, 21.
 Christopher Jepsen Ravensberg, D, pf Roskilde : II, 21-22.
 Christiørn Torkilssøn Morsing, D : II, 21.
 Bero Nicolai, F : II, 22.
 Geble Pedersen, N : II, 22.
 John Store Magnus, SD, Abp : II, 22.
 Nicolas Stalberger, Stalburg, G : II, 23, sq.
 Crato Stalberger, Stalburg, G : II, 23-25.
 Louis Carinus, SZ, pc, md : II, 26-28, III, 461-65.
 Herman Tulken, Tulichius, G, Im : II, 28-30.
 William Lombarts van Enckenvoirt, im : II, 63-65.
 Michael Lombarts van Enckenvoirt, im, pv : II, 63-66.
 Peter Gillis, Ægidii, im : II, 66-67.
 Charles Laurin, im : II, 67-68.
 William Henrici de Someren, Zoemerren, im : II, 69.
 Adam Verduneus, Verduyn, im : II, 69.
 Mgr Gobelinus, im : II, 69.
 Nicolas of Marville, bs, pc : II, 70, sq.
 George of Egmont, Ld of Hoogwoude, im, abb, Bp : II, 123-25.
 Philip of Egmont, Ld of Baer, im : II, 123-24.

- Maximilian of Ysselstein, Count of Buren, im, aml : II, 125-26.
 Francis de Busleyden, Mary of Hungary's chamberlain : II, 126-27.
 Nicolas de Busleyden, Viscount of Grimberghe, jp, cc : II, 126-28.
 Baltasar Masschereel, dn : II, 131.
 Jerome Bombelli, mch : II, 131-32.
 Jerome of Vermand, Viromandus, secr : II, 132-33.
 John Reifenstein, G, lt : II, 133-34.
 Hans Tavsén, D, rf : II, 135.
 Livinus Algoet, amn, geog : II, 136-39.
 Nicolas Canne, Cannius, amn, ln : II, 139-42.
 Charles Harst, amn, secr, cc : II, 142-45.
 Viglius of Aytta, of Zuichem, jp, cc, Pres : II, 145-50, III, 461-63.
 Charles Sucket, jp, pf Turin : II, 150-54.
 Antony Sucket, jp : II, 154-55.
 Florent de Griboval, Ld of Hemstede, cc : II, 155-58.
 Charles de Tisnacq, cc : II, 158-60.
 Gerard Rym, Ld of Eeckenbeke, jp : II, 160-63.
 Hector of Hoxwyer, Hoxvirius, cc : II, 163-65.
 Cornelius Duplicius de Schepper, amb : II, 166-71, III, 15-16, IV, 516.
 Francis van der Dift, Ld of Doorne & Leverghem, amb : II, 171-76.
 Peter Nanning, Nannius, pf : II, 176-79, III, 405-6, IV, 519.
 Antony de Schoonhoven, cn, edt, erd : II, 179-81.
 Cornelius Wouters, cn, erd : II, 181-82.
 Peter de Smet, Vulcanius, lm, pens : II, 182-84.
 Josse Velaræus, Huyghens, Verrebrocanus, lm : II, 184-86.
 John Servilius, Knaep(s), lm : II, 186-88.
 Herman Stuve, Stuvius, G, lm : II, 84-85, 188-89.
 Arnold of Bergheyck, Oridryus, lm : II, 189-92.
 Joachim Sterck of Ringelberg, Fortius, lm : II, 192-95.
 Cornelius Muys, Musius, pt, mt : II, 195-201, III, 402-03.
 Cornelius Crocus, pt, pdg, lm : II, 202-08.
 Peter Gherinx, Busconius, pt (?) : II, 208-09.
 Gabriel Mudæus, van der Muyden, jp, pf : II, 209-18, IV, 318-20.
 John van der Eycken, Leonardi, Hasselius, dv, pf : II, 218-20.
 Nicolaus Beken Clenardus, lg : II, 220-24, III, 164-69, 185-90, 400-02.

PRESIDENCY OF NICOLAS WARY OF MARVILLE

January 21, 1526-November 30, 1529
 II, 299-316, 364-67, 635-37.

- Oct. 7, 1528 : Cornelius de Schepper, Imp.-Amb : II, 609-10.
 Oct. 7, 1528 : Claud Liedel, Cantuuncula, Amb : II, 609-10.

- James Teyng, of Hoorn, Ceratinus*, grc : II, 323-30, 349-51.
 James of Deventer, im, geog : II, 367.
 James Grunenberch, im, mch : II, 368.
 Godefroid Sterck, im, mch, ald : II, 368-69.

- James van Crombach, im, ald : II, 370-71.
 Jerome de Busleyden, im, papal chamberlain : II, 126-28, 371.
 James van der Vorst, im, secr, cc : II, 371-76.
 Desiderius de Puteo, du Puys, im, hist : II, 376.
 Cornelius Suys, Susius, Ld of Ryswyck, im, cc, Pres : II, 376-78, III, 223, 241, IV, 474-85.
 Charles de Trazegnies & his two brothers, kts, ims : II, 379-82.
 Charles de Locquenghien, Baron of Melsbroeck, im : II, 382-83, III, 223.
 Baltasar de Künring, A, im, jp : II, 383-85, III, 223, 241.
 Cornelius van Zegerscapelle, im, kt : II, 385-86, III, 223, 242.
 Simon Rychwyn, Riquinus, G, md : II, 387-89.
 Janus Cornarius, G, md : II, 389-90.
 Christopher von Carlowitz, G, amb, cc : II, 390-93.
 Martin Slap a Dambrowska, PL, jp, adc : II, 393-95.
 Andrew de Resende, Resendius, P, pt : II, 395-403.
John Louis Vives, I, 98, 189, 231-34, 519, 527-29, II, 212, 308, 400-17, 519-25, 607, 616, IV, 327, 488, *sq*, 509-10.
 Honoratus Joannius, S, pc : II, 404-8.
 Diego Gracian de Alderete, S, secr : II, 408-11.
 Peter Malvenda, S, dv : II, 411-15.
 John of Strazeele, Straselius, pf Paris : II, 415-16.
 Pedro Alonso de Burgos, S, mk : II, 417.
 Joannes de Castillo, S : II, 417.
 Jaspas de Castro de Burgoys, S : II, 417.
 Peter de Vriendt, Amicus, jp, pf : II, 126-27, 419-20.
 Hermes de Winghe, jp, pf, cc : II, 420.
 Renier Jansz, Joannis, jp, pf : II, 420-21.
 Michael Drieux, Driutius, jp, pf : II, 421-22.
 Peter Pintaflour, jp, pf, Bp : II, 423-25.
 Vulmar Bernaert, jp, pf : II, 425-27.
 Josse de Damhouder, jp, cc, wr : II, 427-30.
 Nicolas Grudius, jp, pt, cc : II, 430-37, 451-52.
 Adrian Marius, jp, pt, cc, Pres : II, 430-37, 452-53.
 Joannes Secundus, jp, pt, secr, mdl : II, 430-51.
 Ausonius of Hoxwyer, Hoxvirius, jp : II, 453-55.
 Haio Cammingha, jp : II, 455-60.
 Maximilian of Burgundy, Ld of Beveren, adm : II, 460-65.
 Charles van Uutenhove, plt : II, 465-73.
 John Was, Vasæus, secr, lm : II, 474-75.
 Joachim Borghers, Polites, secr : II, 475-77.
 John Snijders, Sartorius, lm, wr : II, 477-82.
 Adrian de Jonghe, Junius, md, wr : II, 483-87.
 Quirinus Talesius, amn, pens, mt : II, 488-501.
Martin van Dorp, dv, pf : I, 214-22, 444-45, II, 502-5.
John Nys Driedo, dv, pf : II, 505-08.
 Josse Ravesteyn Tiletanus, dv, pf : II, 508-10.
 Francis Gillis van den Velde, Sonnius, dv, bp : II, 510-11.

Tres Fratres
Belgæ :
 II, 430.

Werner Aerdt, dv : II, 512.
 Cornelius Jansen, Jansenius, dv, pf, bp : II, 512-15.
 Hubert Barlandus, md, wr : II, 518-24.
 James van Castere, Castricus, of Hazebroeck, md, wr : II, vii, 82, 88, 525-27.
 Joachim Roelants, md, wr : II, 528-29.
 John Winter, Guinterius, Andernacus, md, pf Paris : II, 529-30.
 Jeremy de Drive, Thriverus, Brachelius, md, pf, wr : II, 532-42.
 Gemma Reyneri Phrysius, cosm, geog, mthm, md, pf : II, 542-65.
 Gerard de Cremer, Mercator, geog : II, 565-69.
 Lambert van den Hove, Hortensius, hist : II, 570-72.
 John Sleidan, hist : II, 572-75.
 Peter de la Rue, Plateanus, lm : II, 576-77.
 James Bording, lm, md : II, 577-79.
 John Sturm, pdg : II, 579-90.
 Bartholomew Masson, Latomus, lat, pf Paris, cc, clv : II, 591-602.

PRESIDENCY OF JUDOCUS VAN DER HOEVEN

December 1, 1529-September 10, 1536

III, 9-15, 376-82, 479.

March 13-16, 1531 : John Dantiscus, amb, Bp elect : III, 17-23, 562-64.

March 13-16, 1531 : Bp Francis de Mendoza y Bobadilla : III, 17, 23-28.

March 13-16, 1531 : Cornelius de Schepper, amb : III, 15-17.

February 17-19, 1532 : Jerome Aleander, Nuncio : III, 28-38.

July 1533 : Nicolas Olah, Queen Mary of Hungary's secr : III, 17, 36-44, 404-05, 414.

1531-48 : Guy Morillon, imperial secr : III, 17, 44-50, IV, 520.

1534 : Damian a Goes, P, amb, erd, hist : III, 50-71, IV, 520.

Martin Lips, mk, hm, edt, wr : III, 71-75.

John van Heemstede, hm, mk : III, 75-77.

Godfrey Fabricius (Lefèvre, Smits), pf Ingolstadt : III, 77-78.

ANDREW VAN GENNEP, BALENUS, H P, md : III, 208-19, 534, IV, 100-01, 298-309, 474-75.

John Regis, College Chaplain : III, 219-20.

Giles de Busleyen, pt, painter, carver : II, 128, III, 220-21.

John de Busleyden, jp : II, 128, III, 221.

William de Busleyden, jp, adv : II, 128, III, 221-22.

Louis Pory, Pori, of Aire, bs, jp, cc : III, 222, IV, 340 ; cp. *MalConM*, 130.

- Henry Cuukius (Franchoys, Arlon), bs : III, 222-23.
 Nicolas Serator (Joannis), Arlon, bs : III, 222.
 Jerome Sandelin, Zandelin, Sandelicus, Ld of Herenthout and Herlaer,
 im, cc, rcg : III, 223-25, IV, 234, 474, *sq*, 486.
 Adrian Sandelin, Sandelicus, im, cc : III, 225-26, IV, 474-85.
 Peter Suys, Susius, im, cc : III, 226-27, IV, 51, 474-76, 483, *sq*.
 John Erasmus Froben, im, pr : III, 227-32.
 Michael of Hor(r)ion, im : III, 232-34.
 Herman Falco, im : III, 234.
 Arnold Sasbout, Ld of Spalant, im, cc : III, 234-36, IV, 474, *sq*, 482, *sq*.
 Mercurinus de Boisset, im, jp : III, 236-37.
 William de Boisset, im : III, 237.
 Nicolas of Assendelft, im, jp : III, 237-39.
 John le Sauvage, Sylvagius, Ld of Schaubeker, im : III, 239-41.
 Francis le Sauvage, im : III, 239-41.
 Peter Sandelicus, im, servant, secr : III, 240-41.
 Jerome de Vienna, A, im : III, 241-42.
 Charles Souastre, im : III, 242-43.
 James Jespersen, Jaspari, D, pt, secr : III, 245-47, 412-15.
 Paul Liebaert, Leopardus, lm, wr : III, 247-51.
 Laurent van de Velde, Campester, lm : III, 251.
 Louis de Blois, Blossius, abb, mystic wr : III, 252-54.
 Renier of Winsum, Prædinus, lm : III, 254-57.
 Nicolas van der Borch, Verburg, a Castro, dv, Pres, bp : III, 257, IV, 520.
 John de Bruyckere, Bruuckere, pf : III, 257-58.
 Louis Gensius, Gen(ne)s, lm : III, 258-61.
 Adrian Chilius, lm, lt : III, 262-63.
 Martin Donk, Duncanus, lm, ctv : III, 263-65.
 James Zovitus, Driescharius, lm, wr : III, 265-68.
 Peter Campson, Philicinus, lm, wr : III, 268-70.
 Gerbrand Schoenmaecker, Sutor, pp, pt : III, 270 ; cp. Polet, 8.
 Cornelius Valerius van Auwater, lm, pc, wr, pf : III, 271-81, IV, 296-98,
 Andrew Maes, Masius, cc, ort, wr : III, 282-90, 427-29. [454-72.
 Christian Kellenaer, Cellarius, scl, lm : III, 291-96, 412.
 Georges Casant, Cassander, wr, patr, liturgist : III, 296-303.
 John de Coster, Costerius, mk, wr, patr : III, 303-05.
 Antony Morillon, wr, mdl, nmm : III, 306-12.
 Arnold Peraxylus, Arlenius, atq, edt : III, 312-14.
 John Visbroeck, secr, cn : III, 314-16.
 Martin de Smet, epg : III, 316-22, IV, 453.
 Andrew Vesale, Vesalius, md, atm : III, 322-33, IV, 452-53.
 William Pantin, md : III, 333-34.
 Livinus Lemmen, Lemnius, md, wr : III, 334-37.
 Junius Rembertus Dodoens, Dodonæus, md, bot, chron : III, 337-45.
 Maximilian Morillon, stm, bp : III, 345-50.
 Antony Perrenot de Granvelle, stm, abp : III, 350-55.
 Gerard van Veltwyck, stm, amb : III, 355-58.
 Gaspar Schets, fin : III, 358-61.

Melchior Schets, fin : III, 358-61.
 Baltasar Schets, fin : III, 358-61.
 William Putama, erd : III, 361.
 Sibrand Occo, Men : III, 361-62.
 Philip Claray, Clericus, jp : III, 362.
 James von Omphal, Omphalius, G, jp : III, 363.
 Daniel Stibarus, of Rabeneck, G, cn : III, 364.
 Daniel Mauch, G, jp : III, 364-65.
 Everard Heresbach, G : III, 365-66.
 John-James Fugger, G, bbph : III, 366-68.
 Adam Carolus, H, secr : III, 368.
 John Henckel, H : III, 368-69.
 Augustinus Schonck, N : III, 369.
 Tossanus Olai, N : III, 369.
 Horderus & Corbernus, N : III, 369.
 Petrus Joannis, N : III, 369.
 Gauto Scrap, N : III, 369.
 Bent Arvidsen, N, lm, pf Lund : III, 369-70.
 Frans Brockenhuus, D : III, 370.
 Herman Skeel, D : III, 370.
 Ericus Hoonen (Hooren), SD : III, 370.
 John Helyar, E, erd, dv : III, 371, 423-27.
 Roque de Almeida, P : III, 371.
 Bras de Braga, Barros, P, lm, bp : III, 371.
 James (Diego) a Murtia, Murça, P, dv, pf, Rct Coimbra : III, 372-73.

VICE-PRESIDENCY OF CONRAD GOCLENIUS

September 10, 1536-January 25, 1539

III, 383-93, 538-72, 594-613, IV, 15-17, 17-31, 62-70.

Francis de Cranevelt, cc : III, 403-04.
Francis de Fallais of Burgundy, pt : III, 406-11.
 Lambert Coomans, amn, cn, dn : III, 394-400.
 Thomas Vlas, Lineus, pc, jp : III, 415-19.
 Didacus Pyrrhus, P, pt : III, 419-21.
 Ditijs Fernandus de Frias, P, fin : III, 421-23.
 Leonard de Fal(l)ais, pt : III, 429.
 John Lacteus, van der Biest, lm, pt : III, 429-31.
Guillemus Piscis, Poisson, pt : III, 431-32.
James de Meyere, hist, lm : III, 432-38.
Livinus van den Cruyce, Crucius, lm, vvr : III, 440.
 James Suys, Ld of Grisenoord, im, nmm, pt : III, 454, IV, 51, 102, 208.
 John Sterck Wolfaert, im, kt, ald : III, 454-55.
 Arnold de Merode, Ld of Royenberg & Vuelen, im, ald : III, 455-6, IV, 51.
 Nicolas Wary of Marville, bs, pc : III, 456-57 (& *Cran.*, 141, *r*).
 Michael Meuchin, Menchin, bs : III, 457.
 Michael Gillis, imp secr : III, 458-59.

Titus de Cammingha : III, 459.
 Menno de Cammingha : III, 459.
 Cono Vlatten, G : III, 459.
 Joannes Revicomes, S : III, 460.
 Valentinus de Aurea, PL : III, 460.
 Martin Corenbechius, Viennensis, A : III, 460.
 John Abercrummy, ST : III, 460.
 Trudo Cahmayde, de Londino, E : III, 460.
 Christopher Walterhoser, Tirol., A : III, 460.
 Hernán Ruyz de Villegas, S, pt : III, 460-61.
 Erasmus Hadenreich von Innspruck, Berolzheim, B : III, 461.
 Matthew Hermann, Augsburg, B : III, 461-63.
 Jerome Crefeling, Ciefeling, Vienna, A : III, 461.
 Christopher Froben, Baron of Zimmern, G : III, 465-66.
 Christopher Mathias, G : III, 465-66.
 Nicolas Mameranus, G, hist, ctv : III, 466-80.
 James de Cruucke, Cruyken, Cruquius, lm, lat, wr : III, 481-87.
 Petreius Tiara, lm, pf Leyden & Franeker : III, 487-89.
 John Vlimmer, mk, erd, edt, wr : III, 489-92.
 Ogier de Busbeek, amb, erd, tt : III, 492-504.
 Nicolas Micault, cc : III, 505-09.
 Adam Sasbout, dv, wr : III, 509-12.
 Francis Heeme, Hæmus, pt, lm : III, 512-16.
 James Sluper, Sluperius, pt : III, 516.
 Nicolas de Bront, Brent, Brontius, pt, jp : III, 517-18.
 Francis Baudouin, jp, hist, ctv : III, 518-29.

PRESIDENCY OF JAMES EDELHEER

January 26-June 22, 1539
 III, 592, IV, 1-9, 52-53.

PETER NANNIUS, L P : II, 176-79, III, 565-69, IV, 9-14, 88-98, 268-98, 454-72, 487-506.

John van Gorp, Goropius, Becanus, md, wr : IV, 31-40.
 Peter van Foreest, Forestus, md, pf Leyden : IV, 40-42.
 Daniel van Vlierden, md, wr : IV, 43-45.
 Remi Drieux, cnn, cc, bp : IV, 45-46.
 John Lambach, Buecker, Schevastes, G, lm : IV, 47.
 Bernard Cop, G, lm, pf Marburg : IV, 47-48.
 John Cop, G, lm : IV, 47-48.
 Claud de Carondelet, cn, cc, pv : IV, 48-49.
 John de Carondelet : IV, 48-49.
 Paul de Carondelet : IV, 48-49.
 Rombaut Reymaers, Rimarius, cn : IV, 49-50.
 Tilman Oomen, im : IV, 51.
Alard of Amsterdam, IV, 52 (guest).

PRESIDENCY OF NICOLAS VAN DER BORCH

June 1539-August 1544

IV, 54-62, 208-18 (Bp of Middelburg).

1540-42 : Damian a Goes : III, 63-69.

1540-48 : Guy Morillon : III, 48-49.

September 13, 1543 : Nicolas Wotton, amb : IV, 112-13, 279.

September 1543 : Edmond Bonner, amb : IV, 113-15.

1540 : Syds Tjaerda, Tjaerdo, Rinsumageest (*arbitrage*) : IV, 111.

John l'Estainier, Stannifex, pf : IV, 103-04.

Livinus of Brecht, Brechtanus, dmt : IV, 107-10.

Henry Rudolph up ten Haitzhovel de Weze, cc : IV, 116-23.

James de' Fieschi, I, bp : IV, 123-25.

Nicolas de' Fieschi, I, bp : IV, 123-25.

Giannangelo Papio Salernitanus, I, pc, pf Bologna & Avignon : IV, 123, 125-26.

Henry van Ravesteyn, Coracopetræus, Mcn : IV, 126-28.

Eustace of Knobbelsdorf, PL, pt, cn : IV, 128-34.

Justus Velsen, Welsens, Velsius, md, pdg, lm, ctv : IV, 134-43.

Francisco de Enzinas, du Chesne, Dryander, S, ctv : IV, 143-51.

Augustine Huens, Hunnæus, lg, dv, pf : IV, 152-57.

Martin Bauwens, Balduini, Rythovius, dv, bp : IV, 158-62.

John Hessels, dv, pf, wr : IV, 158-61.

Jerome van Verlen, Verlenius, Sylvius, dv, lm, cn : IV, 162-64.

Lævinus van der Beken, Torrentius, cn, erd, bp : IV, 165-76.

Nicolas Florentii, erd, secr, cn : IV, 177-79.

Charles de Langhe, Langius, erd, wr, cn : IV, 180-84.

Mark Laurin, Ld of Watervliet, erd, atq, nmm, wr : IV, 185-93, 453.

Guy Laurin, Ld of Clinckerland, erd, pt, nmm : IV, 185-93, 453.

Peter Pietersz Opmeer, erd, hist : IV, 193-96.

Stephen Wynants Vinandi Pigge, Pighius, erd, atq, hist, epq : IV, 197-208.

Vlaminck, Vleeminck, im : IV, 208.

Cornelius Schepperus : IV, 209.

Lucas Sterck(e), of Meerbeke : IV, 209.

Florent Herco (Roulers), of Florennes : IV, 209.

Bernard Botzheim, Badensis, G : IV, 209.

Rochus Botzheim, 'Hagatoconensis', G : IV, 209.

John & Adrian Boisot : IV, 209-10.

John & Herman Horion : IV, 210.

Corard Schets : IV, 210.

Haio Cammingha : IV, 210.

Charles & Cornelius Bomberghen : IV, 210.

Viterus a Roosevelt, Westfalus, G : IV, 211.

- Philip, Count of Waldeck, G : IV, 211.
 Herman Adolph Rietesel, G, nbm : IV, 211.
 Rudolph Frankensteyn, Christian Clenghen, & Michael Witlich, Gs :
 IV, 211.
 John Mirus, P, nbm : IV, 211.
 Charles Perrenot de Granvelle : IV, 211.

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN REYNDERS, REYNERI

August 1544 (to 1559)
 IV, 219-224.

November 1545-January 1546 : Bishop Stephen Gardiner, stm,
 amb : IV, 282-83.

ADRIAN AMEROT, AMEROTIUS, GUENNEVELLE, G P : I,
 223, 255, 273, *sq*, III, 578, IV, 246-47, 252-68.

Richard Brandisby, E, erd : IV, 279-82.

Stephen Tennand, E, erd : IV, 280-81.

John Christopherson, E, erd, wr, bp : IV, 281.

John Isaac Levita, G, hebr, pf Cologne : IV, 299-306.

John Bosche, Lonæus, lg, pf Ingolstadt : IV, 311-13.

Samuel van Quickelbergh, md, erd, librarian : IV, 313-15.

Hannard van Gamenen, Mosæus, grc, pf Ingolstadt : IV, 315-17.

John Waemis, Wames, Wamesius, jp, pf, wr : IV, 320-23 ¹⁾.

Joachim Hopper, jp, cc, roy secr, wr : IV, 323-30 ¹⁾.

John de Vendeville, jp, pf Douai, bp : IV, 330-36 ¹⁾.

Peter Peck, jp, cc : IV, 336-38 ¹⁾.

Andrew Gail, Gailius, G, jp, Imp cc : IV, 338-40.

Jerome Eelen, Elenus, jp, wr : IV, 341.

Dominicus Benedixius, lm, jp, cn : IV, 341-43.

John Tack, Ramus, jp, wr, pf Douai : IV, 343-45.

Renier Tegnagel, jp, pf : IV, 345-46.

John van der Meulene, Molinæus, jp, pf, cc : IV, 346-48.

Matthias Wesembeek, jp, pf Jena & Wittenberg : IV, 348-50.

Hubertus van Giffen, Obertus Giphanus, jp, pf Ingolstadt : IV, 350-51.

Suffridus Petri, Sjurd Peeters, jp, pf Cologne, hist : IV, 351-63.

George Rataller, jp, cc, Pres : IV, 363-66.

Charles Rym, Ld of Bellem, Scheurveld & Eeckenbeke, jp, amb, cc :
 IV, 366-68.

Arnold de Man, Mannius, Manilius, secr, md, pf Cologne : IV, 368.

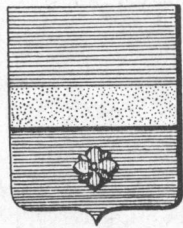
Charles de l'Escluse, Clusius, jp, bot, wr, pf Leyden : IV, 368-76.

James Reyvaert, Rævardus, jp, wr, pf Douai : IV, 376-78.

William Damasi van der Lindt, Lindanus, dv, exg, ctv, bp : IV, 378-98.

¹⁾ The *Jurisperitorum Quadriga*.

- Martin Hessels, dv, pf : IV, 398-99.
 Cunerus Petri, Kuner Peeters, dv, pf, bp : IV, 399-402.
 Cornelius Diericx van Kiel, Kilianus, lg : IV, 402-05.
 Antony van 't Sestich, Sexagius, jp, lg : IV, 405-06.
 Simon Verrept, Verepæus, dv, pdg, wr, cn : I, 213, IV, 406-15.
 Henry Verrept, Verepæus, dv, dn : IV, 406, 409.
 John Goosens, Goswini, lm, cn : IV, 407, 409.
 Christopher Vladeracken, lm : IV, 410.
 Renerus Solenander, G, md : IV, 415-16.
 Adolph van Meetkerke, kt, jp, hist, edt : IV, 417-19.
 Peter van Dieve, Divæus, hist : IV, 419-20.
 Andrew Alen, lm : IV, 421.
 Antony de Meyere, lm : IV, 421-22.
 Louis Stephen Cesar(ion) Chapuys : IV, 421-23.
John Clement, E, md, erd : IV, 423-27.
Margaret Gyggs Clement, E, erd : IV, 425-27.
Margaret More Roper, E, erd : IV, 425-26.
 Thomas Clement, E, erd : IV, 425-28.
 Thomas Roper, E : IV, 425.
 Marcus Fugger, G, fin : IV, 431-32.
 Joannes Fugger, G, fin : IV, 431-32.
 Conrad Pius Peutinger, G, jp, ald : IV, 432-34.
 Narcissus Peutinger, G, jp, ald : IV, 432-34.
 Martin Perez de Ayala, S, dv, abp : IV, 434-36.
 Fadrique Furió Ceriol, S, jp, ctv : IV, 436-38.
 Sebastian Fox Morcillo, S, wr, phls : IV, 438-41.
 Gabriel Enuesia, S : IV, 438-39.
 Francis Fox Morcillo, S, dv : IV, 439-40.



Merito & Tempore

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOL. I

- P 14, l 8* : for marvelous read marvellous
- P 58, n 1* (A. Sucket) : add : cp. for his missions to Utrecht, March-November 1519, Bergh, II, *passim* from 155, sq, to 233, sq.
- P 87, l 9* (John of Paderborn) : add, at end : *HuMünst.*, 130-31.
- P 106, n 2* (P. P. Vergerio) : add : Polain, IV, 166, sq.
- P 136, ll 2 and 3* : for 1561 read 1461
- P 198, n 2* (A. Hegius) : add : *Butzbach*, 132, 147-49, 159, 224 ; *Butz-Nachl.*, 8, sq, 19, 45, 79 ; *Delprat*, 26, 153, sq.
- P 207, n 5* (G. of Halewyn) : add : By 1517, Halewyn had made a French translation, probably anonymously, of *Laus Stultitiæ* ; still Erasmus mentioned it about July 10, 1517, to Thomas More, and on the following December 13, to Antony of Berghes, and he wrote a most friendly and confidential letter to George himself on August 29, 1517 : Allen, III, 597, 14-16, 641, 739, 3-7. He referred to it as late as February 20, 1536, when writing to Peter Viterius : Allen, XI, 3101, 89-91 : it was probably '*La Déclamation des Louenges de la Follie*', printed in Paris by Peter Vidoue, 1520 : *BB*, E, 894, 1-5, 999, 9.
- P 392, l 11* : for spring read autumn
- P 438, n 3* (C. Grapheus) : add : Ullmann, I, 373-91.
- P 463, n 1, l 22* (F. v. d. Hulst) : add to references : *ErasRott.*, 129-32 ; *ErasBur.*, I, 332-34.
- P 463, n 2, l 3* : add : W. Back is further recorded as ordinary councillor for Brabant, December 27, 1515 ; he died on March 23, 1520 : *BrabCon.*, III, 351.
- P 576, n 1, l 10* (W. Nesen) : add to references : *KalErFlug.*, 58, sq ; *KalHuRe.*, 39, sq ; *LatCont.*, 382 ; Allen, V, 1299, 89-98, 1302, 83-87.
- P 599, n 544, l 5* : for Licenciate read Licentiate
- P 601, n 624, l 1* : Brassicanus, viz., John Alexander Brassicanus, who had come to Louvain with Erasmus in October 1519 : Allen, IV, 1146, pr ; de Jongh, 232-35 ; *OlaCar.*, 27.
- P 645, b, l 20* : add : *Latin of Fac. of Arts*, 506, 570.

VOL. II

- P 14, n 6* (H. Hompen) : add : Alard wrote an epithalamium on Haio and Anna Occo, in his *Gallina*, c1528 : *NijKron.*, II, 2257.
- P 68, n 1* (Jer. Laurin) : add : *LuChaV*, V, 450.
- P 148, n, 2, l 5* (Viglius) : add : *MalConF*, 86 ; *LanzPap.*, 316, sq, 394, sq, 420, sq, 494, sq ; *CollTorr.*, 76 ; *AuwCar.*, 53.

- P 169, n 2 (C. de Schepper) : *add* : ViglEA, 22 (June 1553); LanzPap., 41, sq, 179, sq, 197, sq, 224, 227, sq, 299, sq, 333, sq, 401, sq.
- P 183, n 5 (B. Vulcanius) : *add* : Hessels, 1, 305, sq, 528, sq, 709, sq, 742, sq, and *passim* from 248, also 11, 800.
- P 188, n 3 : *add* : John Servilius provided Flemish translations to the choice of Erasmus' *Adagia* gathered by Theod. Cortehoevius, augmented by Eberhard Tappius, 1542; they were edited in the *Adagiorum Epitome*, printed at Antwerp by John Loëus in 1544; they were reprinted there by him in 1553, and also by Giles Coppens, 1544, 1568, Michael Hillen, 1545, and John Gymnicus, 1561 : BB, E, 163-64, 166, 169, 173, 176.
- P 190, n 1, l 9 (abbot J. Ruffault) : *add* : Cran., 41, a, b, 171, 4.
- P 190, n 2, l 7 : *add* : William de Waele died in 1546.
- P 377, n 1 : Referring to his deceased tutor as 'Jacobo bgeni' on l 153 of *StudAtt.*, § 24 (cp. IV, p 481), Cornelius Suys did not mean Jacobus Wittebroet de bruges, as is suggested here on account of the misreading 'brugensi' for 'bergensi', but James Volkaerd, who died in the winter of 1527-28 : cp. *sup.*, II, 146.
- P 390, n 3 (J. Cornarius) : *add* : Rommel, 1, 205, 11, 193, sq.
- P 411, n 5 (L. Gracian Dantisco) : *add* : Cp. F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery* : 1, *The Picaresque Novel in Spain* : New-York, 1899 : 192; since the 'castigado' *Lazarillo* is edited with Gracian's *Galateo* (e. g., Madrid, 1722), he is supposed to be the expurgator.
- P 416, n 1, l 6 (James of Halewyn, Lord of Maldegheem) : *add* : James Curtius dedicated to him, on September 7, 1536, his rendering of Theophilus Antecessor's *Institutiones* : Antwerp, 1536 : NijKron., 11, 3938; Polet, 129, sq.
- P 430, n 1 (J. de Damhouder) : *add* : *FlandIll.*, 169, 413, a.
- P 461, n 2 : *add* : Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Beveren and Veere, succeeded to his uncle Philip, in 1518, as Viscount of Aire : *AireSP*, 271.
- P 496, n 1 (O. Luscinus) : *add* : Rupprich, 19.
- P 544, l 21 : *for* printed *read* which was
- P 560, l 25 : *for* streue *read* strenue

VOL. III

- P 50, n 1, l 12 (J. v. Winghe) : *add* : Hessels, 1, 408-523 (letters to Abr. Ortelius from Italy : December 1589 to July 1592) & *passim*.
- P 50, n 2, l 7 (Didier van 't Sestich) : *for* 138 *read* 139, 368
- P 55, n 5 (Splinter van Hargen) : *add* : OpMRoek, 116, 126, 160.
- P 55, n 6, l 4 : *for* Crocus *read* Musius
- P 87, n 2 (Queen Eleanor of France) : *add* : *ShakEmbl.*, 385.
- P 110, n 1, l 3 (Ph. Haneton) : *add* : *LuChaV*, v, 431; *MargvOK*, 238.
- P 168, n 6 (J. Campensis) : *add* : cp., however, PF, 520; NèveMém., 259.
- P 251, n 4 (Didier v. 't Sestich) : *add* : *LouvBoon*, 189, b, 368, b, 369, b.
- P 279, n 1 (And. Schott) : *add* : *AuwCar.*, 94, sq.
- P 333, n 1 : *add* : William Pantin promoted M. A. in 1533, being classed the seventh : *ULPromLv.*, 12.

- P 359, n 2 (Gasp. Schets) : *add* : cp. further, *GoetHist.*, iv, 48-75; *Sax-Onom.*, 229.
- P 361, n 4 (brothers Schets) : *add* : *AntvAnn.*, ii, 247, 384, 408, 461.
- P 380, l 6 : *for* Recsius *read* Rescius
- P 402, n 1 : *add* : Clenardus' very bitter criticism did not even soften the Inquisitors : with some remarks on the venality of Rome, the passages about Erasmus in his letters to Polites and de Houwer were objected to in 1581, and caused the *Epistolæ* to be censured : Cerejeira, 22-23, 294-96, 321-23.
- P 484, n 2 (J. Cruquius) : *add* : *FlandIll.*, i, 290-91.
- P 489, n 6 (P. Tiara) : *add* : SchottE, 96; *OpMBoek*, 124, 136.
- P 501, n 1 (O. Busbeek) : *add* : Cp., for the influence of that embassy on art, *DanRen.*, 189-90.
- P 519, n 1, l 5 : *for* 1589 *read* 1546
- P 519, n 1, l 8 : *for* Scherer, 117 *read* Scherer, 118
- P 543, n 6 : *add* : The edition of Cicero's *Officia* was, no doubt, offered for sale at the Frankfurt autumn fair : Goclenius expressed his disappointment on May 10, 1528, that, although made ready, it had not been brought out at the spring fair ; it compelled him to start reading a text of Livius, of which copies happened to be available : Allen, vii, 1994a, 29-46.
- P 566, n 1 : *add* : Gramaye, *Taxandria*, 1, b, quotes a quatrain by Nan-nius on Hertogenbosch.

VOL. IV

- P 6, n 5, l 21 : *for* 368 *read* 380
- P 38, n 2 (A. Wachtendonck) : *add* : there is a letter of him, November 14, 1575, to A. Ortelius : Hessels, i, 137-38.
- P 47, l 16 : *add* : Lambach's example, no doubt, was followed by some of his countrymen : James Schoepper, Schöpper, born at Dortmund in 1514, is said to have studied in Louvain before he started teaching in his native town : Baumgartner, 613. As was becoming the custom, he tried to help his pupils by writing dramas for them to act : *Joannes decollatus*, 1544; *Voluptatis ac Virtutis Pugna*, 1545; *Monomachia Davidis et Goliæ*, 1550. The fact that, in another, *Abraham tentatus*, 1551, he imitated Peter Philicinus (cp. *sup.*, III, 268-69), and in a fifth, *Ovis Perdita*, 1553, James Zovitius (cp. *sup.*, III, 265-68), suggests that he made their acquaintance at the *Trilingue*. Although he improves on Philicinus by being far less prolix, and on Zovitius by not introducing Our Lord on the scene (cp. *sup.*, III, 267-68), his compositions have been treated as 'bungling work', with the exception of his play on John the Baptist, in which the matter seems to have lifted him up, besides inspiring some most effective dramatic devices, which he was the first to employ : such as the involuntary blabbing out of the truth by a scheming fool : Creizenach, ii, 129-30. In 1554, Schoepper died long before his time at Dortmund,

- where he was active as priest. Cp. Baumgartner, 613; Creizenach, II, 93-96, 110, sq, 127-33; Bahlmann, II, 93-98, 50, 80.
- P 83, l 28 : for secondary read secondary
- P 107, n 1 : add : For September 30, 1532, the *LibNomI* records that 'Livinus Brecht de Antwerpia' was chosen as Procurator for the *Natio Brabantiae* : it implies that he then had been M. A. for some time, and must have been born soon after 1510, if not before.
- P 110, n 3 (L. Brecht) : add : The great popularity of *Euripus* in the Jesuit schools is attested by the list of productions up to 1569 in J. Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama* : Augsburg, 1930 : II, 43-46, 107 ; in I, 14-16, the author comments on the influence of the Netherlands in that respect, though he ignores that of the *Trilingue*.
- P 148, n 5, l 2 : for Ribeauvillé Alsace read Ribeauvillé, Alsace
- P 159, n 5, l 1 (Mich. de Bay) : add : *CompAnEc.*, xxii, 66-70.
- P 160, n 6 : add : With reference to John Hessels' theological opinions, there is a *Responsio Ex. Viri J. Hessels ad Articulos aliquos sibi falso impositos* : FUL, 445 ; the Louvain University documents preserved in Ghent Seminary, described by F. Claeys-Bouuaert, contain *Assertiones, Responsiones & Censurae* of John Hessels in two collections : one, n. 31, was gathered by a student in divinity, Conrad Otto, of Hertogenbosch († 1609) ; the other, n. 32, by John Molanus, professor of divinity from 1570 to 1585 : *ULCinqS*, 279 ; cp. also *CompAnEc.*, xxii, 66-70.
- P 165, n 3, l 9 (J. Livinæus) : add : Gramaye, *Teneræmunda*, 110-11.
- P 183, l 5 : for Theophrastes read Theophrastus
- P 198, n 1 (A. Pighius) : add : — against Berger, 166 ; the adversary of Erasmus in *EraSpain*, 542, is, for certain, 'Albertus Pius'.
- P 198, n 5 (A. Pighius) : add : Morone, 61.
- P 209, n 4, l 6 : for William read George (Sarens)
- P 282, n 5 (Steph. Gardiner) : add : cp. indexes to Tytler and *HarvMarg.*
- P 297, n 2 : for 509 read 569
- P 306, n 10 (A. Balenus) : add : In 1562, Andrew had passed a letter from Masius to their friend Vulmar Bernaert, who acknowledged it on May 1 : MasE, 345 ; cp. also *CollTorr.*, 77.
- P 311, l 13 : for Serapion read Cesarion.
- P 316, l 22 : for belong read belongs.
- P 325, n 2 (J. Hopper) : add : *MalConM*, 111, r, v.
- P 335, n 6 : add : Vendeville was also interested in Ortelius and geography : Hessels, I, 59, 516, 537.
- P 347, n 4 : add : Corn. Valerius composed a poem on the *laurea doctoralis* of John Molinæus and John Tack, but did not mention vander Aa : *AuwCar.*, 39.
- P 396, n 4, l 8 (W. Lindanus) : add : *OpMBoek*, 125, 152, 155.
- P 432, n 2, l 22 (C. Peutingen) : add : Rupprich, 19.
- P 445, n 4 (Henry Gravius) : add : *MélMoell.*, II, 117 ; *Anima*, 493, 471.
- P 445, n 11, l 1 : for James read Joannes
- P 445, n 11 (John Drusius) : add : *BelPU*, 96, sq, 105-7.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHIEFLY USED IN THE NOTES

The Roman numerals, added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, indicate the volumes if in capitals, and the parts of those volumes if in minuscules; the figures and *italicized* Roman numerals indicate the pages — unless stated otherwise: viz., by the adding, at the end of the title, of an asterisk, *, when they are meant for letters and lines; or an ^o, for lines, e. g., in *MSS*; or an ⁿ, referring to the numbers used by the authors themselves. The sign *P. C.*, or *pag(ination) contin(ued)*, betokens that the paging of a book, which is stopped in the copies, is resumed and continued to the end. — The Roman letters, a, b, added to a number, refer to the obverse or reverse sides of a page or to the columns; the Italics *a, b, c, &c.*, to the paragraphs of a preface (= *pr*). The small figures indicate the lines; *bk, n, Pl(s)* stand for *book, note, Plate(s)*; *ped*, or *pdg*, means *Pedigree*.

Ch. & *Chs.*, followed by Roman figures, indicate the chief divisions in this work, of which this volume is the fourth part: references to passages in it, with the mention 'before' — or *inf.* — quote the page or pages, preceded by *p* or *pp*; those to the preceding parts, are pointed out by *sup.* I, II or III, and the number of the page(s).

In order to reduce the length of this list for the benefit of the text, a rather Procrustean method has been resorted to, liberating the titles from all superfluous wording: e. g., the mention that the treatises or the histories refer to the sixteenth century, the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation; or that the persons whose biography and letters are offered to the reader's attention, were foremost in their rank and period. On that account no author's name is repeated in the enouncing of the title if it is already expressed in the abbreviations or *sigla*; that of the editor or the translator is pointed out by *ed.* or *tr.* The number of volumes is indicated between brackets, without adding *vols.* Finally, the names of some towns which often recur, have been shortened: *Ant(werp)*, *Amst(erdam)*, *Brg(Bruges)*, *Brl(Berlin)*, *Brs(Brussels)*, *Camb(ridge)*, *Coi(mbra)*, *Col(ogne)*, *Edb(Edinburgh)*, *Frb(Freiburg i. Breisgau)*, *Frk(Frankfurt on Main)*, *Gt(Ghent)*, *Hdw(Harderwijk)*, *Innsb(ruck)*, *Knk(Königsberg)*, *Ld(London)*, *Led(Leyden)*, *Lg(Liège)*, *Lpz(Leipzig)*, *Ls(Lyons)*, *Lv(Louvain)*, *Mchl(Mechlin)*, *Mdr(Madrid)*, *Mnst(Münster, Westphalia)*, *Mun(ich)*, *NY(New-York)*, *Oxf(ord)*, *Pdb(Paderborn)*, *Pr(Paris)*, *Rat(ishon)*, *Stg(Stuttgart)*, *StO(St.-Omer)*, *Strb(Strassburg)*, *TH(The Hague)*, *Tr(eves)*, *Va(Vienna)*.

The academical *MS* documents referred to are those of Louvain University, 1427-1797, unless stated otherwise. Some usual abbreviations, such as *Acct(account)*, *exc(ept)*, *indic(ated)*, and, of course, *CTril.* or *Tril(Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense)*, are also employed.

- AcArExc.* = Excerpta ex Actis Fac. Artium, 1427-1797 : *Louvain MS.*
AccEdel. = Acct. of *CTril.* for Jan. 26-June 22, 1539 = FUL, 1450.
AccGoel. = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Sept. 10) 1537-38 = FUL, 1451.
AccHoevI = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Dec. 1) 1529-30 = FUL, 1451.
AccHoevII = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Dec. 1) 1533-34 = FUL, 1451.
AccMarvI = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Jan. 21) 1526-27 = FUL, 1450.
AccMarvII = Acct. of *CTril.* for (Jan. 21) 1527-28 = FUL, 1451.
AccMarvIII = Acct. of *CTril.* for Febr. 1 to Dec. 1, 1529 = FUL, 1451.
ActAcLov. = Acta Acad. Lovan. contra Lutherum (cp. *MonHL*, 235-6).
ActaMori = H. DE VOCHT, Acta Thomae Mori (*HumLov.* 7) : Lv, 1947.
ActArtV = Lib. V Act. Fac. Art. (Nov. 1482-Sept. 27, 1511) = FUL, 712.
ActArtVI = Extracts from *Liber VI Act. Fac. Art.* <lost> = FUL, 726.
ActArtVII = Extracts from *Lib. VII Act. Art.* <lost> = FUL, 726.
ActArtVIII = Extracts of *Lib. VIII* <lost> = FUL, 726.
ActArtInd. = Libr. VI-XIV Act. Fac. Art. Index (1511-1676) = FUL, 729.
Acuña = C. v. HÖFLER, Don Antonio de Acuña : Va, 1882.
Adagia = Adagia : Proverbiorum &c Collectio (*BB*, E, 139) : Frf, 1670.
ADB = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56) : Leipzig, 1875-1912.
Adelm(ann) = THURNHOFER, Adelmann v. Adelmansfelden : Frb, 1900.
AdriBurm. = C. BURMANNUS, Hadrianus VI : Utrecht, 1727.
AdriE = GACHARD, Corresp. de Charles V et d'Adrien VI : Brs, 1859.
AdriHöf. = C. v. HÖFLER, Papst Adrian VI., 1522-23 : Vienna, 1880.
AdriPas. = Guido PASOLINI, Adriano VI : Rome, 1913.
AdriReus. = E. REUSENS, Doctrina Adriani Sexti : Lv, 1862.
AgricE = K. HARTFELDER, Briefe von Rudolf Agricola : Karlsruhe, 1886.
AgricO = Rod. AGRICOLÆ Lucubrationes (2) : Cologne, 1539.
Agricola = G. vd VELDEN, Rodolphus Agricola : Led, 1911.
AgriCorr = ALLEN, Letters of R. Agricola (*EHR*, xxi, 302, sq) : 1906.
AgripE = AGRIPPA ab Nettesheim, Epistolæ (*Op. Omnia*, II) : Ls, c 1600.
AireSP = J. ROUYER, St. Pierre d'Aire : *Mém. Ant. Mor.*, x, ii : StO, 1858.
Albergati = E. BACHA, Commentaires de Vianesius Albergatis : Brs, 1891.
AleaE = J. PAQUIER, Lettres de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-40 : Pr, 1909.
AléaJour. = H. OMONT, Journal du Card. Aléandre, 1480-1530 : Pr, 1895.
AléaLiège = J. PAQUIER, Aléandre et la Princip. de Liège : Pr, 1896.
Aléandre = J. PAQUIER, Jér. Aléandre, 1480-1529 : Pr, 1900.
Alexandre = P. A., Histoire du Conseil Privé : Brs, 1894.
Allen = P. & H. ALLEN, Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi (11) : Oxf, 1906-47*.
Almeloveen = Th. ab A-, Amoenitates Theol.-philologicæ : Amst. 1694.
Altamira = R. ALTAMIRA, Historia de España (4) : Barcelona, 1900-11.
AltRel. = J. ALTMAYER, Relations avec le N. de l'Europe : Brs, 1840.
AmerMS = B. Amerbach's Docum. about Erasmus : *BbBasle*, C. VIa, 71.
Anal. = Analectes p/servir à l'Hist. Ecclés. de la Belgique : Lv, 1864-
Anima = J. SCHMIDLIN, Gesch. der S. Maria dell' Anima : Frb, 1906.
AnEmBr. = Annales d/l Société d'Emulation : Brg, 1839-
AntoAnn. = D. PAPEBROCHIIUS, Annales Antverpienses (5) : Ant, 1845-8.
AntoDiercx. = Antverpia X^o Nascens et Crescens (7) : Ant, 1773.
AntoEpisc. = [J. FOPPENS] Hist. Episcopatus Antverpiensis : Brs, 1717.
AntwChron. = Chronycke van Antwerpen, 1500-1575 : Ant, 1843.

- AntwHist.* = MERTENS & TORFS, *Gesch. van Antwerpen* (8) : Ant, 1845-53.
AntwKan. = GOETSCHALCKX, *Kanunn. van O.L.V. Antwerpen* : Ant, *n d.*
APP(ENDIX) IV = *sup.* III, 595-613 : *GocCorr.* *APP(ENDIX) V* = *NanOF.*
APP(ENDIX) VI = *StudAtt.* *APP(ENDIX) VII* = *de Rebus Inferorum.*
APP(ENDIX) VIII = *Syndoptical View*
AschE = R. ASCHAM, *Epistol. Libri IV. With J. Sturmii Epp.* : Oxf, 1703.
AschO = R. ASCHAM, *English Works* (W. A. Wright) : Camb, 1904.
AubMir. = C. de RIDDER, *Aubert le Mire* : Brs, 1863.
AugO = S. AUR. AUGUSTINI *Opera Omnia* (ed. Migne : 12) : Pr, 1841-49.
AuwCar. = COR. VALERII V. AUWATER *Carmina* : Lv MS.
Bahlmann = P. B., *Die Erneuerer des Antiken Dramas* (2) : Mnst, 1893-6.
Baius = F. X. JANSEN, *Baius et le Baïanisme* : Lv, 1927.
BalaRef. = BALAN, *Monum. Reformationis Lutheranae 1521-5* : Rat, 1884.
Bale = J. B., *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (ed Poole-Bateson) : Oxf, 1902.
Bang = *Acta Anglo-Lovaniensia* (*EngStud.*, 38 : 234, sq) : Lpz, 1907.
Barack = K. B., *Katalog der Els. Loth. Handschriften* : Strb, 1895.
Bardy = G. B., *Littérature Latine Chrétienne* : Pr, 1928.
BarlHist. = *Historica Hadriani BARLANDI* : Cologne, 1603.
Barthold = F. B., *Geschichte der Deutschen Hansa* (3) : Lpz, 1862.
BatavDom. = B. de JONGHE, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana* : Ghent, 1717.
BatavMart. = P. OPMEER, *Historia Martyrum Batavicornum* : Col, 1625.
BatGouv. = M. BATAILLON, *A. de Gouvea du Coll. de Guyenne* : Coi, 1927.
Baumgartner = A. B., *Die Literatur der Christlichen Völker* : Frb, 1925.
BaxF = BAX, *Fasti Acad. Lovan.* (5) : MS 22173, *BrsRL.*
BaxH = BAX, *Historia Univ. Lovaniensis* (11) : MS 22172, *Roy. Lib., Brs.*
BB = *Bibliotheca Belgica*, by Ferd. van der HAEGHEN, &c : Ghent, 1880-
BBLipse = *Bibliographie Lipsienne* (of *BB*) (3) : Gt, 1886-88.
BbBasle = *University Library of Basle.*
BbCopenh. = *Kongelige Bibliothek, København.*
BbCzart. = *Biblioteka Pulawskiej XX. Czartoryskich, Cracow.*
BbUpps. = *Bibliotheca Regia Upsalensis, Uppsala.*
BbVat. = *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.*
Beatis = A. de B., *Reise des Kard. L. d'Aragona* (L. v. Pastor) : Frb, 1905.
BeitBrieg. = *Festschrift zu ... Theodor Brieger* : Lpz, 1912.
BeitClem. = O. CLEMEN, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch.* (3) : Brl, 1900-3.
BeitKlette = Th. K., *Beitr. z. Ital. Gelehrtenrenaiss.* (3) : Greifsw., 1888-90.
BeitReut. = *Kirchengesch. Studien zu H. REUTER* : Lpz, 1888.
BeitSchlecht = *Beiträge z. Renaiss. & Ref. an J. SCHLECHT* : Mun, 1917.
BelgAcM = *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique* : Brs, 1820-
BelgArch. = *Doc. at the General Archives, Brussels.*
BelgChron. = CASTILLION, *Sacra Belgii Chronologia* : Ghent, 1719.
BelgDom. = B. de JONGHE, *Belgium Dominicanum* : Brs, 1719.
BelgSyn(od) = P. d. RAM, *Synodicum Belgicum* (I, II) : Mechlin, 1828-9.
Bellesheim = A. B., *Cardinal Allen u/d Engl. Seminare* : Mayence, 1885.
BelPU = GAILLARD, *Influence de la Belg. sur les Prov.-Unies* : Brs, 1855.
Bergenroth = G. B., *Calendar of Statepapers...* at Simancas : Ld, 1862-
Berger = Samuel BERGER, *La Bible au Seizième Siècle* : Paris, 1879.

- Bergh = L. vd. B-, Corresp. de Marguerite d'Autriche (2) : Leyden, 1845-7.
BerghAutr. = HALKIN, C. de Berghes et G. d'Autriche, Pr.-Ev. : Lg, 1936.
 Berlière = U. B-, Evêques Auxil. de Cambrai et Tournai : Brg, 1905.
 Bianco = F. v. BIANCO, Die Alte Universität Köln (2) : Cologne, 1856.
BibBelg. = Val. ANDREAS, Bibliotheca Belgica : Lv, 1643.
BibBelgMan. = SANDERUS, Bibl. Belgica Manuscripta (2) : Lille, 1641-4.
BibRefNe. = Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica : TH, 1903-
 Bludau = A. B-, Die Erasm.-Ausg. des N. T. und ihre Gegner : Frb, 1902.
 Blunt = J. H. B-, Reformation of the Church of England (2) : Ld, 1896-7.
BN = Biographie Nationale : Brs, 1866-1939.
 Bömer = A. B-, Lateinische Schülergespräche (2) : Brl, 1897-99.
 Bonilla = A. B-, Luis Vives y la Filos. del Renacimiento : Mdr, 1903.
BrabCon. = A. GAILLARD, Le Conseil de Brabant (3) : Brs, 1898-1902.
BrabNobl. = (J. vd LEENE,) Noblesse du Brabant : Lg, 1705. P. C.
 Bradford = W. B-, Correspond. of Charles V & his Ambass. : Lv, 1850.
 Brants = V. B-, La Faculté de Droit de Louvain : Brs, 1917.
BrArEc. = A. d'HOOP, Inv. d. Arch. Ecclès. du Brabant (6) : Brs, 1905-32.
 Brewer = Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. 1509-30 (4) : Ld 1862-.*
Briart = Vita Io. Briardi Atensis, by G. Morinck : *MorMS*, 392, sq.
BriBra. = B. t. BRINK & BRANDL, Gesch. d. Engl. Litter. (2) : Strb, 1893.
 Bridgewater = J. B-, Concertatio Eccl. Catholicae in Anglia : Tr, 1589.
BritMus. = British Museum Library, London.
 Brom = G. B-, Archivalia in Italie (3) : TH, 1908-14.
BromLind. = Twee Geschriften v. Bp. Lindanus 1578-9 : Maastricht, 1892.
BrsRL = Royal Library, Brussels.
 Bruchet = M. BRUCHET, Marguerite d'Autriche : Lille, 1927.
Brug&Fr. = J. GAILLARD, Bruges et le Franc (6) : Brg, 1857-64.
BrugErVir. = A. SANDERUS, De Brvgensibvs Claris : Ant, 1624.
BrugHist. = Ad. DUCLOS, Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs : Bruges, 1910.
BrugInscr. = GAILLARD, Inscript. Funéraires de Bruges (3) : Brg, 1861-6.
BrugSDon. = Compend. Chronol. Cath. S. Donatiani Brug. : Brg, 1731.
Brusch = A. HORAWITZ, Caspar Bruschius : Prague, 1874.
BruxBas. = <J. B. CHRISTYN,> Basilica Bruxellensis (2) : Mchl, 1743.
BruxHist. = HENNE & WAUTERS, Histoire de Bruxelles (3) : Brs, 1845.
 Budé = L. DELARUELLE, Guillaume Budé : Pr, 1907.
BudERép. = DELARUELLE, Répert. d/l Corresp. de Budé : Toulouse, 1907.
 Bulæus = C. E. B-, Historia Vniversitatis Parisiensis (6) : Pr, 1665-73.
BulBiB = Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge : Brs, 1845-
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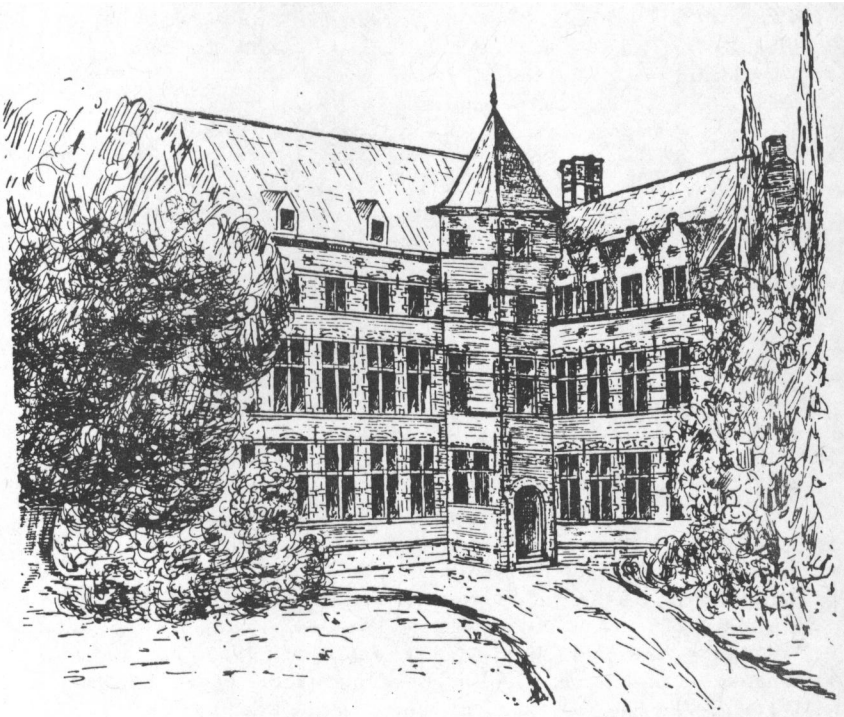
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View of the College from the garden (reconstruction by M. de Muynck, arch., 1935).

LIST OF PERSONAGES

Besides the personages of the xvth and the xvith century, this list records classic authors and writers of books of a secular use; also, *in italics*, living bodies, as towns, countries, abbeys, universities, and details or general remarks intimately connected with the matter treated. The figures refer to the pages; if they are printed in heavier types, they indicate biographical information of some importance about those whose names are set in CAPITALS. The I, II, III, added after names, before the figures, announce that a full notice about that personage has already been given in those volumes of this *History*.

To shorten as much as possible this list, — necessarily burdened by the two, or even more, appellations by which people of any significance were designed in the xvith century, — the names of the possessions of some aristocratic families are added to those of the personages, but are not made into special items in the alphabetical enumeration, except when they are generally employed to indicate the individuals. Moreover ample use is made of abbreviations, — to which is added, if necessary, the plural -s : —

1^o) *sigla* for family connections : *a* (aunt), *b* (brother), *d* (daughter), *f* (father), *gf* (grandfather), *gd* (granddaughter), *gs* (grandson), *n* (nephew, niece), *r* (relative), *s* (son), *si* (sister), *u* (uncle), *w* (wife) : — they are doubled if they indicate two or more personages : *bb*, *ss*, &c.

2^o) *sigla* for titles, functions or professions, of which a list is given in the introduction to the APPENDIX VIII, *Synoptical View*, before, p 511. To them should be added a few usual abbreviations employed in the preceding volumes of this *History* : Chanc(ellor), Card(inal), Carth(usian), fr(iar), Jes(uit), Kg (King), not(ary), rs (Renaissance scholar), sc(ientist), st(udent), Univ(ersity).

A

Aa, Peter van der, jp, pf, 344 347 526.
Abas, Abatius Priami[s], 498 500.
Abbenbroeck : *see* Brederode.
Abelard, 488.
Abercrummy, John, ST, st, 519.
Acciaïoli, Donat, erd, 376.
Ackersloot, Maria van, 194.
Adagia Erasmi, 403 524.
Adam, Eve, meaning of names, 36 38.

Adriaensen, Cornelius, fr, 187-8 191.
Adrian V (Ottoboni de Fieschi), 124.
Adrian of Utrecht, dv, pf, governor, 197 443 ; *and*
Adrian VI, 124 197 205 213 263.
Adrianus, Matthew, md, H P, xii 232 442-43 512.
Aeëtes, King of Colchis, 494.
Ægidii, Peter : *see* Gillis.
Ægidius, J., st, 245.
Ælian, 370.
Æneas, 498.

- Aerdt, Werner, dv, 516.
 Aerschot, Philip Duke of: *see* Croy.
 Æschines, 11.
 Æsculapius, 31 42.
 Æsop, 414.
 Afan à Ribera, Peter, 438.
Afflighem: monks, 348.
 Agatha, Sta, 274.
 Agidarius, Alph.: *see* Ferrandus.
 Agostino, Antonio, Abp of Tarra-
 gona, rs, 167 204.
 Agricola, Rudolph, hm, 52 244 438.
 Agrippa of Nettesheym, Henry
 Cornelius, hm, iii, 390.
 Aigremont, Robert, Lord of, Count
 of la Marck & Arenberg, 12 99;
 — his s, Robert, 12 99.
 Aire, Philip & Adolph, Viscounts
 of: *see* Burgundy.
 Alard of Amsterdam, lm, hm, 52
 100 194 199 244-5 443 461 519 523.
 Alcala Univ., 274 447 (*school of
 languages*).
 Alceus, 495.
 Alciati, Andrew, jp, 451.
 Alcuin, 132.
 Alderete: *see* Gracian.
 Aleander, Card. Jerome, nuncio,
 Abp, ii, iii, 157 (*visit to Louvain*)
 254 256 516.
 Aleander (495): *see* Leander.
 ALLEN, ANDREW, lm, 421 522.
 Alençon, Duke of, 389 417.
 Alexander VI, 124.
 Alfonsus, Dominican, fr, 380.
 Algoet, Livinus, amn, geog, ii, iii,
 258 514.
 Alisleger, Henry: *see* Bars.
Alkmaar School, 266 461.
 ALLEN, WILLIAM, Cardinal, 332 333
 427 445.
 Allen, P. S., ix sq 228 238 287 (*com-
 paring Tril. with Cambridge*).
 Alliopagus, Const.: *see* Knobbels-
 dorf.
 Almeida, Roque de, P, st, fr, 518.
 Aldorf Univ., xii 351.
 Altenanus, John, not, iii, 10 15-19
 26-30 63-67.
 Alva, Duke of, 161 164 190 216 321
 334 367 383 390-91.
 Alvarez, Emmanuel, Jes, gram-
 marian, 412.
 Alyn, Edmund, E, st, 210.
 Amantius, Bartholomew, pf Ingol-
 stadt, 430 432.
 Ambrosius, St., 277-78 468 471.
 AMERBACH, BONIFACE, pf Basle, jp,
 10 17-18 19 21-30 64-7 326-7 452.
 AMEROT, ADRIAN, Amoure, Guen-
 nevelle, Suessonius, G P, i, ix
 221 245 246-47 252-58 259-60
 (*excellence and aim of his teach-
 ing*) 260-62 (*letter to Tapper*)
 263 (+) 263-65 (*his foundation*)
 267-68 (*his successor*) 286-87 295
 300 311 (*transl. of catech.*) 352
 354 369 379 426 438 444 456 521;
 — his contubernalis Claud, 258.
 Amicus, Peter, pf: *see* Vriendt.
 Ammonius, Livinus, Carth, hm,
 ii, 100 209.
 Amnia, Ld of: *see* Cammingha.
 Amore, *Oratio de*, 269.
 Amoure, Amoury: *see* Amerot.
 Amoure, Amoury, Antony, 264.
 Amyot, 376.
 Anchin College, Douai, 334.
 Andernacus, John, md: *see* Winter.
 Andreas Valerius, H P, hist, 14 40
 91 93 106 137 195-96 273 291 299
 309 331 344-45 436 446-47 454 461
 471.
 Andromache, 498.
 Angers Univ, xii.
 Anguelart, Thomas, pr, 5.
 Ankara Inscription, 372-73 376.
 Annales Ecclesiastici, 395 398.
 Annecy, Grammar School, 423.
 Antecessor, Anticensor: *see* Theo-
 philus.
 Antigonus, 34.
 Antwerp: *etymology*, 34, sq; —
Jus Prætorii, 341; — *Latin
 School*, 94; — *Antverpiensis
 Confessio*, 390; — *Episcopal
 See*, 172-73; — *Abbey of St.
 Bernard's on the Scheldt*, 423.
 Apherdianus, Peter, pt, 195.
 Aphorismi, xi.
 Apianus, Peter, Bienewitz, pf
 Ingolstadt, ii, 430 432.
 Apollinarus Syrus, 317.
 Apollonius of Rhodes, 96.
 Apollonius of Tyane, 98.
 APOSTOLE, Peter I', jp, pf, cc, 61.

- Aquaviva, Claud, Jes General, 109.
 Aquila, Ponticus, 386.
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 149 153-55
 (emended edition of the *Summa*)
 264 328 488.
 Arator, 403.
 Arc, Joan of, 132-33.
Arcadia, nations & languages, 36.
 Ardennes, Remacle d', hm, 119
 Arenbergh, Count of, Governor of
 Friesland, 342 381.
 Arenberg, Robert, Count of : *see*
 Aigremont.
 Arens, Peter (94) : *see* Mens.
 Arias, Benito : *see* Montanus.
 Aristophanes, 10 266 495.
 Aristotle, 47 (adversary) 104 136-7
 140 152 272 311 332 346 438-9 495.
 Arlenius, Arnold : *see* Peraxylus.
 Arnobius, 459.
 Arrian, 499 500.
 Artzt, Arzt, Sibylla, 429.
 Arvang, Claud, Lord of : *see* Caron-
 delet.
 Arvidsen, Bent, N, lm, pf Lund,
 xii 518.
 ASCHAM, ROGER, secr, lt, ix (suspi-
 cious testimony) 13 **265-66** 280
284-87 288 **289-93** 423 463.
 Assendelft, Nicolas of, jp, 517.
 Assonville, Christopher d', 377.
 Athanasius, St., 276-7 294 464 468.
 Athenagoras, 98 100 294 355-56 358
 363.
Atrebatensis Codex, 269.
Augsburg Confession, 142.
 Augustine, St., 264 273 469 488.
 Augustus, Emperor, 186 502 ; —
 his d Julia, 497.
 Aurea, Valentinus de, PL, st, 519.
 Aurelius, Julian : *see* Havrech.
 Ausonius, 378 460.
 Austria : Emperor Maximilian I,
 364 432 ; — Philip the Fair, Arch-
 duke, 364 504 ; — Emperor
 Charles V, 12 16 18 (& Duke of
 Brabant) 49 51 98 100 105 112-16
 118 142 147 180 185-6 209 211 248
 261-62 276 282-85 287 290 293 300
 313 332 338 346 365 380 422 432-3
 435 437-8 442 454 498 508 ; —
 Emperor Ferdinand I, 141-2 198
 372 ; — Don Juan, victor of Le-
 panto, 171 181 317 321 335 391-92
 417 ; — Emperor Maximilian II,
 192 316 339 367 372 ; — Emperor
 Rudolph II, 339 372 ; — Emperor
 Ferdinand III, 430 ; — Archduke
 Albert & Isabella, 176 (& Univ.
 of Louvain) 196 329.
 Austria, George of, Bp of Brixen,
 Valencia & Liège, II, III, 168-69.
 Austria, George of, pv of St. Pe-
 ter's, Univ. Chancellor, 329.
 AUWATER, CORNELIUS VALERIUS
 VAN, LP, II, III, vii x 13 106 179
 182 203 212 246 268 277 **294 296-**
97 299 311 **324** 352 354 358 363
 366 403 438-39 444 446 **454-72**
 473 490 492 500 508 517 526.
Avignon Univ., xii.
 Ayala, Martin de : *see* Perez.
 Aysma, Hessel of, pens of Gronin-
 gen, 355.
 Aytta of Zuichem : *see* Viglius.
- B**
- Baccherius, Peter, pt, 195.
 Back, William, cc, 523.
 Backer, John : *see* Guilielmus.
 Baelemans, J. Fr., 308.
 Baer, Philip, Lord of : *see* Egmont.
 Baert, Bartius, Arnold, jp, 188.
 Baillart, James, Hertogenbosch
 cn, 220.
 Baius, Michael : *see* Bay.
 Balduino, Martin : *see* Rythovius.
 Baldus, xi.
 BALENUS, ANDREW VAN GENNEP,
 md, HP, III, xi 9 56 61 81 93 **100-**
01 155-56 200 225 **234** 237 **298-**
301 304-7 308 337-38 **379 384**
 387 426 435 444 456 474-75 **486**
 516 526 ; — *piger scrib. lit.*, 101.
 Balfour, Colonel Henry, 192.
 Balticus, Martin, lm, pt, 314.
 Bang Kaup, W., pf, v xiii 455.
 Baquerode, Maximilian, Lord of :
see Bœuf.
 Barlandus, Adrian, LP, I, II, III,
 50 103 106 (plays) 232 378 442-43
 450 513.
 Barlandus, Adrian Ælius Jacobi,
 pc, 489.
 Barlandus, Hubert, md, xii 516.
 Barnes, Robert, dv, 513.

- Baronius, Card, 333 392 395 398.
 Barros, Bras de : *see* Braga.
 BARS, HENRY, Barsz, Olisleger, Ali-
 sleger, Cleves Chanc, 123 204.
 Barthen, James a, 129.
 Bartholus, xi.
 Basil, the Great, St., 11 243 469.
 Bäsinger, Barbara, 429.
Basle Univ., 451; — *Library*, vi.
 Basson, Th., pr, 126.
 Βάτzuος ἱππεύς, 495.
 Batenius, Joannes, pr, 289 468.
 Batteux, Ch., 312.
 Baudouin, Francis, jp, hist, ctv,
 iii, xii 319 350 444-45 519.
 Bauwens, Martin : *see* Rythovius.
 Bavaria, Duke Albert V of, 296
 313-16 391 431; — his s, Duke
 Ernest, administrator of Frei-
 singen diocese, 314 316; — the
 Duchess Jacoba, 416; — Duke
 Maximilian-Emmanuel, 111.
 BAVARIA, ERNEST OF, Bp of Liège
 & Münster, 169 170.
 BAY, MICHAEL DE, Baius, pf, dv,
 104 149 155 159-60 196 264 335
 436 526; — *Bayanism*, 155 159-60.
Beaulieu-en-Argonne Abbey, 256;
 — Antony, Count of : *see* Marck.
 Beaulieu, John, Lord of : *see*
 Langhe.
 Beausart, Beausardus, Peter, md,
 pf, mthm, 445.
 Becanus, John : *see* van Gorp.
 Beckerzeel, John, Lord of : *see* Ca-
 sembroot.
 Beja, Don Antonio de, Prior of
 Crato, P pretender, 154.
 Beken, Nicolas : *see* Glenardus.
 Beken, Baldwin van der, 165; —
 f, Livinus, apothecary-druggist,
 165; — b, Peter, pt, erd, 165; —
 dd, Clara, Cornelia, Mary, 165;
 — s, Lævinus : *see* Torrentius,
Belgre, Tres Fratres, N. Grudius,
 A. Marius, J. Secundus, 443 515.
 Bellarmin, Robert, Jes, 160 175
 264.
 Bellem, Charles, Lord of : *see* Rym.
 Bellerus, J., pr, 409 411 413; —
 Caspar, pr, 413.
 Bellus, Honorius, bot, 375.
 Bélon, Pierre, bot, 375.
 Bembo, Cardinal Pietro, iii, 291
 412.
 BENEDIXIUS, DOMINICUS, of Sneek,
 jp, vic. gen., 323 341-43 363 401
 521.
 Beneventum, Mark of, astronomer,
 197.
 Berchemus, Arnold, pt, 403.
 Berckel, Ch. N., van, herald at
 arms, 111.
 Berg, Duke of : *see* Cleves.
 Berg, Adam, pr, 314.
 Bergaigne, Ant.-Mar., pr, 164 437.
 Bergensis, James : *see* Volcaerd.
 BERGHE, LOUIS VAN DEN, Montanus,
 abbot of Parc, 159 226 228 243.
 Berghes, Antony de, abb of St.
 Trudo's, 523.
 Berghes, Maximilian de, Abp of
 Cambrai, 121 306.
 BERGHES, ROBERT DE, Bp of Liège,
 168-9.
 Berghes, John de, Lord of Water-
 dyck, Mechl. cc, 365.
 Bergheyck, Oridryus, Arnold van,
 Im, ii, 514.
 Berlaymont, Louis of, Abp of Cam-
 brai, 335 400.
Berlin Library, vii.
 Bernaert, Vulmar, ii, pf, jp, 321
 340 343 346 443 515 526; cp. *Coll-*
Torr., 77.
 Bernuy, Bernouille, Isabeau, 39.
 Berolzheimer, Erasmus von : *see*
 Hadenreich.
 Berosus, hist, 499.
 Berselius, Paschasius, mk, hm, i,
 255.
 Bertius, edt, 366.
 Bertolff, Bertholff, Gregory, Pres.
 of Friesland, 326 346; — his d
 Christina, 326 329 346; his d
 Margaret, 346; — s, John, Flan-
 ders cc, 346.
 Bertrucius, Bononiensis, md, 463.
 Berwouts, Nicol., 223.
 Bessarion, Cardinal, rs, 136.
 Beveren, Maximilian, Lord of : *see*
 Burgundy.
 Beyaert, Lancelot, carver, 159.
 Beyere, Peter, cn, 3.
 BEYERLINCK, LAURENT, dv, bbph,
 196 404.

- Bible* : chief, yet not unique, source of faith, 305 315-6 385 435-6 (controversy) ; — text & study, 379 383-4 ; — exegesis inaugurated by Lindanus, 398 ; — version of the LXX, 34 165 ; — Hebrew B, its authenticity, 385 387-88 ; — editions by Trilingue men, 275 ; — *Biblia Regia*, 156-57 165 304 307 386 389 428 436 ; — *Polyglot*, 428 ; — translations, 435-37.
- Bierbeek*, 279.
- Biesius, Nicolas, of Ghent, md, pf, iii, 445.
- Biest, John van der : see Lacteus.
- Bievene, John de, pf, jp, 337 345.
- Bild, Veit, fr, hm, 432.
- Billick, Everard von, fr, pf Cologne, 141.
- Bion, of Smyrna, 417.
- Birckmann, Arn., pr, 314 356 361 ; — H., pr, 302 ; — Vitus, pr, 140.
- Bishop, Nicolas : see Episcopus.
- BLAER, GERWICK, Abbot of Weingarten & Ochsenhausen, iii, 118 119-21.
- Bleyleven, Baldwin, cc, 7.
- Blindanus*, *Blindasinus* (Lindanus), 390.
- Blioul, Jerome de, Rct, jp, pf, ii, 20 24-26 30 65 84.
- Blois, Louis de, Blossius, abb of Liessies, wr, iii, 517.
- Blondel-Joigny-de Pamele, Jacqueline, 49.
- Bobadilla, Francis de : see Mendoza.
- Boden, Matthew, *Regens* of Porc, 406.
- Boderie, Guy de la : see Fabre.
- Boetius, wr, 378.
- Bœuf, Maximilian le, Lord of Baquerode, 193.
- Boeys, Joannes du, st, 331.
- Bogardus, John, pr, 401.
- Bohemia, Anna of, 488.
- Boisot, John & Adrian, sts, 209 520.
- Boisset, Mercurinus de, jp, iii, 517 ; — his b, William, st, 517.
- Bolatra, Lucretia, *hospita* in Rome, 167.
- Bolgen, Martin de, pr, 353-54.
- Bologna Univ.*, xii 134 137.
- Bombelli, Jerome, mch, 514.
- Bomberg(h)en, Daniel, of Antwerp, pr there and in Venice, st, hebr, iii, 210 ; — *bb*, Antony & Francis, 210 ; — *rr*, Cornelius & Charles, 32 210 426 520 ; — cp. *ClénCorr.*, ii, 124.
- Boneffe, Abbey of*, 152.
- BONNER, EDMUND, Bp of Hereford & London, amb, 98 113-15 282 423 520.
- Bonnus, Arnold, Lübeck senator, 358-59.
- Bonomi, Nuncio in Cologne, 394.
- BONONIA, JOHN, DD, adc, 436 437 ; his f, Francis, Baron of Cefalu & Capua, 436.
- Bonvisi, Antonio, 427.
- Boogaerde, Joh. van den, pr, 356.
- Boonaerts, Fabius, William, G P, 309.
- Boonen, James, Abp of Mechlin, 338 ; — his si, Barbara Maria, 338.
- BORCH, NICOLAS VAN DER. Verborch, Verburg, Verburch, a (de) Castro, dv, Pres, bp, iii, 14 51 53 54-56 60-62 74 86 88 116 152 208 212-14 (Bishop of Middelburg) 215-18 219 335 382 393 507 517 520 ; — his f, Nicolas, beadle of Arts, 54-55 ; — his *bb*, James, 55 217 ; Jerome, 55 ; John, cn St. Peter's, Louvain & St. John's, Mechlin, 55 217 ; — *rr*, Louis, 54 ; John, Gerard & Augustine (jp, cc), mayors, 54 ; Giles, Lord of Moisiq, Moesick, vice-mayor, 54.
- Bording, James, lm, md, ii, xii 516.
- Borghers, Joachim : see Polites.
- Borromeo, Cardinal Carlo, 333 392.
- BOSCHE, JOHN, of Loon, Lonæus, md, pf Ingolstadt, xii 311-13 521.
- Botany*, 183.
- Both, George, bad pt, 496 ; — John Both, Anglus, st, 496.
- Bottolphus, Gregory, E, st, 210.
- Botzheim, John, friend of Erasmus, 209 ; — *rr*, Bernard Badensis & Rochus Hagatoconensis, Gs, sts, 209 520.
- Boucharderie, John, Lord of : see Wyts.

- Bouchout, Nicolas de, 249.
 Bourbon, Charles de, 422.
Bourges Univ, xii 364 451.
 Boxhoren, Leonard de, Lord of Lovenjoul, Herent, Ophem, 334-35; his *f*, Hector, 335.
 Boxhornius, Mark Zuerius, pf, 38.
 Bra, Henry a, md, 42.
 Brabant, Charles V as Duke of, 18.
 Brabant Council, 19.
 Brabo, 34.
 Brachelius, Jeremy: *see* Thriverus.
 Braga, Barros, Bras de, P, lm, bp, 518.
 Braganza, Duke James of, 321; — his *s*, Fulgence, 321.
 Brancion, John de, bot, Gentleman-in-waiting, 371-72.
 BRANDISBY, RICHARD, E, erd, 271 279-88 290 293 423 521; — his *b*, JOHN, erd, 279 283.
 Brassica, Gerard: *see* Cools.
 Brassicanus, John Alexander, 523.
 Braxatoris, Corn.: *see* Brouwers.
 BRECHT, LIVINUS OF, Brechtanus, pt, dmt, 107-10 316 520 526.
 Brederode, Charlotte de, Lady of Montfort & Abbenbroeck, 258; — her *r*, Regnault de Brederode, 258.
 Brent, Nicolas de: *see* Bront.
Breslau Library, vii 508.
 Brillmacher, Michael, preacher (cath), 306.
 Brocard, Broccardius, Renatus, 182 355.
 Brocus, William, Comes Cantiaë, E, st, 210.
 Brockenhuus, Fr., D, st, 518.
 Broeck, Peter van den, grocer, 56.
 Broeckhoven, Nicolas van, Buscoducensis, lm, ii, 94.
 Bront, Brontius, Brent, Nicolas de, pt, jp, 519.
 BROUWERS, CORNELIUS, Braxatoris, Sculteti, Schoutens, of Weert, pf, i, 219.
 Browning, Robert, 97.
 Brubachius, Peter, pr, 364.
Bruges: Athenæ Belgicæ, 191; — *St. Donatian's*, 220; — *Bp de Witte's School*, 130; — *relief of the poor*, 509.
Brugensis, James: *see* Wittebroet.
 Bruges, Francis Luc, Lukè, of, dv, 157; cp. Mol., 525.
 Bruges, Christopher, Carmelite of, 131.
 Brunfels, Otto, 414.
 Brunswick, Duke of, 339.
Brussels: Beghards, 147; — *Vrunte*, 147-48; — *Union*, 162.
 Bruxelles, Philibert de, Brussels, Kt, Lord of Heyshroeck, Grandreng, cc, 34 35 367; — his *s*, Philibert, gentleman-in-waiting, 367; — his *d*, Catherine, 367.
 Bruyckere, John de, Bruuckere, lm, pf, iii, 103 517.
 sBruynen, Florence (Fortuna), 80.
 Bucer, Martin, 47 150 283 300.
 Bucho, Bernard, cc, ii, 257.
 Budé, William, Budæus, pf Paris, 291 311 322 414 451.
 Buecker, John: *see* Lambach.
 Bullinger, 151.
 Burch, Adrian van der, pt, Utrecht secr., 203 365-66; — his *b*, 203.
 Burchardt, Francis, Saxon Chanc. Weimar, 349.
 Bureau, Nicolas, Bp of Sarepta, suffr. of Ch. de Croy, 165.
 Buren, Maximilian Count of: *see* Ysselstein.
 Burgh, Cornelius van der, of Zeeland, 329.
 Burghley, William Cecil, Baron, Lord High Treasurer, 190 373.
 Burgos, Pedro Alonso de, S, mk, 515.
 Burgoys, Jaspas de: *see* Castro.
 Burgundy, Charles, Duke of, 404.
 Burgundy, Philip of, Admiral, Viscount of Aire, 524.
 Burgundy, Lord of Veere, Beveren & Aire, Adolph of, 195 383 524.
 Burgundy, Maximilian of, Lord of Beveren, adm, 515.
 Burgundy, James & Francis of: *see* Fallais.
Burnham Abbey, 427.
 Bury, Richard de, Bp of Durham, 59.
 Busbeek, Ogier de, amb, hm, erd, iii, xii 122 183 205 367 372-73 444-45 508 519 525.

Buscoducensis, Nicolas : see Broeckhoven.
 Busconius, Peter : see Gherinx.
 Busennius, C., md, 42.
 BUSIUS, NICOLAS, Buys, lm, cn, dean, Hilvarenbeek, 406-7 412.
 BUSLEYDEN, JEROME DE, Founder, I, II, iv vii 2 8 58 71 79 82 221 233 (+) 236 246 309 442 449 455 473-74 476-78 507 508 512; — his diploma, vi; — his portrait, 455; — his Will, viii xi 2 68 70 74-75 79-85 87 227-28 230 232 235 238 242-43 253 480; — his *codices* : see *Louvain, Trilingue*.
 Busleyden, Francis de, Jerome's brother, Abp, 442.
 BUSLEYDEN, GILES II DE, Jerome's brother, 58 76 227 230 231-32 233 238 243 250 442-43 476 479 512; — his ss, Francis, Mary of Hungary's chamberlain, 514; — Jerome, papal chamberlain, 515; — Nicolas, Viscount of Grimberghe, cc, 58 62 514; — John, 516; — Giles, III, pt, painter, carver, 516; — William, Lord of Guirsch and Everberg, jp, adv, III, 308 516.
 Buverius, Joannes, st, 331.
 Buxtorf, John, pf, 34.
 Buys, Nic. : see Busius.
 Byler, Walter à, Bailiff of Johan- nites, Utrecht, 164.

C

Cabillavia, of Ypres, Maria, 355.
 Cæsar, Julius, 188 193.
 Cæsarius, John, hm, 99.
 Cahmayde, Trudo, de Londino, st, 519.
 Cajetan(us), Card Jacopo Tomaso de Vio, 155 199.
 Calaber, John, pf, 239 251.
 Calaber, Quintus Smyrnæus, 494.
calendar, its correcting, 309.
 Calliclea, 498.
 Calvin, 142 147-48 150-51 199 385.
 Calster, van den, family, 54.
Cambridge Univ : Library, vi; — *St. John's College*, 265 279-81 286 292; — *Trinity College*, 265 281-83; — *Cambridge compared*

with Louvain, ix 265.
 Camden, William, atq, 190.
 Camerarius, Joachim, hm, 36 371 373 414.
 Cammingha, Haio, Lord of Amnia, 210 326 515; — Haio, nephew, st, 210 250; — Menno & Titus, sts, 519.
 Campanus, John, 'Sacramentist', 396.
 CAMPENSIS, JOHN, H P, II, III, xi xii 76 79 232 (leave) 240-41 449 484 513 524.
 Campester, Laurent : see v. d. Velde.
Campine:genius gentis illius, 299.
 Campo, Francis de : see Sonnius.
 Campson, Peter : see Philicinus.
 Canisius, Peter, Jes., 305-7 314 380 384 385 397.
 Canne, Cannius, Nicolas, amn, hm, lm, 194 195 495 514.
 Canter, William, erd, III, 182 273 351 357-58 366 445; — his *bb*, 445-46, — John, erd, 351.
 Cantimpré, Thomas of, wr, 110.
 Cantiuncula, Claud Liedel, erd, amb, 514.
 Capella, Martianus, 274.
 Cappel, Louis, pf, 34.
 Cappuyns, Adelaïde, 2 3.
 Caraffa, Ant., Card, 165.
 Carew, Sir Peter, 284.
 Carinus, Louis, SW, pc, md, III, 450 513.
 Carlier, James, of Lille, pres of Houterlee Coll., 399.
 Carlin, Mary de, 185.
 Carlowitz, Christopher von, G, amb, cc, 515.
 Carne, Sir Edward, amb, 96.
 Carolus, Adam, H, secr, III, 100 518.
 CARONDELET, CLAUD DE, Lord of Solre, Arvang, Potelles, cn, pv of Bruges, 48-49 274 519; — his *f*, CLAUD, Ld of Solre, Arvang, Potelles, amb, 48 49; — his u, Abp John, pv of St. Donatian's, Pres. of Council, 49; — his *bb*, John, PAUL, 48 49 519, and Ferry, Ld of Potelles, 48; — r, James, Liège chanc, 172.

- Carpi, Card, Rudolfo Pio de, 167 204; *see* Pio, Alberto.
- Carpintero, Fray Miguel, 440.
- CARR, NICOLAS, *pf* of Cambridge, *md*, ix **265** 286 **287**.
- Carrio(n), Louis, *jp*, *pf*, iii, 362 445-46.
- Carthusian Fathers, Martyrs, 427.
- Carvajal, Gonzalez, 388.
- Carvajal, Luis de, 143.
- Casant, George : *see* Cassander.
- Casaubon, 172; *CrenFasc.*, iv, 450.
- CASEMBROOT, JOHN, Casperotius, *Ld* of Beckerzeel, *secl*, cc, **190** 337 377; — *his f*, Leonard, 190; — *cp. CollTorr.*, 76.
- CASSANDER, GEORGE, Casant, liturgist, *patr*, *wr*, i, iii, *xli* 122 130-31 145 161 325 **397** 444-45 517.
- Cassianus, 459.
- Castele, John de (= Stephen Lindius), 187.
- Castel, Roland de, *pf*, 73.
- CASTELIUS, JOHN, of Gheluwe, Gheolous, Somerghem *pp*, *pt*, 188.
- Castellanus, Castello, Peter a, G P, 309 446.
- Castere, Castricus, of Hazebroek, James van, *md*, ii, 516.
- Castile, Jane of, 504.
- Castillo, Joannes de, S, *st*, 515.
- Castricus, James : *see* Castere.
- Castro, Nicolas de (a) : *see* Borch.
- Castro de Burgoys, Jaspas, S, *st*, 515.
- catechism*, 155 161 311.
- Cato, 11 378.
- Catullus, 497.
- Caucius, *pr*, 188.
- CAVERSON, WILLIAM, Cavertson, *Univ not*, 80 **84**; — *his s*, Gerard, *pf*, *jp*, 84; — *gss*, William, *cc*, *secl*, 84; Peter, mayor, 84; *rr*, Giles & Judocus, mayors, 84; Peter, *cn* of St. Peter's, 84.
- Cebes Thebanus, 137-38.
- Celestine, Pope, 428.
- Cellarius, Kellenaer, Christian, *st*, *scl*, *lm*, *hm*, iii, *xii* 103 517.
- Celtes, Conrad, 433.
- Censorinus, 403.
- Ceratinus, James, Teyng, of Hoorn, *pf*, *grc*, ii, 76 239 255 514.
- Cerf, Jacqueline de, 418; — *her f*, John, 418.
- Ceriol(anus) Fadrique : *see* Furió.
- Cervini, Card Marcello, *Vat. librar.* (Pope Marcellus II), 167 186 199-201.
- Cesar(ion) Louis Stephen : *see* Chapuys.
- Cesennia, 497.
- Cesterus, Guil., E, *st*, 280 423.
- Champagny, Governor of Antwerp, 39.
- CHAPUYS, EUSTACE, amb, founder of College, 264 355 **422-23** 505.
- CHAPUYS, CESAR(ION) Ludovicus Stephanus, 210 269 311 **422-23** 505 522.
- Chapuys, Thomas, *st*, 423.
- Chardel, Philip, Luxemburg *cc*, 367.
- Charlemain, 132.
- Charles the Bald, 37.
- Chaucer, 293 488.
- CHEINEY, JAMES, Cheineius, of Arnage, *pf*, *cn*, 330 **332**.
- CHEKE, sir JOHN, **280** 284-86 292.
- Chersholmus, William, Dunblanensis, E, *st*, 210.
- Chesne, Francisco du : *see* Enzinas.
- Chilius, Adrian, *lm*, *lt*, iii, 517.
- Chirius, Fortunatianus Consultus, 49 273-74 468.
- CHOLER, JOHN, **430**.
- Cholinus, Maternus, *pr*, 152 358 401.
- Chrétien, William, *md*, 311.
- Christiani, of Coursel, Peter, 322.
- Christina, St., 'the miraculous', 110.
- CHRISTOPHERSON, JOHN, Bp of Chichester, *erd*, **281** **287-88** 290 293 360 521; — *his f*, Richard, 281.
- Chrysostom, St. John, 89 98-99 117 125 469.
- CICERO, 48 89 91 96-7 99 104 181-82 184 262 270-73 279 286 295 316 319 327 350 352 356-59 361 363 410 413 438 440 451 453 464 469 471 487-88 **489** 525 (*Officia*).
- Ciefeling (Crefeling), of Vienna, Jerome, A, *st*, 519.
- Cimbrian language* (*viz.*, *Flemish*),

- 36-38 40.
 Ciocchi de Monte, Antony, Card of St. Praxedis, 256.
Civiltate Morum, de, 414.
 Claissone of Walebeke, Barbara, Lady of Hundelghem, 366.
 Claray, Philip : *see* Clericus.
 Claudius, Roman Emperor, 189.
 Clement VII, 44 197-98 213.
 Clement VIII, 175-76 (protects Univ. v. Jesuits) 437.
 CLEMENT, JOHN, More's secr, md, *erd*, viii 423-28 522; — his s, THOMAS, *erd*, 387 425-28 522; — their MSS documents, Psalter & Greek texts, 306 387 423 426-28.
 Clement, Margaret : *see* Gyggs.
 CLEMENT, John's dd, MARGARET, prioress of St. Ursula's, 427-28; — WINIFRED, 425; DOROTHY, Poor Clare, 427; Helen, 427-28; Bridget, 428.
 CLEMENT, CÆSAR (grandson), Dean of St. Gudula's, 428.
 Clement Redman, John, s of Robert Redman, cn of St. Omer's, 428-9.
 Clenardus, Nicolas Beken, lg, ii, iii, vii 86 104 247 248 (letters) 249 251 255-56 266 302 320 369 371 449 514 525 (censure).
 Clenghen, Christian, G, st, 211 521.
 CLENOCK, MAURICE, Clynog, appointed Bp of Bangor, 179.
 Cleobulus, 460.
 Clerc, John le, wr, 36.
clergy & its morality criticized by Lindanus, 391-92 398; *further criticisms*, 414-15.
 Clerici, Tilman : *see* Ghybens.
 Clericus, Philip, Claray, jp, 518.
 Cleves-Jülich-Berg, Duke John (1511-1539), 28 121; — Duke William V (1539-1592), 120-21 123 167-68 175 204-6 415-16.
 CLEVES, CHARLES-FREDERIC, Duke of, 123 204 205 206; — his b, Prince John William, 123 205.
 Clichtove, Jacqueline de, 482.
 Clinckerland, Ld of : *see* Laurin.
 Clouwen, Clowen, Anna, 339; — Henry, brewer, 56.
 CLUSIUS, CHARLES, de l'Escluse, bot, pf Leyden, xii 189 193 368-76 445 521.
 Clutinck, Philip, of Oistquercq, 62.
 Cnobbaert, Cnobbaut, Hubert, Prior Carth, provisor *Tril.*, 222 253 272 512.
 Cnobbaert, Cnobbaert, Philip, priest, and Francis, founders of scholarship, 222.
 Cobbaert, Peter, of Ninove, 38.
 Cochläus, John, ctv, ii, 285.
 Coci, Eoban : *see* Hessus.
 Cocus, S., pr, 470.
 Coelen, Margaret van, 7.
 Coelmont, Ser., dn Maastricht, 256.
 Coenesteen, Corn., pr, 345.
 Cogge(n), Matthew, not, Univ promoter, iii, 9 15 30 227.
Coimbra Univ, xii.
 Colebrant, Cornelius, of Hertogenbosch, lm, 352.
 Colinæus, Peter, pr, 311.
 Colius, James, 373-74.
 Collard, Adrian, 404.
College documents as sources and helps for history, vi 508-9.
Colloquia Erasmi, 215 414 450.
Cologne University : help derived from Louvain, xii 47 353 368; — *Three Tongues School started*, 138-41 211 303-4 391, and made into 'Tricoronatum' (after 1560), 408-9 412-13 429 448; — *Bursa Cuckana*, 138; — *Kronenburse*, 358-59 362; — *Bursa Montana*, 139.
 Cologne, Antony of, lm, 352 363.
 Cologne, Barth. of : *see* Muer.
 Colonæus, Petrus, pr, 439.
 Colve, William, 3.
 Comines, Philip de, hist, 404.
 Commelin, Jerome, *erd*, 311.
 Commendone, Card Legate, 159.
Complutensian Polyglot, 274.
 'sConincxs, Martha, 159.
 Conring, Herman, pf Helmstedt, 330.
 Contarini, Card, Nuncio, 198-99.
 Cook, Dr Arth. Bern., pf Cambridge, 275 471.
 COOLS, GERARD, Brassica, Jes, 302 303.
 Cools, Peter, Abbot of Vlierbeek, 393.

- COOMANS, LAMBERT, amn, cn, dean of Turnhout, III, 21 **22** 518.
- COP, BERNARD. Copius, G, jp, pf Marburg, xii **47-48** 519.
- COP, JOHN, Copius, G, lm, **47-8** 519. *Copenhagen Library*, 508.
- Copia Verborum et Rerum*, de, 414.
- COPLEY, MARY & HELEN, sisters of St. Monica's, **427** 428; — their f, William, 428.
- Coppens, Giles, pr, 524.
- Copernicus, Nicolas, 130.
- Coracopetræus, Henry : see Ravestein.
- Corbeeck, Henry, of Mechlin, 199.
- Corbernus, N, st, 518.
- Corbie, Abbey of*, 189.
- Cordes, Jacques des, 39; — his d, Catherine, 39.
- Cordus, Valerius, bot, 41.
- Corenbechius, Viennensis, Martin, A, st, 519.
- Corinthus, Greek grammarian, 257.
- Cornarius, Janus, md, 515 524.
- Cornelia gens, 278.
- Corona, Stephanos, 206.
- Corpus Inscriptionum* (de Smet & Laurin), 193 202; (Pigge), 200 202.
- Corselius, Gerard de Coursele, G P, jp, 266 322 330 336 337 445.
- Corsendonck Priory*, 348 410.
- Corte, James de : see Curtius.
- CORTE, PETER DE, Curtius, pf, dv, plebanus, *provisor*, II, III, 9 10 28 46 (Bp) 53 55 60 67 **74** 80 103 149 215 220 222 226 230 232 234 237 240 246-47 **252** 255 272 300 400 437; *provisor*, 68-80 473-75 **485** 510 512.
- Cortehoevius, Theod., 524.
- Cortesijs, Paul, 432.
- Corynna, 497.
- Costa, Christ. a, bot, 375.
- Coster, Costerius, John de, of St. Martin's, hm, patr, III, xii 59 254 278 281 425 444 517.
- COSTER, FRANCIS DE, Costerus, Jes, 264 **302**.
- Coursel(ius), Gerard : see Corse-lius.
- Coutereel, Pierre, 2.
- Coutriau, Thib., Ld of Clabeek, 62.
- COVARRUBIAS, DIEGO, bp, minister, **328**.
- Crabeels, Clement (Crabbeels), Vic. Gen. of Roermond, afterwards Bp of Hertogenbosch, 95 97 394. *Cracow Univ*, xii; — *Library*, vi 508.
- Crafftstheim, Crato von, John, md, 371 372 351.
- Cramer, John de, neighbour, 60.
- Cranevelt, Francis de, cc, I, III, v vi 4 197 199 243 489 508 518.
- CRANEVELT, JOSSE DE, Gelderland Pro-Chancellor, **383**.
- Cranmer, 145 150.
- Cratander, Andrew Haltmann, pr, 273.
- Crato, John von : see Crafftstheim.
- Crefeling (Ciefeling), of Vienna, Jerome, A, st, 519.
- Cremer, Gerard de : see Mercator.
- Crocus, Cornelius, pt, pdg, lm, II, 52 314 341 514 524.
- Crombach, James van, ald, 515.
- Crommius, Matth., pr, 89 98 117 125 135 469.
- Croy, Card William de, 489.
- Croy, Charles de, Bp of Tournai, 165.
- Croy, Philip de, duke of Aerschot, amb, 96 113 203.
- Croy, Charles-Philip de, Ld of Havrech, 203 420.
- Crucius, Livinus : see Cruyce.
- Cruginus, Jacobus : see Cruquius.
- Cruquius, James, de Cruucke, de Cruyken, lm, III, 90 139 377 519 525.
- Cruyce, Livinus (Levinus) van den, Crucius, lm, pp of Boeschepe, III, 412 518.
- Cruyce, John van den, Crucius, Gutius, grc, pf, III, 103 255.
- Cujas, James, pf, jp, 349 359-60 452.
- Curio, Coelius Secundus, pf Basle, 356-57.
- Curtius, Franc., pf, 104.
- Curtius, James, de Corte, hm, jp, 10 524.
- Curtius, Peter : see Corte.
- Custodis, John, neighbour, 61.
- Cuukius, Henry Francis, st, 517.
- Cuyck, Bruno van, Utrecht hm, 189.

Cuyck, Henry van, pf, dv, Bp of Roermond, 395.
Cynthia, 497.
Cypio : *see* Scipio.
Cyprian, St., 425 459.
Czartoryski, the Princes : their Museum, Cracow, 131.

D

- Dachverlies, Francis : *see* Heme-rolus.
Daems, James, neighbour, 60-62.
Dalem, Joachim, Ld of : *see* Hopper.
Dalila, 494.
Damasi, William : *see* Lindanus.
Damasthius, John, pt, 191.
Dambrowska, Martin a : *see* Slap.
Damhouder, Josse de, jp, cc, ii, 515 524.
Damme (John) Antony, Ld of : *see* 't Sestich.
Dandino, Card Jerome, Bp of Imola, amb, 118.
Dante, 97.
DANTISCUS, JOHN, Bp of Ermland, amb, ii, iii, vi 128-30 **132** 133 **134** 247 508 516.
Dantisco, Lucas : *see* Gracian.
Daphnis, 498 503.
Darington, Nicolas, 286-87.
Dassonville, Anna, 263.
David, his Psalms, vi 277 468.
Delft, St. Agatha's, 42.
Delft, Catherine van, 44.
Delia, 497.
Delrio, Del Rio, Martin Antonio, erd, 328 445.
Demeter, 183.
Democritus, 163.
Demosthenes, 11 98 100 506.
Denmark : Kings : Christiern II, 116 ; — Frederic II, 365 ; — Christiern IV, 418.
Denmark : *its* Art, 525.
Deurnagle, Ld of Vroylant, John, 193 ; — his d, Frances, 193.
Deventer, James of, geog, 514.
Diaz, Juan, 132.
Diericx, Cornelius : *see* Kilianus.
DIEVE, PETER VAN, Dyeve, Divæus, hist, 203 **419-20** 522 ; — his ss, Cornelius, kt, Ld of Tendale, & Francis, mk, 420 ; — his f, Peter, 419 ; — his b, Gregory, 419.
Dilft, Ld of Doorne & Leverghem, Francis van der, amb, ii, iii, 23 284 514.
Dillingen Univ, flia Lovantii (Uni-Dill., 47), xii 153 158 318 380-81.
Dioceses, New, 170 ; *discontent about them*, 389-90.
Diodachus, Proclus, 137.
Dionysius Periegetes, Alexandrinus, 165.
Dioscorides Pedanius, xi 183.
Distelmayer, Cleophas, pt, 109.
Divæus : *see* Dieve.
Docosse, Ysabeau, 253.
Doctrinale, xi 163 412.
Dodoens, Junius Rembert, Dodonæus, md, bot, ii, iii, xii 94 323 358 369 371-72 374 444-45 456 517.
Donatus, 269.
Doneau, John, Donellus, pf, jp, 351.
Donk, Martin, Duncanus, pp of Wormer, lm, ctv, iii, 195-96 215 517.
Doorne, Francis Ld of : *see* Dilft.
Dormael, Phil. van, pr, 95 470 490.
Dorp, Martin van, pf, dv, i, ii, iii, vii 20 103 106 (his production of plays) 206 515.
Dortmund gymnasium, 47-48.
Douai Univ : foundation, 325 332 340 344 355 377 411 448 ; — pfs, xii ; — *English Seminary*, 333-34 ; — *Anchin College*, 334.
Doublet, Philip, Treasurer of States General, 365.
Dousa, Janus, hm, 446 448 ; — his s, Janus, 207 215 281 335 338 345.
DRACO, JOHN, Drach, Draconites, pt, pf Erfurt, **300** 513.
Drake, Sir Francis, explorer, 373 375.
DRIEDO, JOHN, Driedoens, Nys, pf, dv, mthm, ii, iii, 100 197 247 381 **452** 515.
Driescharius, James : *see* Zovitius.
Driesche, James v. d. : *see* Drusius.
DRIEUX, MICHAEL, Driutius, pf, jp, Rct, founder of College, ii, iii, 15 16 19 24 45 46 65 73 515.
DRIEUX, REMI, cnn, pf, cc, Bp of

- Bruges & Leeuwarden, **45-46**
161 340 381 400 519; — his *f*,
Remi, 45.
- Drivere, Jeremy de: *see* Thriverus.
- Drua, James, tax gatherer, 62.
- Drusius, van den Driessche, John,
pf, 445 526.
- Dryander, Francis: *see* Enzinas;
— John: *see* Eichmann.
- Duarenus, Francis, jp, 349.
- Dubois, James: *see* Sylvius.
- Ducere melius quam cogi*, 394-95.
- Duchesne, Francisco: *see* Enzinas.
- Duffel, Matthew van, steward of
Abbot of Parc, 62.
- Dufflæus, Corn.: *see* Kilianus.
- Dufour, abbé Valentin, 133.
- Duisburg Univ*, xii 167 175 416.
- Dullardus, John, pf Paris, 143.
- Dumæus, Ant., pr, 166.
- <Dumæus> Adrian, Michaelis (of
Ghent), st, 302.
- Duncanus, Martin: *see* Donk.
- Duplicius, Cornelius: *see* Schep-
per.
- Durateus (Duria), 499.
- Duyck, Cornelius, Haarlem lm,
323 341.
- Duyn, Renatus van der, kt, 361.
- Dycke, Mathilde van den, 3.
- Dyeve: *see* Dieve.
- E**
- Easter: its date*, 197.
- Eck, John, dv, ctv, 198 314 430
433; — *Eckius Dedolatus*, 433.
- Edam, Francis of, Carth Prior, 222.
- Edelheer(e), William (Pres James's
grandfather), 2-3 4 53; — *ω*,
Adelaïde Cappuyns, 2 3; — an-
cestors, Franco, cc, 2; John, 53;
ss, William, cn, 3; James, 3;
dd, Catherine & Adelaïde, 3;
gss, Jerome & James, and *gd*,
Machteld, *see infra*.
- EDELHEER(e), JAMES (grandson of
William), *Tril*. Pres. **3-9** 14 31
43 50 51 **52-53** 54-55 63 519; —
his *si*, Machteld, 3; — his *b*, Je-
rome,
- EDELHEER(e), JEROME (Pres James's
brother), town secr, **3-7** 53; —
ω, Mary Peters, Peeters, 6; *d*,
Catherine, 6; ss, Jerome, mk, 7,
James & Philip, frs, 7; John &
William, 7; — *gs*, James, 7; *gd*,
Jane, 7; — *n*, Ann Peters, 6; *gn*,
John Molanus, 6.
- Eeckenbeke, Gerard & Charles,
Lords of: *see* Rym.
- EELen, JEROME, Elenus, of Baelen,
jp, **341** 521.
- Egmont, George of, Ld of Hoog-
woude, Bp of Utrecht, 381 513.
- Egmont, Phil. of, Ld of Baer, 513.
- Egmont, Lamoral, Count of, Go-
vernor of Flanders, 161-62 190.
- EICHMANN, JOHN, Dryander, md, pf
Marburg, **144**.
- EISENGREIN, MARTIN, pf, **315**.
- Elderen, Mgr Egidius of, pf, 323.
- Eleazar, 31.
- Elenus, Jerome: *see* Eelen.
- Ellebode, Nicasius van, Ellebo-
dius, md, 372.
- Ellenbog, Nic., 430.
- Elostanus, Gellius, priest, erd, 342.
eloquence, and aim of Tril: ix-xi.
- Elter, Margaret, 150.
- Elzevier, L., pr, 366.
- Emmius, Ubbo, Groningen lm, 362.
- Empacius, Leo, ex-parish priest,
195.
- Encinas: *see* Enzinas.
- Enckenvoirt, Michael & William
of: *see* Lombarts.
- Endovianus, Peter, dv, 1st Rector
of Dillingen, 380.
- Engelen, Ambrose van, Abbot of
Parc, 226.
- England: King Richard II*, 488;
— Queen Catherine, 20 422; —
King Henry VIII, 20 112-14 198
282-84 422; — Queen Catherine
Parr, 283; — King Edward VI,
275 280 282-84 288-90 387 424-25
427; — Queen Mary Tudor, 13
114 145 179 281-82 284-85 288-91
426 471; — Elizabeth, 284-85
(princess); Queen: 114 281 291-92
333 417-18 426 445.
- England: erudition and learning
in mediæval abbeys*, 281; —
*Louvain accepting English re-
fugees: their matriculation*, 153
280 425-29; — *source of oppos-*

- ition against Elizabeth, 291-92 ;
— *School of Apologists*, 445-46.
England : composing of the Book of Common Prayer, 145 150-51 ;
— '*Church of England*', 386-87 ;
— mid-century inflation and abolition of abbeys, viii-ix.
Englefield, Sir Francis, cc, 288.
ENUESIA, GABRIEL, S, st, dv, **438** 439 522.
Enzina, Juan de la, pt, 143.
Enzinas (Joannes, or rather) Fernando, wr, 143.
ENZINAS, DIDACUS, JAYME DE, **130-32** 144-46.
ENZINAS, FRANCIS DE, Encinas, Duchesne, van der Eycken, Dryander, ctv, 88 131-32 **143-52** 283 520 ; — Melanchthon's soul, 146 ;
— lack of reliability of Enzinas' *Memoirs*, 148-49.
Ephraem the Syrian, 176.
Epictetes, 162.
Epigraphy (Latin) : study started in Louvain, 212 ; — *inscriptions in Rome*, 178 ; — *collection of de Smet for the Laurin brothers*, 186 192 453 ; — *cp. Pigge*.
Epistolæ Familiæ : their value as sources, vi vii 508 ; — *Clenardus' Epistolæ*, 525.
epitaphs composed at funerals, 459 465 468.
Epiphanius, 358.
Episcopi, Nicolas, Bishop, pr, 28 276.
EPO BOETIUS, pf Douai, **355**.
ERASMUS, Busleyden's adviser : i, ii, iii, iv v vii-ix xi 5 8 10 (*bundle of epitaphs*) 15 19 20 25-30 52 66-7 76 79 86 93 107 111 **126-27** (Lily) 128 145 157 (*his stay in Louvain* 1521) 185 190 195 198 209 218 (*his will*) 230 **231-33** 238 240 246 250-51 256 257 261 (*books*) 262 (*Coll.*) 262 (*Copta*) 269-70 275-76 286 291 293 297-98 317-18 334 369 370 379 381 391 **413-15** (*his works used, but name left out*) 422 424-26 430 433 435 (*his name excluded*) 438 442-43 **444 450-51** (*the Great Unknown*) 452 462 473 476 489 495 506 508-10 512 523-26.
ERASMUS : *his writings* : *Antibarbari*, 293 ; — *Colloquia, judged severely by Donk*, **215** ; — *Compendium Vitæ Des. Erasmi*, 27-28 126.
ERASMUS & the Trilingue : *his 'Golden Rule' scientific method*, 369 (*see Louv. Tril., Method*) ; — *he also tries to raise the professors' salary*, 64 ; *his confidence in Goclenius, shown by his letters*, 23, and *by entrusting him his money*, 15-16 **17-18 20-24** 64-67.
Erbornen, Cornelius, dv, 57.
Erfurt Univ, Louvain profs. sent there, xii 267 318 353-55 444 513.
Ermland Chapter & Archives, at Frauenburg, vi 134.
Ernest, Archduke, Governor of Belgium, 173.
Escluse, Michel de l', Ld of Watènes (Clusius' father), 369 370.
Escluse, Clusius, Charles de l' : *see Clusius*.
Escluse, de l', Joannes, son of Leo, st ; — Peter, st, 369.
Espinoy, Philip de l', cc, 46.
Essche, Nicolas van, Eschius, chaplain, 6.
ESTAINIER, JOHN L', Stainier, Stan-nifex, pf, **103-4** 520.
ESTIENNE, ROBERT, pr, erd, 270 **294** ; — HENRY, his son, 273 **293-94** 364 371.
Estournel, John d' : *see Vendeville*.
Eucharius, Paul, lm, 369 ; — his f, Eligius : *see Hoeckaert*.
Euclid, 194.
Euripides, 96 268 365-66 495.
EURIPUS, *play by John of Brecht*, **107-110** 316 526.
Eustachio, Bart., md, 453.
Everardi, Nicolas, Pres. Holl. & Mechl. Council, 4.
Everberg, William, Ld of : *see Busleyden*.
Eversham Abbey (Stavele, Furnes : Torfs, i, 244 ; LooE, 5, sq), 161 407-8 ; — abb, 161 : see Loo ; — pv, 409.
Explicationes Articulorum, inspired by Tapper, 149.

Eycken, John van der, Leonardi, Hasselius, dv, pf, II, 168 (sent to Trent) 181 300 378 514.

Eycken, Fr. van der : see Enzinas.

Eynde, Mary van den, 420.

F

Faber John, wr, II, 411.

Fabius, William : see Boonaerts.

FABRE DE LA BODERIE, GUY, Fabricius, pf, 389.

Fabricius, Andrew, 312.

Fabricius, Francis <or George?>, his selection from Terence, 414.

Fabricius, Lefèvre, Smits, Godfrey, of Hodeige, pf Ingolstadt, III, xii 312 516.

Fabricius, William, dn of St. Peter's, 329 490.

Faërno, Gabriel, lat, 167.

Fagius, Paul III, 150.

Falckenburgh, H, pr, 361.

Falco, Herman, st, 517.

Fallais, James of Burgundy, Ld of, 148.

Fallais of Burgundy, Francis de, pt, 518.

Fa(l)lais, Leonard de, pt, 518.

Fallopio, Gabr., md, 453.

Family of Love, 389 402.

Farnese, Alexander : see Parma.

Fazellus, Thomas, wr, 36.

Fauques, Rent of, 53 58 60 61.

Feiconis of Piersma, Rixtia, 323.

Feitzma, Suffridus, 352.

Fenaerts, Catherine, 45.

Fernandus de Frias, Ditijs, P, fin, III, 518.

Ferrandus Cordubensis & Agidarius, Alphonsus, 439.

Fichart, John, wr, 326.

Fienus : see Fyens.

FIESCHI, JAMES DE', Fliscus, Bp of Savona and Noli, 88 sq 91 93 123-26 464 520; — his b, NICOLAS, his successor as bp, 88 123 125 520; — their u, NICCOLO, Bp of Toulon, Card, Abp of Ravenna, Count of Lavagna, amb, 124; — sons of Hector del Fiesco; — rr, Popes Innocent IV (Simbaldo de F) and Adrian V (Ottoni de F); Cardinals Georgio, Lucas & Ste-

phen; Bps John (of Vercelli), Nicolas, Gian-Francisco, 124.

Filello, Francesco, rs, 262.

Finé, Oronce, pf, 132.

Flaccus Illyricus, Matthias, rf, II, 349 390.

Flanders, first map of, 165.

Flanders, Louis of Nevers, Count of, 46.

FLANDERS, LOUIS OF, Baron of Praet & Woestyne, Governor of Utrecht, amb, 96 113 276 364 366.

Flaracken, Christopher, of Hertogenbosch, 394.

Flemish (Cymric ?) and its age, 36 38 40.

Fliscus : see Fieschi.

Flood, the, in Gorp's theory, 36.

Florenas, of Florennes, Florentius : see Herco.

FLORENTII, NICOLAS, Florentius, of Haarlem, secr, erd, 177-79 189 200-01 204 207 520.

Florus, 104 144.

FONCK, JOHN, van Ameronghen, Roman Agent, appointed bp of Ghent, 169-70 395.

FOREEST, PETER VAN, Forestus, md, pf Leyden, xii 40-42 464 519; — his f, Jorden, Jourdan, sheriff, 40 464; bb, James, John & Nan-ning, 42 464.

FORSTER, JOHN, hebr, pf, 304 305.

Forti(us), Joachim : see Sterck.

Fortunatianus : see Chirius.

Fowler, John, pr (Louvain), 289.

Fox, Bp Richard, Founder of *Corpus Christi*, I, II, 447.

Fox(ius), Seb. & Fr. : see Morcillo.

Foxe, John, martyrologist, 114.

France : *Arms, Three Lilies*, 36; — Queen Eleanor, 31 524; — Kings : Charles VIII, 404; — Louis XI, 404; — Francis I, ciii 31 44 100 129 (+) 256 311 447; — Henry II, 376; Henry III, 35; — Henry IV, 389; — *the people of*, 503.

François Cuukius, Henry, st, 517.

Franeker Univ., xii.

Frankensteyn, Rodolph, G, st, 211 521.

Frankfurt Fair, 525.
Frauenburg Cathedral : Domkustos, 134; — Canon Mauritius, 133; — *Archives*, vi.
 Fresneda, Fra Bernardo de, royal confessor, 347.
 Frias, Ditijs de : *see* Fernandus.
 Frieshammer, Matthias, calligr., 315.
Friesland : origin and history, 359-63; — *States*, 381; — *religion*, 381; — *the people*, 503.
 Frilatenus, Cornelius, pt, 195.
 Froben, Baron of Zimmern, Christopher, G, st, 519.
 Froben, John, pr, III, 28 127 269 489; — his ss, Jerome, III, 23 44 276 468; — John Erasmus, III, 28 517.
 Frumentti, Alessandro, Nuncio in Portugal, 392.
 Frusius, Andrew, Jes, 414.
 Fruytiers, Fruterius, Lucas, hm, 446.
 FUGGER, JAMES II, the Rich, fin, 429 430-31; — his f, James I, founder of Lily branch, 429; — his b, Ulrich and his son Jerome, 430.
 FUGGER, RAYMOND, Count of Kirchberg & Weissenhorn, fin, 296 371 429-30 431; — his f, George, brother of James II, 429.
 FUGGER, JOHN-JAMES, s of Raymond, bbph, III, 267 296 371 429-31 430 (his collection of books) 518; — his ss, SIGISMUND-FREDERIC, Ld of Kirchberg & Weissenhorn, st, 267 295-96 371 431; Jerome, st, 431; Philip-Edward, 430; Christopher, 431.
 FUGGER, ANTONY (son of George, brother of Raymond), fin, 371 430-31; — his ss, MARK, st, 371 431-32 522; JOHN, st, 371 431-32 522; James, 432.
 Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades, wr, 488.
 Fulke, William, rf, 386.
 FURIÓ, FADRIQUE CERIOL, Ceriolanus, of Valencia, S, jp, ctv, 434 436-38 522.
 Furmer(ius), Bernard Gerbrandi,

hist, 353 362.
 Fyens, Fienus, John, of Turnhout, md, wr, 368; his s, Thomas, md, pf, 42.

G

Gabiano, J. Fr. de, pr, 416.
 GAIL, ANDREW, Geyl, Geel, jp, imp cc, 338-40 348 510 521; — his f, PHILIP, Cologne mch, ennobled, 338-39.
 Galenus, Claudius, III, xi 41 135 308 452.
 GALLAND, PETER, Galandinus, pf, 129 132.
 Gallio, Ptolomeo, Card of Como, Papal Secr of State, 392 394.
 GALLUS, EWALD, lm, 414.
 Gameren, Gerard van, dn Hertogenbosch, 223.
 GAMEREN, HANNARD OF, of 'Hemmer't', Gomerius, Mosæus, md, pf Ingolstadt, xii 110 315-17 521; cp. *ULAnn.*, 1848, 181-84.
 Garde, Marie de la, 61.
 GARDINER, STEPHEN, Bp, Amb, stm, 245 275 281 282-84 285 288-89 423 471 521 526.
 Garet, Garetius, John, of St. Martin's, Louvain, copyist, cvt, 59; — he died as spirit. director at Mishagen in 1571 : *BibBelg.*, 504-5; Miræus, 85; Paquot, ix, 72, xiii, 194.
 Gaukema, Gauco, Aix cn, 363.
 Gavere, Judocus of : *see* Vroeye.
 Gaza, Theodore, 130 254 255.
 Geel, Andrew : *see* Gail.
Geervliet Abbey, 164.
Gelderland : War, 272; — Duke of G., 100.
 Geldorp, Henry, lm Delft, 214-15 323 325 382.
 Geldrius, Gelrius, John, Bruges lm, 188 376.
 Gemma Phrysius Reyneri, md, geog, mthm, II, III, xii 31 43 129-31 212 312 332 352 415 443 456 516; — his s, Cornelius, md, pf, 309 312.
 GENEBRARD, GILBERT, hebr, pf Paris, 302 389 436.

- Geneva, Bps of, 422.
 Gennep, Andrew van: *see* Balenus.
 Genneville, Monseigneur de, 178.
 Gens, Gennes, Gensius, Louis, hm,
 III, 90-93 103 135 185 517.
 GENT, WILLIAM, CC, 383.
 Gerard(e), John, bot, 373 375.
 Gerbel, Nicolas, 433.
 Gerbert (Sylvester II), wr, 488.
 Gerdou, Henry, 352 359.
 Geri, Philip, Bp of Ischia & Assisi,
 167.
 Geriman, John, debtor, 62.
 Germani, 502, sq.
 GESNER, CONRAD VON, pf, 370.
 Gesquière, Jos. Hippol., Bollandist, 174.
 Getulicus, 497.
 Geyl, Andrew: *see* Gail.
 Gheeraerts, Mark, the elder, engraver, painter, wr, 187; — his s, Mark, the younger, painter, 187 192.
 Gheesdael, Antony, 403; — John v. G., Antwerp lm, 403.
 Gheluwe, Gheolous, John of: *see* Castelius.
 Ghent: *St. Peter's Abbey in Monte Blandino: library*, 14; — *Codex*, 270; — *Episcopal See*, 395; — *Gh. Pacification*, 162 321 337 345; — *character of natives*, 181.
 Gherinx, Busconius, Metrarius, Peter, (bad) pt, 496 514.
 Ghinck, Arnold, pf, 90.
 Ghisbertus, Licentiate, jp, 485.
 Ghisselinck, Ghiselin, Victor: *see* Giselinus.
 Ghistele, James van (*rent of Fauquez*), 53.
 Ghybens, Tilman Clerici, 149.
giants, existence of, 34 35.
 GIFFEN, HUBERT VAN, Giphanius, Obertus, of Buren, jp, pf Ingolstadt, III, xii 325 330 350-51 445-46 521.
 Gillis, Francis: *see* Sonnius.
 Gillis, Catherine, 338.
 Gillis, Michael, imp secr, III, 518.
 Gillis, Ægidii, Peter, II, III, 513.
 Gils, Antony van, pf, 447.
 Giphanius Obertus: *see* Giffen.
 GISELINUS, VICTOR, Ghisselinck, Ghiselin, hm, III, 182-84 207 278 357 368 403 445-46.
 GLAREANUS, HENRY, Loriti, hm, II, 126-27 336.
 GLAVIMAN, JOHN, assessor to Privy Council, 72-73.
globes, geographical, 247.
 Glymes, Ld of, 391.
 Gnaphæus, William, lm, 128.
 Gobelinus, Mgr, 513.
 Goch, John Pupper von, wr, 407.
 GOCLENIUS, CONRAD, Wackers, von Gockelen, LP, I, II, III, viii-xi 1 2 8-10 19 20 25 27-30 50-52 65-67 69 72 76 79-80 87 89 92 102 125-26 129 208 212 (*model teacher*) 220 226-27 237-38 246-47 250-51 259 260 269 297 443-44 447 449-51 456 462 473 476-77 479-84 486 510-11 513 518 (pres) 525.
 GOCLENIUS, *his ways of teaching, aiming at truth and utility*, 12, sq 92 212 259-60; *his method and his success*, 449-51; — cp. Louvain, *Trilingue, Method*.
 GOCLENIUS: *his decease and inheritance: funeral oration*, 13-14; *goods left*, 15-16; — book by Melanchthon, 16; — G. wished his letters to be destroyed, 22-23; — money he had received from Erasmus in trust, 17, sq, 20-24 62-64 81 481; — his heirs, 16-20 24-31; — his successor, 10.
 Godefroy, Gothophredus, Denis, jp, pf Paris, 344.
 GOES, DAMIAN A, hm, amb, III, vii 11 89 98-100 126 127 144 244 516 520; — his s, Emmanuel, 11 98.
 Golde, Henry, II, 286.
 Goldsmet, Francis, E, st, 210.
 GOLTZ, HUBERT, Goltzius, Herbipolita, atq, pr, 168 178 186-87 188 190 191-92 193 371 376-77 417; — his f, Rutger, of Würzburg, 186; — his s, Henry, agent, 187 192.
 Goltz, Henry, Haarlem engraver, 192; — his f, John of Kaiserswerth, 192.
 GOOSSENS, CHARLES, Goswini, pf, md, III, 80.
 GOOSSENS, JOHN, Goswini, lm, cn, dn Hilvarenbeek, 407 409-10 522.

- Gomez, Sylva, Rodericus, 440.
 Gonzalez, Juan, S, priest, 440.
 GORP, JOHN VAN, Goropius, Becanus, st, wr, md, II, 31-40 42 170-72 175 182 270-71 519; — his *dd*, Isabeau & Catherine, 39.
 Goswini, John : *see* Goossens.
Gothic language, 35.
 Gottices (Gottiers), Ant., S, st, 144.
Gouda School, 461.
 Goudanus, Cornelius : *see* Reineri.
 Gourmont, Giles de, pr, 5.
 GOUVEA, ANDREW DE, Im, 47 266 267; — his *b*, Antony, pf, 267.
 Govaerts, Adelaide, 344.
 Goynus, Antony, pr, 244.
 Goze, THOMAS DE, Gouze, Gozeus, pres, pf, dv, 264 399.
 Gozée, Bartholomew de, 213.
 Gracian de Alderete, Diego, secr, wr, III, 144 515.
 Gracian Dantisco, Lucas, wr, 524.
Græcismus, xi.
 Gramaye, J. B., hist, 216.
 Granada, Luis de, xiii.
 Grandreng, Ld of : *see* Brussels.
 Granvelle, Nicolas Perrenot de, Secr of State, 211 257-59 263; — his *ss*, Antony (*next paragraph*), Thomas & Jerome, 257; Charles, st, 211 521.
 Granvelle, Antony Perrenot de, Bp of Arras, Abp, Cardinal, stm, III, x 32 138 141 161 171 178 (Viceroy of Naples) 179 183 186 202 204-06 215 257-58 276-77 300 302 325 329 340 355-56 382 396-97 440 517.
 Grapheus, Cornelius, hm, 94 147 187 523.
 Gratianus, Augustus, Roman Emperor, 281.
 GRAVE, BARTHOLOMEW DE, Gravius, pr, III, 10 86 97-8 100 239 247 311 344 347 437 470; — his *s*, Henry, dv, Vatican Librarian, 445 526.
 Gravius, Cornelius, of Rommerswale, pf, dv, 153.
Greek : taught in Louvain, 255-56 449; — *scientific study and teaching*, 260; — *pronunciation, viz., that of Erasmus*, 126-27 266; — *Cambridge pronunciation*, 280 286.
 Gregory of Nazianzus, St., 428 469.
 Gregory Thaumaturgus, St., 176.
 Gregory XIII, 154 169-70 176 205 309 334 348 384 391-95 398 428.
 Griboval, Ld of Hemstede, Florent de, cc, 514.
 Grimbergen, Josse van, Univ not, 25-27 30.
 Grimberghe, Nicolas, Viscount of : *see* Busleyden.
 Grisenoord, James, Ld of : *see* Suys.
Grobhendonck, Our Lady's Throne Priory, 348.
 Groesbeeck, Albert, Emmerich cn, 121.
 GROESBEECK, GERARD OF, Card, Prince Bp of Liège, 39 168 169 360 409.
Groningen School, 355.
 Gronovius, Jac., erd, 204.
 's Grooten, Denis, jp, 343.
 Gropper, Card Caspar, Nuncio, 198-99 392 413; — called '*Carnalis*', 142.
Grudii, name of those formed in Louvain, 446.
 Grudius, Nicolas, Frater Belga, jp, pt, cc, II, 443 456 496 515.
 Grunenberch, James, mch, 514.
 Gruterus, Janus, de Gruyter, erd, 172 202 245 359.
 Grynæus, Joannes Jacob, 306.
 Gryphus, Seb., pr, 364.
 Gualteri, Stephen, pr, 289 468.
 Guarinus, Thomas, pr, 357 359.
 Guennevelle, Amerot, James, 253; — his *s*, Adrian : *see* Amerot.
 Guicciardini, Ludovico, hist, 404.
 Guidocok, Aur. Boloniensis, E, st, 280 423.
 GULIELMIUS, JOHN, Willems, Gulielmius, de Backer, Pistorius, of Haarlem, H P, Jes, 156-57 305 307 308 386 389 436.
 Guinellius : *see* Winellius.
 Guinterus, John : *see* Winter.
 Guirsch, William, Ld of : *see* Busleyden.
 GULIELMIUS, JANUS, of Lübeck, st, 358 362.
 Gutius, John : *see* Cruyce.

Guyenne College, 286.
 Guyot, George, md, 203.
 Guzman, J. Cl., Count of Niebla, 440.
 GYGE, MARGARET, Gyggs, Gigs, Clement, erd, of Burnham, Thomas More's niece and adoptive daughter, 424-27 522.
 Gyges, 191.
 Gymnicus, John, pr, 244 524; — Martin, pr, 140.

H

Haach, Peter, pr, 401.
 Haberstock, Joachim, pt, 314.
 Hadenreich von Innspruck, Erasmus Berolzheim, B, st, 519.
 Hadriani, Hadrianus : *see* Herbouts.
 Haeck, Bernard, lm Cologne, 409-10.
 Hæmus, Francis : *see* Heeme.
 Haert, Henry van der, pr, 419.
Hague, The : Dean of Our Lady's Chapter, 381; *Library*, vi.
 Haitzhovel, Matthias up ten, 118-20; — his *d*, Elsa, 120; — his *ss*, Matthias, John, 118; — his *s*, Henry Rudolph, cc : *see* Wese.
 Halewyn, George of, Kt, lt, 523.
 Halewyn, James of, Ld of Maldeghem, 524.
 Haltmann, Andrew : *see* Cratander.
 Halvermylen, Elizabeth van der, 419.
 Hamaïde, Anna de la, 48.
Hamburg Library, vii.
 Hamlyn, V. (his value as historian), 176.
 Hanau, Hanow, Caspar, 133.
 Hancart, Lambert, Abbot of Gembloux, 360.
 Haneton, Philip, 524.
 Haræus, Francis : *see* Verhaer.
 HARDENBERG, ALBERT RIZÆUS, rf, 131 146.
 Harderwyk, Isbrand, Abbot of Lidlum, 356.
 Harding, Thomas, hebr, dv, ctv, 427.
 HARDOUIN, Francis, Hardwyn, lg, 403; — his *b*, Denis, lm, 368 403.
 Hargen, Splinter van, 524.

Harrington, Sir John, lt, 114.
 Harst, Charles, amn, secr, cc, ii, iii, 28 514.
 Harvey, Gabriel, pt, lt, 293 330.
 Hasselius, John of Hasselt : *see* Eycken, v. d.
 Hasselt, Augustine van, pr, 402.
 Hastenius, Henry, pt, 323 454.
 Hauchin, John, Abp of Mechlin, 173.
 Havenberch, Matt. : *see* Heeswyk.
 Havens, Arnold, hist, 385.
 Havet, Ant., Bp of Namur, 160.
 Havrech, Charles-Philip, Ld of : *see* Croy.
 Havrech, Julian Aurelius de, erd, 244.
 Hayen, L., pr, 163.
 Hazebroek, James of : *see* Castere.
 Hecquet, Adrian, pt, carm, 296-97.
 Hector, 498.
 Heeme, Hæmus, Francis, lm, pt, iii, 519.
 Heems, John, *regens*, 255.
 Heemstede, John van, mk, hm, 516; — his *b*, Thierry : *see* Symons.
 Heetvelde, Barbe van den, 419; — her *f*, Arnold, 419.
 Heeswyk, Matthias Havenberch van, Abbot of Middelburg, 216.
 HEGENDORF, CHRISTOPHER, Hegen-dorphinus, 271.
 Hegius, Alex, 523.
Heidelberg Univ, xii.
Heilo Abbey, 161.
 Helman, Jerome, 39.
Helmstedt Univ, 330.
 Helyar, John, E, erd, dv, 280 518.
 Hembyze, John, Ld of : *see* Ydeghe.
 Hemerolus, Francis Dachverlies, of Hertogenbosch, hm, 140; — cp. *UniKöln*, 557.
 Hemstede, Florent, Ld of : *see* Griboval.
 Henckel, John, H, st, 518.
 Hendrickx, Beatrix, 407.
 Henrici, William : *see* Someren.
 Herbouts, Adrian, Antw. pensionary, 508; — his *s*, Hadrianus, st, 508.
Herckenrode Abbey, 169.

- Herco, Nicolas of Florennes, Florenas, Florentius, hm, md, 119 135; — his s, Florentius, Rollariensis, st, 209 520.
Hercules, 495; — Hercules Prodi-
cius, 206.
Heremannus, Wathias, dn of Bols-
ward, 381.
Herenbaut, Michael, pf, jp, 337 345.
Herent : *see* Boxhoren.
Herenthout, Jerome, Ld of : *see*
Sandelin.
Heresbach, Conrad von, cc, iii, 28
29.
Heresbach, Everard, G, 518.
Herlaer, Jerome, Ld of : *see* San-
delin.
Hermann, Matthew, Augsburg, B,
st, 519.
Hermes, 498.
Hero, Albert, of Sneek, hm, 358.
Herodotus, 499 505.
Heros, John, pt, 110.
Hertogenbosch : *St. John's Chap-
ter*, 220 223 410-11; — *School*,
163 410, *sq*; — *Seminary*, 395.
Hertogenbosch, Nicolas van : *see*
Broeckhoven.
Hervagius, pr, 181.
Hesiod, 343 364.
Hesse, Philip, Landgrave of, 144
299-300; — Prince William,
landgrave, 373-74.
HESSELS, JOHN, Hesselius, pf, dv,
149 (& Tapper) 153 155 **158-61**
226 398-99 520 526; — his *f*, Wil-
liam, carver, 159 399.
HESSELS, MARTIN (John's *b*), pf, dv,
160 264 **398-99** 522.
Hessels, Gisbert, md, 399; — his
s, Martin, md, 399.
Hessus, Eob. Coci, pf Erfurt, ii, 513.
Heverlee, *Philosophers' Well*, 89.
Heuschling, Stephen, H P, 447.
Heussen, Nicolas, vic. sede vac. of
Haarlem, 164.
Heuterus, Pontus, hist, 196.
Heybergius, J., pr, 421.
Heymbachius, Bernard, L P, 447.
Heyme, Maria, 419.
Heyndrix, Clara, 165.
Heysbroeck, Ld of : *see* Brussels.
Hieratus, Ant., pr, 340.
Hillen, M., pr, 4 50 94 163 489 524.
Hingene, Corard, Ld of : *see* Schets.
Hippocrates, xi 42 135 163 352.
Hody, Humphrey, pf, 34.
Hoeckaert, Eligius, Eucharius, lm,
iii, 369.
Hoeven, Judocus van der, Pres,
iii, 8 51 59 68 72 77-79 221 234-35
479 507 511 516.
HOFF, PAUL, Hoffæus, Jes, 109.
Holbein, 424.
Hollandi, 503.
Holy, Hugh van : *see* Muys.
Homer, 96 99 245 422 493-4 500 502.
Hompén, Haio Herman Ubbena,
Phrysius, cc, 513 523.
Hondschoote School, 267.
Honoratus, Maurus Servius, 96.
Hoogwoude, George, Ld of : *see*
Egmont.
Hoonen, Hooren, SD, st, 518.
Hooper, John, Bp of Gloucester,
151.
Hoorn, James of : *see* Ceratinus.
HOPPER, JOACHIM, Ld of Dalem, jp,
cc, 155 180 215 306 320 **323-30**
331-2 336 340-42 346-48 350-51 355
357 367 377 397 521 526; cp. *Mal-
ConM*, 111, r, v.
HOPPER, CAIUS-ANTONIUS, Joa-
chim's s : Univ. Chanc, Pv of
St. Peter's, 329; — his *bb*, Se-
duardus, 328-29; Gregory, 328-
29 332; Tideman, 329; — his *sisi*,
Catherine, Rixtia, Ida & Tideas,
329.
Hopper, Peter, of Sneek, st, 323.
Hoppers, William, st, 323.
Horace, 12 14 97 172 184 270 273
357 403 453 464 493.
Horderus, N, st, 518.
Horion, Horrion, Michael of, st,
484 517; Francis, Herman & John
fil. Guilielmi, sts, 209, *sq*, 520.
Horst, James, cn St. Gereon Col-
ogne, 138.
Horstius, Gisbert, md, 41.
Hortensius, Lambert van den
Hove, hist, xii 516.
Hosden, Philip of, Abbot of St.
Gertrude's, Louvain, 360.
Hosius, Card Stanislas, Vienna
Nuncio, 133-34 161 196 392 397-8.

Hostia (= Cynthia), 497.
 Houwaert, Baltasar, rf, 390.
 Houwer, de, 525.
 Hove, John van, not, 73.
 Hove, L. v. d. : see Hortensius.
 Hovelmans, Henry, of Westervoven, Antw. plebanus, 407 ; — his *b*, Marcellus, almoner of Thabor, Mechlin, 407.
 Hoyneck van Papendrecht, 327.
 Hoxwyer, Hoxvirius, Hector of, cc, II, 514 ; — his *b*, Ausonius, II, 515.
 Huben, Paul, cn, schol. Liège, 410.
Hubertas Aurea Sæculi, 188.
 Huens, John, carver, 152 ; — his *s*, Augustine : see Hunnæus.
 Huens, Rombaut, Abbot of Bonneffe, 152 ; — his *n*, John, mk of Bonneffe, 152.
 Hullegarde, Anna de, 44.
 Hulst, F. van der, 523.
Humanism, vi 369 ; cp. Louvain *Trilingue*, its New Method.
 Hummelberger, Michael, 432.
 Hundelghem, Barbara, Lady of : see Claissone ; Francis, Ld of : see Rym.
 Hungary, Mary, Queen of, III, 11 16 19 20 24 31 44 66 96 112 200-01 258 410 (Lady of Turnhout) 514 516.
 HUNNÆUS, AUGUSTINE, HUNÆUS, HUENS, dv, pf, 104 152-57 158 223 264 268 272 306-07 347 410 520 ; portrait in *Trilingue*, 156.
 Hurtado : see Mendoza.
 Huyghens, Josse : see Velaræus.
 Huysmans, William, L P, 309.
 Hyperius, Andrew, pf, 370.

I

Iardanus, King of Lydia, 495.
 IDE, MANILLE, md, pf, xv.
 Ignatius, St., mt, 164.
 Illyricus : see Flaccus.
 Imhof, Regina, 429.
Inferi, 487 491 492 493-506.
Ingolstadt Univ, xii 312-13 315-18 351 444.
 Innocent IV (Simbaldo de Fieschi), 124.
 Innsbruck, Er. v. : see Hadenreich.

Institutes : how to teach them, 318 320.
 Inquisition (Spain, Port.), xiii 525.
 ISAAC LEVITA, JOHN, hebr, xii 139 258 299-306 307 385-86 389 436 448 521 ; — his *ss*, STEPHEN, 300 306 307 ; Bertram, 306.
 Isidore of Seville, xi 36.
Italy : no inventions or innovation of scientific work, xiii 453 ; — visited by *Trilingue students*, x ; — *Ascham's visit there*, 292 ; — *its influence on England*, 292 ; — *Italian character*, 503.
 Itterius of Kinroy, Matthew, lm, 266.

J

Jaecx, John, his foundation, 222.
 Jaen, Bp of, 147 434.
 Jansen(ius), Cornelius, pf, dv, Pres H. Ghost, Bp of Ghent, 156 160 395-96 400 516.
 Jansz, Joannis, Renier, jp, pf, 515.
 Jariga, Rembert, 323.
 Jaso, 495.
 Jaspari, James : see Jespersen.
 Jeger(s), Govaart de, 309.
Jena Univ, xii 349 354-55.
 Jepsen Ravensberg, Christopher, D, pf Roskilde, II, xii 513.
 Jerome, St., 384-85 387 469.
 Jespersen, James, Jaspari, D, secr, pt, 259 517.
Jesuits : schools modelled on Tril., 211 ; — *attempt at founding Univ College in Louvain*, 165 169 173 174 ; *prohibited by Clement VIII*, 175-77 ; *treatment of Vossius*, 175-76 ; *planning Univ at Liège*, 169 176. — *Jesuit Drama*, 109-10. — *Jes General Fr. de Borgia*, xiii.
 Jetus, 183.
 Jewel, John, cvt, 386.
Jews & Protestants, 300.
Joan, fable of the Popess, 360.
 Joannis, Nicolas Serator, st, 517.
 Joannis, Petrus, N, st, 518.
 Joannis, Renier : see Jansz.
 Joannius, Honoratius, S, pc, 515.
Job, St., 499 502 504.
 Joigny, Jacqueline de : see Blondel.

Jonas, Justus, pf Erfurt, 513.
 Jonge, Junius, Alexander de, auditor Rotæ, 166.
 Jonge, John de, ald, 166.
 Jongh, Henry de, pf, 228 491.
 Jonghe, Adrian de : see Junius.
 Jonson, Ben, vii 38.
 JOSEL, JOSEPH, ADRIAN, cn, test. execut., 8 58 78 221 253 455 473 511 512.
 Julianus Salvius, emperor, 331.
 Jüllich, Duke of : see Cleves.
 Julius II, 124.
 Julius III, 290 380.
 Junius, Adrian de Jonghe, md, wr, 181 515.
Jurisprudence : Ars Juris, 326-27 350 ; — *based on history*, 318-19.
 Justin, St., 385 387.
 Justinian, 320 326-27 331 351.
 Juvenal, 460-61.

K

Kalckbrenner, Gerard, Carth. prior, 199.
 Kannegiesser, Christina, 339.
 Karst, Conrad, 430.
 Kellenaer, Christian : see Cellarius.
 Kempo of Texel, lm, 461.
 Kerkherdere, John, L P, 447.
 KESSEL, LEONARD, Jes, 109 302 303.
 Kessele, Pieter van, 60.
 Kethulle, Francis de, Ld of Ryhove, 161.
 Keussen, Herm., Col Archiv., 455.
 Kienrinck, Balt. : see Künring.
 KILIANUS, CORNELIUS, Diericx van Kiel, Dufflæus, lg, 270 402-05 522.
 Kirchberg, Raymond, Count of : see Fugger.
 Kleindienst, Bartholomew, dv, pf, 380.
 Knaep(s), John : see Servilius.
 Knibbe, Paul, amb, 418.
 Knobbaert : see Cnobbaert.
 KNOBELSDORF, EUSTACE OF, Constantius Alliopagus, Prutenus, pt, cn, 128-34 144 145-46 520.
 Kockert, Aug., 352 359 362.
 Koenrinck : see Künring.
 Kolen, Gysbert, 266.

Königseck, Magdalene, Freiin von, 296.
 Konings, Rex Polyphemus, Felix, 99.
 Κρίσις by Velstus (1556), 141.
 Kunheyne, Christ, Albr. von, 134.
 Künring, Koenrinck, Baltasar de, A, im, jp, 238 482 484 515.

L

Lactantius, 459.
 Lacteus, van der Biest, John, lm, pt, III, 518.
 Lacu, Robert de, van de Poel, pf, I, 59.
 Laertius, Diogenes, 270.
 Lallemand, John, grc, 364.
 LAMBACH, JOHN, Buecker, Böker, Bückler, Schevastes, G, pd, lm, 47 519 525 ; — his f, Reinold, 47.
 Lambin(us), Denis, erd, 350 357.
 Lambrecht, Joas, lg, 405.
 LAMPSON, DOMINIC, Lamsin, of Bruges (Stentor), secr, erd, 167-68 171 173 181 ; — his b, Nicolas, pt, 168.
 Lamsaert, John, Ld of : see Ruffault.
 Lancelot, Joannes, 341.
 Landino, Cristoforo, hm, 97.
 Landor, Walter Savage, 97.
 LANGHE, CHARLES DE, Langius, Liège cn, erd, hm, 35 39 168 171 172 177 180-84 185 207 357-58 520 ; — his f, JOHN, Ld of Beau-lieu, secr to Privy Council, 117 122 180.
 Langhe, Peter de, painter, bailiff of Amsterdam, 195.
 LANGHE, THIERRY DE, Langius (Laudius), G P, ix 156 265-68 286 287 295 354 356 455.
languages : necessity for studies, 55 379 ; — *teaching*, 259, sq ; — *manuals to be used*, 260-62.
 Lascaris, Janus, grc, pf, I, 238 442.
 Lascaris, Constantine, grc, 255.
 Laski, John a, Abp of Gnesen, 145 ; — his b, Jerome, 145.
 LASKI, JOHN A, rf, hm, III, 131 145-46 (his w Gudula & their d Barbara), 151.
 Lasso, Orlando di, musician, 315.

- Latin : lectures and teaching of*, 449, sq.
- Latini, Latino, hm, 121 167 388.
- Latomus, Bartholomew, Masson, pf Paris, cc, ii, xii 129 132 516.
- Latomus, James, dv, pf, i, ii, iii, 4 86 149 (criticized) 247 381; — his *n*, James, pt, 277 468.
- LATOMUS, JOHN, Prior of Our Lady's Throne, Grobbendonck, iii, 348; cp. Miræus, 46.
- Laudius, Theodoricus: see Langhe.
- Lauginger, Lucia, 432.
- Laurentius, pt, 110.
- Laurin, Bruges family, 498.
- LAURIN, MATTHIAS, MATTHEW, Ld of Watervliet & Waterland, ii, 185; — his *f*, Jerome, 523; his *bb*, Mark, dn of St. Donatian's, i, ii, 185; Peter, Ld of Watervliet, ii, 185-86 482; Charles, ii, 513; — *nn*, Matthias & Catherine (s & d of Peter), 185; — his *ss*, Mark & Guy, see next paragraphs.
- LAURIN, MARK, Ld of Watervliet, son of Matthew, erd, atq, nmm, wr, x xii 102 178 185-93 202 269 272 371 376-7 417 453 498 520 523.
- LAURIN, GUY, Ld of Clinckerland and Watervliet, erd, pt, nmm, x xii 102 178 185 (called Joannes) 186-90 191 192 193 269 272 371 376-77 417 453 498 520; — his *d*, Frances, 193; his *s*, Mark, 193.
- Laus Stultitiæ*, 215 450 523.
- Lavinia, 498.
- Lax de Sarifëna, Gaspar, pf Paris, 143.
- Leander (written Aleander), prob. Hero's lover, 495.
- Leander, Alberti, of Bologna, Dominican provincial, 44.
- Lee, Edward, Abp of York, i, 292.
- Leest, John de, 3.
- LEEUW, ELBERTUS DE, Leoninus, Longolius, jp, pf, 331-32 360.
- Leeuwarden, Gerard of, lm, 323.
- Lefèvre, Godfrey: see Fabricius.
- Legrandt, Joannes, st, 331.
- Lehman, Leoman, John, Frauenburg cn, 134.
- Leicester, Earl of, 417-18.
- LEICH, JAMES, Lich(ius), of Cochem, lat, pf Cologne, 138-40 141-42.
- Lejeune, Martin, pr, 302.
- Leland, John, pt, 424.
- Leliendael Convent, near Mechlin*, 226.
- Lemgo School*, 48.
- Lemnius, Livinus, Lemmen, md, iii, 517.
- Lentaille, John, Abbot of Anchin, 334.
- Leo X, 197 238 256.
- Leo XIII, 397.
- Leodius, Hubert: see Thomas.
- Leonardi, John: see Eycken, v. d.
- Leoninus, Elbertus: see Leeuw.
- Leopardus, Paul, Liebaert, headmaster of Hondshoote School, erd, iii, 191 245 267 517.
- Lepanto, Battle of*, 171.
- Lerins, St. Vincent of, 195.
- LERMA, PEDRO DE, Abb, chanc of Alcala Univ, 143-44 148.
- Lernutius, Janus, lt, 207 377 445.
- Lesbia, 497.
- Lessius, Leonard, Jes, dv, 175 335.
- Lethmatius, Herman, dv, 199.
- Leunclavius, Joh., erd, 372.
- Leverghem, Francis, Ld of: see Diltf.
- Levineius, John: see Lievens.
- Levita, John: see Isaac.
- Lewen, Arnold van, cc, 121.
- Leyden Univ : foundation & professors*, xii 42 143 374 446 448 453; — *ms*, 269.
- Leyen, van der, Walter, 2.
- Libanius, 221 247 253.
- Liber, van Soest, Antony, lm, i, 245.
- Lichius, James: see Leich.
- Lichtervelde, Margaret de, 418.
- Liebaert, Paul: see Leopardus.
- Liedel, Claud: see Cantioncula.
- Liège : town & church*, 184; — *Hieronymites*, 169 212; — *university and schools planned by Jesuits*, 169 176.
- Lievens, John, Levineius, Livi-næus, erd, cn, 165 181 446 526; — his *f*, Nicolas, of Termonde, 165.
- ligno : κειμήλιον a*, 287.

- Ligorio, Pirro, 202.
- LINDANUS, WILLIAM VAN DER LINDT,
Linden, Damasi, pf, dv, Bp of
Roermond & Ghent, III, xii 298-
301 **305-6** 318 325 **335-36** **378-
98** 409-10 415 426 435 436 (and
Arias Montanus) 452 521 526.
- Lindius, Stephen, assumed name
of John de Castele, 187-88 191.
- Lineus, Thomas Vlas, pc, jp, III,
518.
- Linius, Levinus, Ghent Im, III, 94.
- Lips, Martin, mk, hm, erd, III, 59
209 271 279 516.
- LIPS, JUSTUS, Lipsius, L P, III, xiii
33 37 39 168 **171** **173** (return)
174-75 178 **179** (& C. Langius) 180
182-83 (*De Constantia*) 184 191
193 203 **205** 207-8 212 271 309 351
365-66 372-73 **374** 376 378 403 418
420 445-48 453 456 490 508.
- Liser, John de, jp, pf, 111.
- Livineius : see Lievens.
- Livinus, Joannes, st, 331.
- Livius, Titus, 89 144 208 269 270
319 464 470 525.
- Llow Library, vi 508.
- Lloëus, abb John : see Loo.
- Loëus, Loëus, John, pr, 163 438 524.
- Lockenghien, Baron of Melsbroeck,
Charles de, II, 515.
- Lockengien, Locquenghien, Jane
de, 34 367.
- Loemel, Thierry van, bursar of
St. Yves' Coll., 6.
- Lombard, Lambert, of Liège,
artist, 167 168.
- Lombardus, Petrus, *Magister Sen-
tentiarum*, xi.
- Lomba(e)rts van Enckenvoirt, Mi-
chael, pv, II, 513 ; — his *b*,
William, II, 513.
- Loncin, John, 247.
- London, British Museum MSS, vi.
- Loo, John van, Loëus, Abbot of
Eversham, III, 161 408 411.
- Loo, Loon, Margaret van, 365.
- Lonæus, John : see Bosche.
- Longolius, Elbertus : see Leeuw.
- Longueil, Christ. of, hm, 412-13.
- Loon, John of : see Bosche.
- Lorichius, Judocus, Freiburg dv,
394.
- Loriti, Henry : see Glareanus.
- Lorraine, Card Charles I of, 391.
- Lorris, Guillaume de, lt, 488.
- Lotichius, Peter, ex-abbot of
Schlächtern, 370.
- Lotichius, Peter, Secundus, pf, 370.
- Louvain Town : — aspect : *towered
walls*, iv ; *Tower of the 'Lost Ex-
pense'*, 499 501-4 ; — history : *Siege
of 1542*, 95, sq, 165, sq, 282 487 ;
— *reformers in L*, 88 ; — *visit of
Charles V*, 1543, 112 ; — *Divæus'
Annales*, 419-20 ; *L. in the seven-
ties*, 310-11 ; *Eccles. synod*, 1574,
391, sq ; — *fire of 1914*, 491 ; —
*Churches and Convents : St. Pe-
ter's : plebanus*, 400 ; *carved
altars*, 159 ; *'Edelheer's Coor-
ken'*, 3 ; — *St. Quintinus'*, 393 ;
— *St. Gertrude's Abbey*, 360 ;
theologic lessons there, 153 ; — *St.
Martin's Priory : copying*, 59 61
110 271 ; *library*, 271 281 ; — *St.
Monica's*, 427 ; — *St. Ursula's*,
427 ; — *Black Sisters, of the
'Molenweg'*, 3 ; — *Carthusians*,
222 ; — *Augustine Convent*, 136 ;
— *Jesuit residence*, 173-74 (*Cour
de Chièvre*) ; — *Streets and
Houses : Spiering Lane*, 157 ;
Cats Street, 498 ; *'The Wild
Man'*, *Vir Sylvestris*, 157 ; *Den
Rooden Leeuw*, 56 ; *names of
inns : Bowman, Oxhead, Olive-
tenhof, de Rode, &c.*, 498 501-2 ;
— *customs : Nataræ, serving-
girls*, 501 ; *Stephen circulator*,
494 ; — *neighbourhood : Wese-
mael, and its pilgrimage*, 499-
502 ; *Bierbeek, Vlierbeek and
Parc*, 506.
- Louvain University : — *History :
requested to execute Erasmus'
will*, 17 18 24-26 30 ; — *New
Learning*, 145 ; — *Studiorum
Reformatio*, c1560, 106 ; — *sad
state from 1570 to 1590*, 174 ; —
'Prytaneum Romanum' (plan
of), 395 ; *fire of 1914*, 491 ; —
fame : praised, 40 267 363 (*Suffr.
Petri*), 446 (Schott) ; — *helping
Erfurt Univ.*, 353-55 ; — *com-
pared to Paris Univ.*, 129-33 ; —

- not getting her due, viii 453.
- Louvain University** : — central organization : Halls, 489 ; — Rega Building, 491 ; — Academic printing press, 454 ; — Academic functions, 287 ; — proceeding of lawsuits, 65 ; Court of Appeal, 86-87 ; — *Judex Apostolicus*, 225 ; — *Scholiarthus Vacantiarum*, 504 ; — Archives : preserved in Brussels, vi, sq 491, sq ; documents sent to Altona during French occupation, 148 ; — Library : — v 491 ; — burnt in 1914, 278 ; — and again in 1940 : destruction of copy annotated by Nannius, 273 275.
- Louvain University** : — Faculties : Theology : condemning Luther, 132 ; — opposing Velsius, 141 ; — admonished by Alb. Pighius, 199 ; — criticized, 28 390 ; — Laws : professors, 111 ; — opposing Rescius, 239 ; — warning Loyden, 318 ; — Arts : Humanism, 102-5 ; — *Reformatio studiorum*, 106 : — Latin, 523 ; — insufficient wages, 105 ; — Privilege of Nomination, 213 ; — dramatic representations, 106, sq ; — private lessons, 255-56. — Pedagogies : Castle : 104 106 219 223-24 ; Greek lessons, 259 449 ; — Porc : 103-4 222 406-7 411 ; plays, 106 ; — Lily : only ped. subsisting in 1585, 174 ; Latin lessons, 103, Greek, 242 254-55 257 449 ; dramatic representations, 106 ; — Falcon, 104-6 215-16 335.
- Louvain University** : Colleges : Adrian VI, 264 ; — Arras, 156 ; Codex of Titus Livius, 269 ; — Divei, 419 ; — Gandense, 106 263 ; — H. Ghost (CSS), 153-4 156-7 160-1 407 ; Majus CSS, 153-54 156-57 ; Minus CSS, 156-60 ; — Housterlee, 104 197 399 ; — Liège, 169 ; — Mechlin, 157 ; — King's, 6 335-36 393-96 ; — St. Anna's, 153 264 ; — St. Augustine's (M. de Bay), 264-65 ; — St. Donatian's, 236 238 442 ; — St. Jerome's, 11 219 462 ; — St. Yves', 5 6 53 322 ; — Sa-
- voy, 264 423 ; — Standonck, 103 ; — Tapper, 264-65.
- Louvain Trilingue** : History & Organization : Foundation, vi viii xi 40 75 442 ; — difficult admission, 5 442 ; — later hindrance attempted, 51 ; — President, 70-80 ; — 'provisores', 2 9-10 81-83 86, sq 227-30 235-36 239 241 (cp. Tapper, Corte) ; — conditions of professors improved by Mutationes, 76-77 234-35 ; — Rescius' claim and lawsuits, 67-88 224-51 ; — extra flemish pound urged by him, 68-69 71-72 75-76 79 ; — Motivum Juris of the 'provisores', 1547 : 229-35 240 249-50 ; — the neighbour of 'de Handt', 60 ; — garden, vineyard & gardener, 60 ; — estate of Ormendael, 60.
- Louvain Trilingue** : documents and codices : cista with documents of the College, 27 228 454 ; — documents destroyed, 1570-90, 310 ; — Codices Buslidiani, 269 (cp. sup., II, 235) : St. Ambrosius, 281 ; — Livius, 269 ; — Ocellus Lucianus, de Universi Orbis Natura, 311-12 ; — Prudentius (destroyed in the Fire of 1914), 277-78 ; — Rabbi Aben Tibbon, Physica (3 mss), 302 ; — Virgil, 295.
- Louvain Trilingue** : Work and Life : lectures, 265 285-86 ; — Latin, xii 449, not merely 'eloquence', ix-xi ; — Greek, 449 ; — Hebrew, 449 ; not allowed outside Trilingue, 111 ; — Attendance : proved by the enlarging of class-room, viii 443 ; — estimated about 80 at a casual Greek lecture, 1550, ix ; — presence of foreign hearers, ix ; — training young men of leading classes, 101-03 ; — patronage of theologians, 252 297-98 311 ; — preparatory school for laws, 338, sq ; — French lecture schemed, 332 ; — feasts and customs of inmates and bursars, 57-58. — Its prosperity and its staunchness to faith, xiii.

Louvain Trilingue : its NEW METHOD enounced by ERASMUS : languages and all sciences are to be studied, not from tradition, but from the objects under observation, or, if they fail, from incontestable attestations, *vi xi-xii* 211-12 369 (*Golden Rule*) 443 447 450-53 509 510 ; its excellence already attested by the name given to it about 1535 : '*o método lovaniense*' : *xi* (*sup.*, III, 372-73 ; *CarvMurça*, 6).

Louvain Trilingue : appreciation : slighted by Ascham, after insufficient evidence, compared with Cambridge, 286-87 291-92 ; — imitated in all Pedagogies, 102-06 449 ; — serving as model for Sturm's school, 293 ; — closely copied in Cologne, 211 303-04, and continued in the Tricoronatum, imitated in all Jesuit schools, 140 303-04 ; — first, and for long, unique school for the three languages, *viii-xiii* 358 ; — compared to the Trojan Horse, 317 ; — praised by Viglius, 277, and by many others, 105 211-12 ; — its grand work attested by distinguished visitors, *ix* 110, *sq*, and by the deep gratitude shown to the masters, 200-01.

Lovenjoel, Leonard, *Ld of* : see Boxhoren.

Loyala, Ignatius of, 109 302.

LOYDEN, GISEBERT, *jp*, *pf*, *iii*, 16 18 25 63 65 ; his *s*, Renier (& *d. in-law*), sheriff, 16 318 ; — his *b*, Henry, *dv*, *cn*, 16.

Lucan, 493.

Lucas, Adrianus, *tch*, 94.

Lucia, *Sta.*, 274.

Lucian, 11 99 221 245-46 252-53 258 259.

Lucretius, 95 278 350 357 487 490-1.

Lulle, Raymond, 342-43.

Lund Univ., *xii* ; *Library*, 508.

Lunge, Vincent, *D*, *st*, 513.

Lupus, William : see Wolffs.

Luscinius, Ottmar, *Nachtigall*, *hm*, 524.

Luther, *i*, *viii* 4 131-32 142 146-47 199 291 300 316 353-54 407 432.

Luxemburg, project of See, 170.

Luxemburg, Louis, head of the school of, 249.

Luzac, John, *Grc*, *pf* Leyden, 202.

M

Maastricht, *St. Servatius Chapter*, 391 399.

Macarius the Egyptian (*pseudo*), 404.

Macer, Melitensis, Dominicus, 121.

Macket, John, *syndic*, *i*, 72.

Macrobius, Theodosius, 487-89.

Macropedius, George, *hm*, *ii*, *iii*, 314 363 410.

Maes, Andrew : see Masius.

Mævius, 496.

Maffeo, Card, 167.

Magdeburg *Centuriæ*, 395.

Magister *Sententiarum*, *xi*.

Magnus, John Store, *Abp of Lund*, *iii*, 513.

Maire, John, *pr*, 491.

Malcotius, Joannes, *pf*, 345.

Maltese Knights, *Johannites*, 163-64.

Malvenda, Peter, *S*, *dv*, *ii*, 515.

Mameranus, Nicolas, *G*, *hist*, *hm*, *iii*, *xii* 248 320-21 519 ; — his *b*, Henry, *pr*, 249.

Man, Meinard, *abbot of Egmond*, *i*, 52.

MAN, ARNOLD DE, Mannius, Manilius, *secr*, *md*, *pf* Cologne, *xii* 367 368 521.

Manare, Oliver, *Jes*, 175.

Manchester Library, documents, *vi*.

Mansfeld, Agnes of, 339.

Manutio, Aldo, *pr*, 275 ; — his *s*, Paolo, *pr*, 413.

Marbach, John of, *rf*, *pf*, *ii*, 351 ; — his *d*, Margaret, 351.

Marburg Univ, *xii* 47 48 137 144.

Marcellus II (= Cervini), 201-02.

Marcellus, heresiarch, 459.

- Marchantius, Mart., pr, 317.
 Marck, Erard de la, Cardinal, Bp of Liège and Valencia, I, II, III, 12 64 254 256 489.
 MARCK, ANTOINE DE LA, Abbot-Count of Beaulieu, **256**; — his *f*, Robert, Ld of Sedan, 256.
 Marck, Robert de la : *see* Aigremont.
 Marcus, James, pr, 375.
Mariengard Abbey, Hallum, 401.
 Marin, James, Weert Im, II, 163.
 Marius, Hadrian, '*Frater Belga*', jp, cc, Pres, II, 443 456 496 515.
 Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, Philip, 167 215 390.
 Martena, Kempo a, hist, 361.
 MARTENIUS, ROBERT, Martennius, Martinus, pf, **137**.
 Martens, Thierry, pr, I, II, 70 127 239 251 255-56 451 489 513; — his *s*, Peter, 127.
 Martini, Giles, Univ not, 23 73 80 (his widow) 84.
 Martyr, Peter, 150 285 333.
Martyrologium Romanum, 398.
 Marville, Pres Nicolas of : *see* Wary.
 Marville, Nicolas of, st, 513.
 Masclef, Francis, pf, dv, 34.
 MASIUS, ANDREW, Maes, cc, ort, wr, III, xii 12 32 35-37 39 90-91 **92-93** 101 103 116 **117-22** 135 157-8 166 **167** 178 180 185 204-06 294 **304** 386-7 **388** 416 426 444 505 508 517 526; — his *ω*, & Sibyllula, 204.
 MASIUS, ENGLEBERT, cc, pres, **490**.
 Masius, John, pr, 308 405.
 Mason, Sir John, amb, 284.
 Massagetæ, 505.
 Masschereel, Baltasar, dn, 514.
 Masson, Bartholomew : *see* Latomus.
Massorah, & its authority, 34.
matæologi (theologi), 239.
 Mathias, Christopher, G, st, 519.
 MATHYS, GERARD, Matthisius, pf Cologne, **139** 153.
 Mauch, Daniel, G, jp, 518.
 Mauden, van der, de Maulde, Francis : *see* Modius.
 Maulde, Coleta de, 417.
 Mauvaux, John, Ld of : *see* Ruf-fault.
 Maximilian of Thevesta, 459.
 May, Angelo, Librarian, 488.
 Mechelen, Jane van, 7.
 Mechelmans, Paul, secr, 62.
Mechlin town, 277; — *Black Sisters*, 371.
 Mechlin, Ferricus, John of, 48.
 Mecklenburg, John Albert of, 118.
 Medæa, 494.
 Mederer, 313.
 Medina, Juan de, pf, 434.
 Medina, Count of, 39.
 Meerbeke, John (& Lucas) of : *see* Stercke.
 MEETKERKE, ADOLPH OF, kt, cc, hm, hist, jp, 188 190 **417-19** 522; — his *f*, James, Ld of Snellegheem, 417; — his *ss*, Nicolas, Antony, Baldwin, Adolph, 418, Edward, 418-19; — his *dd*, Anne, Salome, Isabel, 418.
Meir, School of, 378.
 Melanchthon, Philip, II, 16 28 88 92 105 131 135 144 146 (Melanchthon's soul = Enzinas) 147-48 150 291 349 370 385; — his *Apparatus*, 148.
 MELDERT, CORNELIUS DE, dn, Univ Judge of Appeal, **225**.
 Melissus, Paulus, 362.
 Melsbroeck, Charles, Baron of : *see* Lockenghien.
 Menchin, Michael, st, 518.
 Mendoza y Bobadilla, Francis de, Abp of Burgos, III, 437 439 516.
 Mendoza, D. Diego Hurtado de, amb, III, 204.
 Mendoza, Francis Hurtado de, Bp of Jaen, 147 434.
 Mendoza, Doña Mencia de, Marchioness of Zenete, 97.
 Mendoza, Inigo de, 44.
 Mennens, William, pt, 94; — his *s*, Francis, 94.
 MENS, PETER, Mensius, Im, **94** 135.
 Mercator, Rupelmundanus, Gerard, de Cremer, geog, II, xii 99 187 371 416 443 516.
 Mercier, John, pf, 379.
 Merode, Arnold de, Ld of Royenberg & Vuelen, st, ald, III, 51 518.

- Merula, Paul, hm, 28 126 171.
 Metellus, John, pf Cologne, 397.
 Meteren, Emmanuel van, 418.
Method of study : cp. *Louvain, Trilingue*.
 Metius, Adrian, pf, 178.
 Metrarius, Peter : *see* Gherinx.
 Metz, Laurent, dn of St. Gudula's, Brussels, 400.
 Meuchin, Michael, st, 518.
 Meulen, Molanus, Renerus van der, II, 513.
 Meulene, John, Francis van der : *see* Molinæus.
 Meyere, James de, hist, Im, III, 421 518.
 MEYERE, ANTONY DE (n of James), Im, 421 522 ; — his f, Henry, of Vleteren, 421.
 Micault, Nicolas, cc, III, 121 471 519.
Middelburg Abbey, 216-17.
 Mierdman, Stephen, pr, 146.
 Mierlo, Godfried van, Bp of Haarlem, 164.
 Mierop, Cornelius, Utrecht pv, 216.
 Millet, John, 97.
 Miræus, Joh., Bp of Antwerp, 196 ; — his n, Aubertus, hist, 39 420.
 Mirus, Johannes, P, nbm, st, 211 521.
 'Misoparthenus, Latinus', 500.
 MODIUS, FRANCIS, van der Mauden, de Maulde, hm, edt, III, 203 351 365 445-46 456.
 Moesick, Giles, Ld of : *see* Borch.
 MOLANUS, JOHN, van der Moelen, pf, dv, hist, 6 30 301 393 400 445 526 (160) ; — his m, Ann Peters, 6 ; his f, Henry Vermeulen, 6.
 Molanus, Renerus : *see* Meulen.
 MOLINÆUS, JOHN, van der Meulene, of Louvain, jp, pf, dn, cc, III, 155 343-44 346-48 521 526 ; — cp. *AuſCar.*, 39 96 98 ; — his b, Francis, Flanders cc, 348.
 Molle, J., wr, 36.
 Mommsen, Theodore, erd, hist, 201.
 Monardès, Nic., bot, 375.
 Monau, John, 363.
 Monheim, John, Dusseldorf Im, 161.
 Monickendam, John of : *see* Rudolph.
 Montaigne, Michael de, phls, 267.
 MONTANUS, BENITO ARIAS, erd, 32 35 37 156 171 184 196 305 328 371 373 386 388 428 435-36.
 Montanus, Louis : *see* Berghe.
 Montanus, Peter (libelled), 149.
 Monte, Antony : *see* Ciocchi.
 Montfort, Henry de, 258 ; — Josse, 258 ; — *see* Brederode.
Montpellier Univ, 370.
 MONTZIMA, BUCHO DE, dv, Utrecht pv, III, 307 400.
Moon, creation of the, 36.
 Moons, Anna, Rescius' wife, 226-27 247-49 250 320.
 Moons, Joannes, st, 320.
 Moore, Barbara, 419.
 Morales, Ambrose de, 328.
morality of clergy, criticized by Lindanus, 397-98.
 MORCILLO, SEBASTIAN FOX, Foxius, Morzillo, S, wr, phls, 327 438-41 471 510 522 ; — his b, FRANCIS, Hieronymite, 439-40 522.
 MORE, THOMAS, II, III, v 387 422 423-26 427 433 489 508 523.
 More, Roper, Margaret, erd, Thomas More's daughter, 522.
 Moretus, John, pr, 154 170 206-07 273 355 375 402 404 420 437 ; — Baltasar, pr, 170 172.
 Morillon, Guy, imp secr, III, 33 89 269 516 520.
 Morillon, Antony, atq, mdl, epq, nmm, wr, III, x xii 32 35 201-03 387 517.
 Morillon, Maximilian, stm, vic. gener., Bp, III, x 32 35 155 189 (*his gemmæ*) 202 204 206 211 335 409 413 517.
 Morinck, Gerard, Moringus, dv, hist, II, III, vii 90 209.
 MORISON, SIR RICHARD, amb, 265 284 285 288.
 Morone, Cardinal, 121 167 171.
 Morsing, Christiern : *see* Tor-kilsøn.
 Morzillo : *see* Morcillo.
Mos Italicus, 452.
 Mosæus, Hannard : *see* Gameren.
 Moschus, Siculus, 417.

- Mosellanus, Peter, pf, hm, i, 261-62 271.
- Motorius, Woelaerd, Arnold, pt, 191.
- Motivum Juris*, against Rescius, 473-75 478 : see Rescius.
- Moelart, Matthew, Bp of Arras, 335.
- MUDÆUS, GABRIEL, van der Muyden, jp, pf, ii, iii, xii 65 212 271 318-19 320 323 326-27 330-32 336 338 339-41 343 (his theory) 344-46 348-50 369 443 452 514 ; — *Oratio de Mudæo*, 349
- Muelene, John van der : see Molinæus.
- Muelich, Hans, draughtsman, 315.
- Muer, Bartholomew, of Cologne, lm, 461.
- Mumius, Stephen, of Zwolle, 301.
- Münster, Ludgeri School*, 48.
- Münster, Sebastian, hebr, iii, 118.
- Murcia, Murtia, Frei Diego a (de), P, dv, Rct Coimbra, iii, xii 518.
- Murmellius, John, lm, ii, 461.
- Musæus, 495.
- MUSIUS, CORNELIUS, Muys, pt, mt, ii, iii, iv v 93-94 135 195 274 278 514 524.
- Mutationes*, 479.
- Muyden, Gabriel van der : see Mudæus.
- Muys, Cornelius : see Musius.
- Muys van Holy, Hugh, Ld of Ketel & Spalant, mayor of Dordrecht, 365.
- Myl, Cornelius van der, 329 ; — his f, Cornelius, mayor ; his u, Adrian, 329.
- Mylius, Arnold, pr, 193 ; — Crato, pr, 137.
- Mysinger, Joachim, 339.
- N**
- NANNIUS, PETER, L P, ii, iii, ix 9-14 12-13 (way of teaching) 13-14 (Goclenius' *Oratio Funebris*) 28 40 41 49-50 56 61 88-98 99-102 108 (welfare of students) 112-15 115 (portrait) 116-17 124-25 130 135 144 166 194 200-01 212 221 244 246 253 260 (aims at pleasing) 265-67 268-91 293-97 311 352 354 (+) 369 371 379 421-23 426 431 438 440 444 454 (+) 456-72 473 487 489-91 492 493-506 514 519 525 ; — his poetry, 497 ; — his *patria*, 503 ; — his b, 270 464 ; — his si, Margaret, 464.
- Nans, Francis, Nansius, hm, iii, 188 417.
- Navis Stultifera*, xi 215.
- Nassau, Prince Maurice of, 418.
- Nausnydere, Lady, 55.
- Nazianzenus, Greg., St. : see Gregory.
- Nélis, C F de, Bp of Antwerp, hist, 325.
- Nélis, Hub., 232.
- Nepos, Cornelius, 278.
- Neri, Philip, 333 392 395.
- Nero, 490 496.
- Nervius, John Theodore, lm, 421.
- Nesen, William, hm, i, 5 443 450 523.
- Nettesheim, Henry Cornelius of : see Agrippa.
- Neuenahr, Hermann, Count of, i, 215 419.
- Neufville, John, Ld of : see Ruffault.
- Neuzen, Sebastian, hebr, pf Marburg, i, xii 513.
- Neve, John de, *regens*, ii, iii, 254-55.
- Nève, Félix (*Le Collège des Trois Langues*, Brs, 1856), vi.
- Newton Abbot Priory*, 427.
- Nicephorus, Callixtus, 428.
- Nicolaï, Arnaud, engraver, 207.
- Nicolai, Bero, F, st, 513.
- Nicolaitæ*, 505.
- Nicolaus, G., pr, 470.
- Nieuwlande, Francis van den, pf, founder of School, i, 106 263.
- Nigidius, Peter, Marburg lm, 137.
- Nigri, Philip, chanc of Golden Fleece, iii, 325.
- NISPEN, NICOLAS VAN, Executor, i, ii, 235 479 512.
- Noe, 36.
- Noli, Bp of : see Fieschi.
- Noot, Adolf van der, Brabant chanc, iii, 19 ; — his d, Anne, widow of Louis van Schore, 419 ;

— *r*, Jerome, Ld of Risoir, Brab. chanc., 19.
 Novara, Bp of : see Morone.
 Nutius, Martin, pr, 439.
 Nys, Driedo, John : see Driedo.

O

Obscuri Viri, 443.
 Obtrek, Joan., st, 4.
 Occo, Sibrand, Mcn, III, 518 ; — his *r*, Anna, 523.
 Ocellus, Lucanus, 311-13.
Ochsenhausen Abbey, 118.
 Offhuys, Lisbeth, 43.
 Olah, Nicolas, secr of Mary of Hungary, III, 11 12 120 251 258 462 516.
 Olai, Tossanus, N, st, 518.
 OLDENDORP, JOHN, jp, pf, 47 247 370.
 Olisleger, Henry : see Bars.
Olivetenhof, 501-02.
 Omphal, Omphalius, James von, G, jp, III, 518.
 Omphale, Queen of Lydia, 495.
 Onche, Anne Isabella d', 185 482.
 Oom, Oem, John, Ld of Barendrecht, rcg, 51.
 Oomen, Oem, Tielmannus, Utrecht dn, 51.
 Oomen, Tilman, st, 51 519.
Oostwinkel fire, 186.
 Ophem : see Boxhoren, 't Sestich.
 Ophusius, Haarlem lm, 40.
 Opmeer, Peter, Pietersz, erd, hist, 30 93 194-96 520 ; — his *f*, Peter, 194 ; — his ss, Peter, cc, Luke, 196.
 Oporinus, Joannes, pr, 135 184 267 295 343 353 356 437 439 440 470 ; — Nicolas, pr, 322.
 Orange, Prince William of, 42 (+) 164 194 217 321 340 388 391.
 Oridryus, Arnold : see Bergheyck.
 Origen, 387.
Orleans Univ, 133.
 Orlers, John, 42.
 Ὀρνιδων, Nicodemus, 505.
 Orpheus, 317 495.
 Orsini, Fulvio, rs, 171 177 382 396.
 ORTELIIUS, ABRAHAM, Ortels, geog, 168 171 187 189-90 192-93 371-75

418-19 434 524-26.
 Orto, Garsias de, bot, 375.
 Otto, John, of Bruges, erd, 167.
 Otto, Conrad, of Hertogenbosch, dv, 526.
 Oupey, Lambert of, adc of Brabant, 256.
 d'Overbeke, Margaret, 405.
 Overthout, Arn. : see Peraxylus.
 Ovid, 96 104 403 421 497.
Oxford : Univ, xiii ; — *Library*, vi ; — *Corpus Christi College*, viii 424 447.

P

P. F. R., 99.
 Paap, Paep, Papius, Peter de Pape, Menin lm, III, 446.
 Paep, Papius, Andrew de, cn, erd, pt, 165 181 446.
 Paez de Castro, Pacius, Joannes, 416.
 Paderborn, John of, pr, 523.
Padua Univ, xii.
 Pafraet, Alb., pr, 11.
 PAGET, SIR WILLIAM, minister, 270-71 283-84 288 289-90 293 423 ; — his ss, Henry, Thomas, Edward, Charles, 284.
 Pagninus, Sanctes, 304.
 Palatine, Elector, Louis, 119 ; — Count Frederic II, 119-20 ; — Otto-Henry, 118-20 ; — Frederic III, 121 ; — Richard : see Simmern.
 Palau, Barthol., pt, 107.
 Palmerius, wr, 203.
 Paludanus, John, pf rhet., 1, 73.
 Pamele, Jacqueline de : see Blondel.
 Pangartius, Peter, pr, 65.
 Pantagato, Pacato, Ottavio, Pantagathus, rs, erd, 167 177.
 PANTIN, WILLIAM, of Thielt, md, pt, III, 188 190 517 524.
 Panvinio, Onofrio, rs, 177.
 Pape, Papius : see Paap, Paep.
 Papinian, jp, 349 ; — *German P.* (= Gail), 339 ; — *Belgian P.* (= Rævardus), 378.
 Paquot, John-Noel, pf, hist, vi 38 93 156 222 277 291 301 308 345 436 447 454.

- Papio, Giannang., Salerno, pf Bologna & Avignon, *xii* 124-26 520.
 Paracelsus, md, 451.
 Parc, *Abbey of*, 61 62 159 226 264 279 400 506.
 Paris Univ : *xii* 47 131 451 509 ; — compared w. Louv., 129-33 267-68 451 509 ; — *School of Languages (later on, Collège de France)*, *viii* 102 447 ; — *Colleges : St. Barbara*, 267 ; — *Beauvais*, 143 ; — *Lisieux*, 266 ; — *Navarre*, 33 ; — *Sorbonne*, 131.
 Parma, Margaret, Duchess of, 155 216 321 325 329 347 365 390 ; — Alexander Farnese, Duke of, 393 490.
 passer, 179.
 Paul III, 44 197 200.
 Paul IV, 289.
 Paynell, Thomas, wr, 513.
 PECK, PETER, jp, pf, 190 320 331 336-38 340 345 521 ; — his s, PETER, chanc, cc, jp, 337 338.
Pedagogic treatises, 413.
 Pedersen, Geble, N, st, 513.
 Peeters, Kuner : see Petri.
 Peeters, Gertrude (Loyden), 16.
 Pe(e)ters, Marie, 6 ; — her n, Ann, 6.
 Peeters, Peter (f of Suffridus), 352.
 Peeters, Sjurd : see Petri.
 Pelgrom, Simon, Hertogenbosch lm, 163.
 Peraxylus, Arlenius, Arnold, atq, edt, *iii*, 416 517.
 PEREZ DE AYALA, MARTIN, Bp of Guadix, Abp of Valencia, 434-35 522.
 Perez, Gonzalvo, Philip II's secr, 439.
 Pericles, 458.
 Periegetes : see Dionysius.
 Perrenot, Antony : see Granvelle.
 Perrin, Francis, pr, 148.
 Persius, 462.
 Persoens, Robert, not, 8.
 Persols, Thomas, Utrecht, 207.
 Persyn, Theodoricus, Carth Prior, 222.
 Petrart, Francis, Bp of Calcedonia, 335.
 PETRI, CUNERUS, Kuner Peeters, dv, pf, Bp of Leeuwarden, 307 342 363 399-402 522.
 Petri, Henry, pr, 118.
 PETRI, SUFFRIDUS, Sjurd Peeters, jp, hist, pf Col., *ii*, *xii* 182 184 202 267-68 308 318 329 342 351-63 365-66 396 419 521.
 PEUTINGER, CONRAD, cc, amb, hm, 394 432-33 526 ; — family, 430 ; — his s, CLAUDIUS PIUS, syndic of Augsburg, 432 433 ; — his gss, CLAUDIUS CONRADUS PIUS, jp, ald, 432 434 522 ; CLAUDIUS NARCISSUS, jp, ald, dicasterius, 432-34 522 ; — the latter's s, by Magdalen Rehlinger, Conrad, 434.
Peutingeriana Tabula, 433 434.
 Pflug, Card, *ii*, *iii*, 199.
 Phalesius, Peter, pr, 93 274 470.
 Phanocles, 417.
 Phenemont, Jo., of Liège, st, 320.
 Philicinus, Peter, Campson, pt, *iii*, 107 517 525.
 Philippi : see Sleidanus.
 PHILIPPS, MORGAN (of Llandaff diocese), pf Oxford, 333.
 Philo, Judæus, 288.
 Phocio, 11.
Phrygii Leones, 361.
 Phrysius, Gemma : see Gemma.
 PIERIUS A SMENGA, PETER, md, H P, 268 308-09.
 Pieterz, Peter : see Opmeer.
 PIGGE, ALBERT, PIGHIUS, dv, ctv, *ii*, 197-200 201 385 526.
 PIGGE, PIGHIUS, STEPHEN WYNANTS, Vinandi, hm, atq, hist, epq, *ii*, *iii*, *vii* x *xii* 32 34-37 39 121-23 166 170 177 178 179 (*Xanten ferculum*) 181-82 183 186 188-89 197 200-08 212 (epigraphy) 269 272 302 355 357 397 508 520 ; — his n, Henry, 200-01.
Pighianus Apparatus Inscriptio-num, 201-02 ; — *Codex Epistolarum*, 206-07.
 Pigli, Francis de, E, st, 210.
 Pindar, 268 356.
 Pintaflour, Peter, jp, pf, Bp, 515.
 Pio, Alberto, *Princeps Carpensts*, Erasmus' contradictor, 526 ; — Pio, Card Rodolpho : see Carpi.

- PIRCKHEIMER, BILIBALD, hm, 432 433.
- Pisciensis, Andrew : *see* Turinus.
- Piscis, Poisson, Guielmus, pt, iii, 518.
- Pistorius, John : *see* Willems.
- Pius IV, 149 161-62 215 264 382.
- Pius V, 154 171 333 390 392 400.
- Pius VI, 149.
- Pius, Albertus : *see* Pio.
- Placentius, John, fr, lit, 360.
- Plancia, 497.
- Planciades, Fabius : *see* Fulgentius.
- Planen, Thierry de, 44.
- PLANTIN, CHRISTOPHER, pr, 32-35 37 39 122-23 153-55 164-65 171 172 177 179 181-83 190 191 195 203-04 206-7 210 245 248 268 278 304 307 316 328 341 350 355 357 365-66 368-69 371 375 377 386 388-89 392 398 402-04 412-14 420 426 428 436 440 446 468 ; — his widow, 374 ; — his rank in the *Family of Love*, 436.
- Plateanus, Peter de la Rue, lm, ii, 516.
- Plato, 136 324 327-29 438-39 440 505.
- Platz, L., Erfurt Rct, ii, 513.
- Plautus, 94 181 270 410 501 504.
- Plethon, hm, 136.
- Pliny, the Elder, 183 308 462 504 ; — the Younger, 316.
- Plummen, Arnold, pf, 104.
- Plutarch, 11 99 144 353 356 363 376.
- Poel, Robert van de : *see* Lacu.
- POELMAN, THEODORE, Pulmannus, hm, 278 403 ; — his s, John, bookseller, 403.
- Poisson, Guielmus : *see* Piscis.
- Poland, King Sigismund of, 134.
- POLE, CARDINAL REGINALD, iii, 167-68 198 280 289 426.
- Polites, Joachim Borgher(s), of Ter Goes, secr, ii, 266 515 525.
- Pollio, Asinius, 295 ; — his s, Saloniinus, 295 ; — Vedius Pollio, 502.
- Polonus, Martin, chronicler, 360.
- Polyphemus, Felix : *see* Konings.
- Pona, John, bot, 375.
- Poncher, Stephen, Bp of Paris, 127 254.
- Pope, as Lord of Appeal for Louvain Univ, 225.
- Pori, Porry, Louis : *see* Pory.
- Porphyrius, 434.
- Pornius, a tragedy*, 316.
- Porte, Arnaldo de la, 405.
- Portia, Count Bartholomew, nuncio, 391.
- Portugal* : King Sebastian, 154 ; — Infante Don Luiz, 154.
- PORY, LOUIS, Pori, Porry, jp, pf, cc, dn of St. James, 340 346 516 ; cp. *MalConM*, 130.
- Possevin, Antony, Jes, 411.
- Posthius, John, pt, 203.
- potato, introduced into Europe*, 373.
- Potelles, Claud, Ld of : *see* Carondelet.
- Poznan Library* : vi 508.
- Praet, Louis, Ld of : *see* Flanders.
- Prædinus, Renier van Winsum, lm, iii, 355 517.
- Preston, Anne, 284.
- Pret, Adolph du, 249.
- Prideaux, Thomas, 428 ; — his d, Magdalen, 428.
- Probus, Christopher, Chanc of Palatine Elector, 120.
- professor : its meaning by* 1540-60, 267.
- Propertius, 417 496-97.
- prognostics & astrologers*, 197.
- Protestants = barbati*, 494.
- Prudentius, 277-78 368 378 387 403.
- Prussia, Duke Albert of, 99 134.
- Prysters, Rutger, 'Regent' of Porc, 406.
- Ptolemæus, Claudeus, geog, xi.
- Pulmannus, Theod. : *see* Poelman.
- Pupper, John : *see* Goch.
- Putama, William, erd, 518.
- Puteanus, Erycius, L P, 95 309 446 490 492.
- Puteo, du Puys, Desiderius de, hist, 515.
- Puteo, Card James, erd, 121.
- Putte, Peter van de, neighbour's w & s, 60.
- Puys, du : *see* Puteo.
- Pyrrhus, Didacus, P, pt, iii, 518.
- Pythagoras, 312.
- Pythias, 495.

Q

- Quackelbeen, William, md, III, 372.
 Quadra, Bishop, 425.
Quadriga Jurisperitorum, 317-20 343 521.
 QUICKELBERGH, SAMUEL VAN, Quic-
 kelberge, Quickeberg, of Ant-
 werp, pf, md, erd, **313-15** 521.
 Quickelbergh, Paul van, 403.
 Quineaut, Guillemette, 369.
 Quintilian, 262.
 Quycelberghe, Jo. van (Antw),
 313.

R

- Rabeneck, Daniel of: *see* Stibarus.
 Rade, Giles van den, pr, 191-92.
 RÆVARDUS, REYVAERT, JAMES, Re-
 vardus, of Lisseweghe, jp, hm,
 pf Douai, xii 188 190 330 **376-78**
 448 521; — his s, Peter, 377.
 Ram, Mgr de, Louvain Rct, 228.
 RAMÉE, PETER DE LA, RAMUS, jp,
 pf, **47** 267.
 Ramridge, John, ctv, 427.
 Ramus, John, pf, jp: *see* Tack.
 Raphelengius, Francis, pr, 304
 366 371 375.
 RASTELL, WILLIAM, jp, **425**.
 RATALLER, GEORGE, Rotaller, cc,
 jp, 352 **363-66** 521; — his f,
 John, Friesland treasurer, 363;
 — his s, Philip, 365; — his dd,
 Cornelia & Catherine, 365.
Ratio Veræ Theologiæ, xi 443 451.
 RAVEN, EDWARD, pf, md, 13 266
286.
 Ravensberg, Christopher: *see*
 Jepsen.
 Ravesteyn, Judocus, of Thielt,
 Tiletanus, pf, dv, II, 156 158-59
 300 347 378 399 515.
 RAVESTEIN, HENRY VAN, Coracope-
 træus, of Cuyck, **126-28** 520.
 Readman, Doctor (Cambridge), 292.
 Rebreviettes, James de, Mechlin
 cc, 325 365.
 Recamp, John, Abbot of Adwert,
 11.
 Recke, Henry van der, cc, 121.

- Recus, Brugensis, hm, 91.
 Redman, John & Robert: *see* Cle-
 ment.
Reform (John Papper), no forerun-
 ner of, 407.
 Regis, John, of Breda, *Trilingue*
 chaplain, 14 516.
 REHDIGER, THOMAS, Mcn, bbph,
 351 369 **371** 372.
Rehdigerana, 371.
 Rehlinger, Anna, 371 430; — her
 bb, Henry & Quirinus, sts, 430;
 — her rr, Elizabeth & Magda-
 lene, 434.
Reichenau Abbey, 116; — *see* John
 de Weze, Henry Rudolph de
 Weze.
 Reifenstein, John, lt, II, 514.
 REINER, REYNERS, CORNELIUS,
 Goudanus, pf, dv, dn of St. Pe-
 ter's, **156** 307.
 'Rekeninghe' of the Execution of
 Busleyden's Will, 226-28 243 474
 478.
 Rembertus, Junius: *see* Dodoens.
 Remus, 497.
Republica, De, 487-89.
 Requesens, Louis de, 391.
 RESCIUS, RUTGER, G P, I, II, xi 1 2
 9 10 11 16 18 27 30 61 **77** (lack of
 sincerity) 86 (impecuniosity) 99
 sq 126 194 200 212 (friend of
 Sturm) 213 220, sq, **225-29** 230
 232 233 (his marriage) 234, sq,
 239-40 (his pugnacious nature)
241-46 248 **249-51** 250 (Eras-
 mus' son) 252-53 282 310 320 379
 442-44 449 456 461 **473-86** 478
 (taciturnity) 507-08 511 (pres-
 idency) 513 525.
 RESCIUS, pr, 10 11 12 50 89 96 98-
 100 115 125-26 144 244-45 **259**
 (looks for attractive & saleable
 books) 282 422 469-70.
 RESCIUS' LAWSUITS: v Goclenius'
 heirs, **24-25** **62-67**; — v *Trilin-*
gue: Processus Arbitralis, 25
67-70; *Actio Principalis*, **70-**
83; *Interlocutory Decree and*
first sentence, **81-83**; *Acces-*
sory Action, **84-6**; 2nd Instance:
Action before the Judges of
Appeal, **86-87**; *his claims: the*

- extra pound of boarders*, 81-82
84-85 224 236-38; *his room*, 238;
— Third Instance, *action before
the Apostolic Court*, 224-43 246-
47 249-52.
- Rescius' family: *his si*, 85-86 239;
— *his wife (and widow)*: *see*
Moons, Anna; & 225 229 235 237
(*board*) 247; — *his s John*, 247-
48 251; *his s Robert*, 247; —
his d, Anna, 248-50.
- Resen, Peter van, Resenius, Im,
194; — *his s*, Peter, *secr*, cc, 194.
- Resende, Resendius, Andrew de,
P, pt, II, 515.
- Reuchlinists, 443.
- Reusens, Edmund, *hist*, xiv 228.
- Revardus: *see* Rævardus.
- Revicomes, Johannes, S, st, 519.
- Reygersberg, John, *hist*, 504.
- REYMAERS, ROMBAUT, Rimarius,
cn, 49-50 519; — *his r*, August-
tine, 50.
- REYNDERS, REYNERI, JOHN, Rey-
niers, of Nederweert, Pres, 104
219-20 222-24 232 310-11 317
521.
- Reyneri, Phrysius: *see* Gemma.
- Reyniers, Cornelius: *see* Reineri.
- Reyniers, John: *see* Reynders.
- Reyvaert, James: *see* Rævardus.
- RHEIDT, JOHN VON, Rhetius, Jes,
pf Cologne, 138 140 164 211 (*his
debt to Louvain*) 303 304 357-58
396 408-09 413-15 448; — *his f*,
John, Cologne Mayor, II, 303.
- Rhenanus, Beatus, hm, I, 100 432.
- Ribera, Peter a: *see* Afan.
- Richardot, Francis, Bp of Arras,
160 306.
- Richerius, Abb, 59.
- Riedesel, Rietesel, Herman Adolph,
nbm, st, 211 521.
- Rihelius, Th., pr, 351.
- RILLAER, JOHN VAN, 'in den Wie-
rinck', painter, 59.
- Rimarius, Romb.: *see* Reymaers.
- Ringelberg, Joachim Sterck of,
Fortius, hm, II, 258 263 514.
- Riquinus, Simon: *see* Rychwyn.
- Risoir, Jerome, Ld of: *see* Noot.
- Rivius, pr, 322.
- Rizæus, Albert: *see* Hardenberg.
- Robbys, John, Dean of Mechlin,
adviser, I, III, 256 512.
- Robertus, Cornelius, hebr, 308.
- ROBORTELLI, FRANCISCO, erd, 270.
- Rode, family de, 502.
- Rodius, John, Im, 323.
- Roelants, Joachim, md, II, 516.
- Roeloffs, Anna, 334.
- Roels, Tobias, bot, 375.
- Roermond, Bishop of (382): *see*
Lindanus.
- Rogers, Daniel, 171.
- Rogers, Thomas, anglican, erd,
385-86.
- Romanum Prytanæum, seu Col-
legium anti-hæreticorum theo-
logorum, 394.
- Romanus, Adrian, mthm, md, pf,
373-74 445.
- Rome, xii; 'Anima' & Vossius, 176;
— *College of Propaganda*, 334.
- Rondelet, William, pf, 370.
- Roosen, Rosa, Pepin, fr, 335.
- Roosvelt, Viterus a, Westfalus, st,
211 520.
- ROPER, MARGARET MORE, 424-25;
— *her husband*, William, 425;
— *her s*, THOMAS, 425 522.
- Rosa, Pepin: *see* Roosen.
- Roscius, Q., 500.
- Roshem, Rosheym, Martin van:
see Rossem.
- Rosius, Martin, & Rosius, Bene-
dictus, College lecturers, 104-5.
- Roskilde Univ, xii.
- Rossem, Martin van, 95 165-66.
- Rostock Univ, xii.
- Rota, Martinus, draughtsman, 369.
- Rotaller: *see* Rataller.
- Rotarius, Martin, pr, 49 109 247
273 277 301 468.
- Rotmar, 313.
- R. P., F., mthm teacher, 12.
- Roy, A. Le, pf Paris, 33.
- Royenberg, Arnold, Ld of: *see*
Merode.
- Rucquebusch, Matthew, bp elect,
395.
- Rudbeck, Olaus, wr, pf, 38.
- RUDOLPH OF MONICKENDAM, Mon-
nikendam, JOHN, pf, 4.
- Rue, Peter de la: *see* Plateanus.
- Ruffault, John, Kt, Ld of Mauvaux,

- Neufville, Lamsaert, &c, cc & treasurer, 185; — his s, Jerome, Abb of St. Vaast, Arras, 112 185 524; — his d, Frances, 185.
 Ruysz de Villegas, Hernán, S, pt, iii, 519.
 Rychwyn, Riquinus, Simon, G, md, ii, 515.
 RYCKENROY, MELCHIOR VAN, Pres of Trilingue, 157 223.
 RYM, CHARLES, Ld of Bellem, Scheurveld & Eeckenbeke, cc, jp, amb, 166 207 **366-68** 521; — his f, Gerard, Ld of Eeckenbeke, cc, adv fiscal, ii, 366 514; — his d, Jane, 367; — his s, Philibert, 367; — his b, Francis, Ld of Hundelghem, 368.
 Ryne, Jossyne van den, 418.
 Ryswyck, Cornelius, Ld of : see Suys.
 RYTHOVEN, MARTIN VAN, Rythovius, Bauwens, Balduini, cp. Walick, dv, pf, Bp, xii **158-62** 318 333 347 380 393 399 408 520.

S

- Sadolet, Card Jacopo, ii, 199 200 291 412; — Paul Sadolet, 200.
 St. Roman, Francis of, 148.
 St. Trudo's Abbey, St. Trond, 209 348.
 Sainte-Aldegonde : see Marnix.
 Salamanca Univ, xiii.
 Sale, Antoinette de la, 180.
 Salernitanus : see Papio.
 Sallust, 319.
 Saloninus, son of Pollio, 295.
 Salviani, Hipp., Ichthyologist, 167.
 SAMBUCUS, JOHN, md, erd, 205 **372**.
 Samson, 494.
 Sanctaragundus, James, ii, iv.
 Sandelicus, Peter, servant, secr, 517.
 SANDELIN, JEROME, Zandelin, of Antwerp, cc, Receiver of Bewester Schelde, Ld of Herenthout & Herlaer, iii, **234** 237 474-75 **486** 517.
 Sandelin, Adrian, Holland cc, iii, 234 237 474-77 479-80 484-85 517.
 Sander, Nicolas, E, dv, ctv, 160 427.
 Sanderus, Antony, hist, 38.
 Sarens, George, Abb of St. Trond, 90 209 526.
 Sarens, William, executor of Vesssem, 8.
 Sarmatia, 129.
 Sarracena, Card John Michael, 167.
 Sartorius, John Snyders, of Delft, hm, lm, ii, 11 195 515.
 Sasbout, Adam, dv, ii, iii, 519.
 Sasbout, Arnold, Ld of Spalant, st, Holland cc, iii, 52 234 237-38 474-76 482-83 517; — his f, Josse, cc, ii, iii, 52.
 Sasbout, Sophia, 194; — her f, Peter, 194.
 Sassenus : see Zassenus.
 Saumaise, Claud de, pf, 38.
 Sauvage, John le, Sylvagius, Ld of Schoubeke, st, iii, 238 483 517; — his gdf, John, Chanc, iii, 483; — b, Francis, st, iii, 238 483 517.
 Savoy, Duke of, 422; — John-Louis II, of Savoy, Bp of Geneva, 422; — Emmanuel-Philibert, Duke of Savoy, Governor of Belgium, 331.
 Saxony, Maurice of, 158.
 Saxony-Coburg, Duke of, his Library at Gotha, 207.
 Scalichius, Paul, literary swindler, 396.
 Scaliger, Joseph Justus, pf, lat, 38 371-74; — cp. Sandys, ii, 199-204, 305; Nisard, 149-308.
 Scaurus, Q. Terentius, 269.
 Sceria, 500.
 Schalbe, Gaspar, pf Erfurt, ii, 513.
 Schaubeke, Schoubeke, John, Ld of : see Sauvage.
 Schaumburg, Adolph of, Abp of Cologne, 302.
 Schenck, Frederic, Abp of Utrecht, 217.
 Schenckels, Dominic, lm, md, 163.
 Schepper, Cornelius de, hm, amb, ii, iii, 128-30 185 367 443 482 508 514 516 524; — cp. ViglEA, 22.
 Schepperus, Cornelius, st, nbm, 209 520.
 Schets, Erasmus, banker, iii, 22; — his ss, financiers, iii : Melchior, 187 518 525; Baltasar, 187 517

- 518 525; Gaspar, Ld of Hingene, 28 187 517 525; — his *gs*, Corard (Ursel), *s* of Gaspar, *st*, Commiss. of finances, Ld of Hingene, 210 520.
- Scheurvelt, Charles, Ld of : *see* Rym.
- Schevastes, John : *see* Lambach.
- Schlettstadt Library, *vi*.
- Schmidlein, James-Andrew, *ctv*, 316.
- Schnepf, Erhard, *pf*, 300.
- Schoeffer, John, *pr*, 163 412.
- Schoenmaecker, Sutor, Gerbrand, *pp*, *pt*, 11 517.
- Schoepper, Schöpper, James, G, *lm*, *dmt*, 525-26.
- Scholasticism *criticised*, 407.
- Schonck, Augustinus, N, *st*, 518.
- Schoonhoven, Antony de, *cn*, *edt*, *erd*, *ii*, 443 514.
- SCHORE, LOUIS DE, *jp*, *pf*, *cc*, Pres of Council, 20 24 66 96 113 147 419; — his *f*, Louis, Louvain town *secr*, 419; — his *b*, Elias, royal *secr*, 399, *sq*, 419; — his *si*, Elizabeth, 419; — *Cp. Cran.*, 110, *c-f*.
- Schoreel, Adrian of, *pt*, 94.
- Schott, Andrew, *erd*, *edt*, *Jes*, *iii*, 171 206 268 273 278 360 372 393 403 417 445, *sq*, 456 524; — *cp. Gomez*, 26; — his *rr*, James, 32; — Henry, *ald*, 33 37.
- Schoutens, Corn. : *see* Brouwers.
- Schroter, Joseph, *md*, *pf*, 372.
- Schryvers, Gislenus, Trent Council *secr*, 215.
- Scipio Africanus, Cornelius, 487, *sq*; — his *gs*, Scipio Æmilianus, Cornelius, 487-88.
- Scotland, Mary Queen of, 333.
- Scrap, Gauto, N, *st*, 518.
- Scribani, Charles, *hist*, *ctv*, *Jes*, 165; — his *f*, Hector, *lt. nbm*, 165.
- Scrieck, Adrian van, 38.
- Sculteti, Corn. : *see* Brouwers.
- Secundus, Joannes, 'Frater Belga', *jp*, *pt*, *secr*, *mdl*, *ii*, *x* 443 496-97 515; — his Julia, 497.
- Sedan, Robert, Ld of : *see* Marck.
- Sedulius, Celius, *presb*, 163 403.
- Segers, Govnaert, 309.
- Selim II, sultan of Turkey, 367 372.
- Seminaries : *their necessity*, 393.
- Seneca, 97 183-84 316 460.
- Ser (= Servius), 182.
- Serator, Joannis, Nicolas, *st*, 517.
- Seripando Girolamo, August. General, 199.
- Servilius, Knaep(s), John, *lm*, *ii*, 166 514 524.
- 'T SESTICH (JOHN), ANTONY VAN, Sexagius, Ld of Ophem & Damme, *jp*, *cc*, *lg*, 405-06 522; — his *b*, Didier, Brabant Chanc, 308 405 524; — his *ss*, John, *pf*; William, *pp*; Antony, *ald*, 406.
- Severus, Sulpitius, 403.
- Sexagius : *see* 't Sestich.
- Sextius, Calvinius, C., 502.
- Seymour, Sir Thomas, *amb*, 112.
- Shakespeare, 292.
- Ship of Fools, The*, *xi* 215.
- Shirwood, Robert, H P, *i*, 513.
- Sichart, John, *hm*, 269.
- Sichen, Henry a, Prutenus, 128.
- Sickingen, Francis von, 119.
- Sidney, Philip, 373.
- SIENNA, ANTONY DE, a Conceptione, P, *fr*, 153-54.
- Silvius, William, *pr*, 181 277 365 468.
- Simmern, Palatine Count Richard von, Dn of Mayence, 121.
- Simoins, John, 80.
- Sirleto, Card Guglielmo, 165 167 171 392 428.
- Sivry, Philip de, *bot*, 373.
- Sixtus V, 176 334-35 394-95.
- Skeel, Herman, D, *st*, 518.
- Slap a Dambrowska, Martin, P, *jp*, *adc*, *ii*, 515.
- Sleidan(us), John, Philippi, *hist*, *ii*, *xii* 150 251 516; — *cp. ADB*.
- Sloane, John, *md*, 34.
- Slooten, John van der, Slotanus, *fr*, 142.
- Sluis, St. Magdalen's Convent, 407.
- Sluper, Sluperius, James, *pt*, *iii*, 519.
- Smenga, Peter a : *see* Pierius.
- Smet, Vulcanius, Peter de, *lm*, *pens*, *ii*, *iii*, 514.
- SMET, MARTIN DE, *pp* of Oostwinkel, *epg*, *iii*, *x* *xii* 186 192 (his

- collection) 202 212 272 444 453 517.
- SMITH, THOMAS, pf, 280.
- Smits, Godfrey : *see* Fabricius.
- Snelleghem, James, Ld of : *see* Meetkerke.
- Snoeckaert, William, Zenocarus, cc, II, 267-68 344.
- Snoy, Renier, md, 195.
- Snyders, John : *see* Sartorius.
- Socrates, 163.
- Soest, Antony van : *see* Liber.
- Soignes, Forest of : Red Convent, 61.
- SOLENANDER, RENERUS, md, 415-16 522.
- Solinus, 183.
- Solomon, 274-76 283 468 496.
- Solon, 460.
- Solre, Claud, Ld of : *see* Carondelet.
- Someren, Zoemeren, William Henrici de, 513.
- Somerset, Protector, 284.
- Somnium Scipionis*, 487-89.
- Somniti*, by Nannius, 490-91.
- Sonbeek, Louis, subprior of Gembloux, 360.
- Sonck, family, 363.
- Son, Francis van, Sonnius, Gillis, van den Velde (a Campo), dv, cn of St. Saviour's, Utrecht, Bp of Antwerp, II, 172 214-15 387-90 400 516 ; — Sonnius libelled, 149.
- Sophocles, 265 286 364-66.
- Soter, J., pr, 301-02.
- Soto, Peter de, pf, 147 149 159 380.
- Souastre, Charles, im, 238 483 517.
- Sozomenus, Hermias, 359.
- Spain : King Philip II, 6 32 35 105 153-54 169 173 180 192 194 206 214-15 277 289 311 321 325-26 329-32 334-37 340 345-48 354 365 367 381-82 393 395 400 416-17 420 436 438-41 ; — Don Carlos, 441.
- Spaniards, 503.
- Spalant, Arnold, Ld of : *see* Sasbout.
- Specula*, xi.
- Spilleman, Gerard, Speelman, bookseller, 247.
- Spouter, John de, lat, lm, I, 5 104-05 255 412 417.
- Stalberger, Stalburg, Nicolas & Crato, G, sts, II, 513.
- Stannifex, John : *see* Estainier.
- Stapleton, Thomas, pf, 407 427.
- Stattius, Achilles, 293.
- Staveren, Cappidus of, hist, 361.
- Steels, J., pr, 107.
- Steinhoven, Beatrix von, 140.
- Stentor = Lampsonius, 181.
- Stephanos : *see* Corona.
- Stephanus, Cæsar Ludovicus : *see* Chapuys.
- Steppe, Livinus (widow of), 192.
- Sterck, Godefroid, mch, ald, II, 514.
- Sterck, Joachim : *see* Ringelberg.
- Sterck, Wolfaert, John, III, kt, ald, 518.
- Stercke of Meerbeke, John, adviser, Pres of Tril, I, II, III, 55 57 59 73 78-79 235 242 246 250 442 443 473 479 512.
- Stercke, Joh. de Meerbeke, st, 209 ; — Sterck(e), Lucas, Meerbeke, st, 209 520.
- Stercke, Oliverus, London, st, 210.
- Sterckenburg, Sulfrius Rudolphi of, hist, 352 361 (Suf. Petri's gf).
- Stibarus, of Rabeneck, Daniel, G, cn, 370 518.
- Stockmans, Peter, pf, 446.
- Store, Abp John : *see* Magnus.
- Strada, John, hist, 404.
- Straeten, Barbara van der, 335.
- Straeten, Catherine van der, 55.
- STRAETEN, STEPHEN VAN DER, of Waes, jp, pf Bourges, 364.
- Stranck, Thomas & Richard, bb, ST, sts, 210.
- Straseliu, John of Strazeele, pf Paris, II, xii 129 132 341 515.
- Strassburg : School : its short life, 212 448 ; — Str. Oath, 37-38.
- Stravius, Richard, Roman agent, 170.
- Strazeele, John van : *see* Straseliu.
- STREYTEN, ARNOLD, Abb of Tongerlo, I, II, 105.
- Strigelius, Victorinus, pf, 349.
- Striroy, Strirode, Godfried, fr, prior, 437.
- STRYEN, JOHN VAN, Bp of Middelburg, 215 392 393 394.
- STURM, JOHN, pdg, II, 150 289 291 414 429 448 516 ; — his debt to the Trilingue, 212 293.

Stuve, Stuvius, Herman, G, lm, ii, 514.
 Suckerraet, Gerard, Utrecht official, 10.
 Sucket, Antony, cc, executor of Busl.'s Will, i, ii, 476 479 512 523; — his ss, Charles, jp, pf Turin, ii, xii 514; Antony, jp, 514.
 Sudermann, Henry, 304.
 Suetonius, 14 172 183-81 270 319 403.
Summæ (of theology), xi.
 Surck, Gaspar van, 39; — his r, Antony, 39.
 Surius, Laurent, wr, 396.
 Susius : *see* Suys.
 Sutor, Gerb. : *see* Schoenmaecker.
 SUYS, CORNELIUS, Susius, Ld of Ryswyck, cc, Pres of Holland, ii, 234 237-38 474-76 478 480-82 485 515 524.
 Suys, Peter, cc of Holland, iii, 51 234 237 474-76 483-84 517.
 Suys, James, of Zierikzee, Ld of Grisenoord, st, nmm, pt, iii, 51 102 208 518; — cp. *NBW*.
 Sweerts, Francis, hist, 8 405.
 Sylvagius : *see* Sauvage.
 Sylvius, James Dubois, md, pf Paris, iii, xii 41 453.
 Sylvius, Jerome : *see* Verlen.
 Sylvius, Stephen, rf, 215.
 Symmachus, 277-78 386 468 471.
 Symoins, John, 80.
 Symons of Heemstede, Thierry, Carth prior, 222.
 Synesius, 98.

T

Tacitus, xiii 453.
 TACK, RAMUS, JOHN, jp, pf Douai, xii 268 331 337 343-45 347 521 526; — his s, John, and d, Catherine, 344.
 Taco, Granvelle's servant, 355.
 Tagliavia, Card Peter, Abp of Palermo, 437.
 Talavera, Fernando, Abp of Granada, 146-47.
 Talesius, Quirinus, aman, pens, mt, ii, 23 195 515; — his s, Henry, pp of Spaarwoude, ii, 195.

TAPPER, RUARD, pf, dv, i, ii, iii, 9-11 19 28 53 55 60 67 74 149-50 (libelled) 159 160 (†) 168 180 214 220 222 226 230 (writings) 232 234 237 240 246-47 252 260-62 267 272 (praise) 283 300 378 380 381 389-90 437. — Provisor of *Trilingue*, 68-80 473-75 485 512.
 Tappius, Eberhard, 524.
 TARTAS, JOHN DE, Tartesius, pf, 266 267.
Tarvis, Augustinian Friars, 328.
 Tavsén, Hans, D, rf, ii, 514.
 Taxis, Tassis, Antonio de, Postmaster, 121 426.
 TEGNAGEL, RENIER, of Arnhem, pf, jp, 340 343 345-46 521; — his s, Gregory, 346.
 Tegnaghel, Cornel., of Amsterdam, st, 345.
 Tendale, Corn., Ld of : *see* Dieve.
 Tegnagel, William & John, of Arnhem, sts, 345.
 TENNAND, STEPHEN, Tennant, E, st, erd, 210 280 281 521.
 Terence, 50 262 269-70 414 464.
Testamentum Novum, 451; — *Cassilian transl.*, 146-47.
 Tetanias, Frisius, jp, 119.
Teutonico-Latinum Dictionarium; — Teut. Synonima, by Kilia-nus, 404-05.
 Teylingen, Eva van, 42
 Teyng, James : *see* Ceratinus.
Thabor, Austin Nuns, Mechlin, 407-09 413-14.
Themis Dea, 34 37 203 204, sq.
 Theocritus, of Syracuse, 316 417.
 Theodosius, 331.
Theologians saving the Trilingue, 252.
 Theophilus Anticensor, Antecensor, 10 239 320 524.
 Theophrastus, 183 416 526.
 Thibault, John, pr, 489.
 THOMAS, LEODIUS, HUBERT, secr, cc, 119 120.
 Thriverus, Jeremy de Drivere, Brachelius, md, pf, ii, 41 43 44 352 415 516.
 Thucydides, 458 499 500.
 Thurinus, Andrew : *see* Turinus.
 Thurzo, Catharine, 296 371 429 431.

Tiara, John, jp, 214.
 Tiara, Petreius, lm, iii, xii 519 525.
 Tibbon, Rabbi Aben, 302.
 Tibullus, 496-97.
 Tilenus, Ant., pr, 412.
 Tiletanus, Josse : *see* Ravesteyn.
 Tirlemont, Latin School of, 421.
 Tisnacq, Charles de, cc, ii, 325 514.
 Titelmans, Francis, i, ii, iii, 149.
 Tjaerda, Tjaerdo, Syds, of Rinsu-
 mageest, ii, 111 520.
 Tombanus, Joannes, st, 331.
 Tommen, Ida van der, 43; — her
 b, John, 43.
 Tongres School, 317.
 Torkilsøn Morsing, Christiern, D,
 st, 513.
 TORRENTIUS, LEVINUS van der
 Beken, erd, Bp of Antwerp, 35
 38-39 **165-73** (his collections)
173-74 (T & Jesuits) **174-75**
 (attempt at fifth pedagogy) 176-
 77 180-81 **183-84** 185 203 273 335
 357-58 446 520; — his *r*, Torren-
 tius, Philip, of Ghent, st, 165.
 Torrentius, Nicolas, of Nivelles,
 st, 177.
 Tournoir, John, 418.
 Toussain(t), James, pf Paris, iii,
 132.
Tradition, attested by the Church,
as source of faith, 305 435.
 TRAPEZUNTIUS, GEORGE, hm, **136**.
 Trazegnies, Charles de, and his
 two *bb*, ii, 515.
 Trémellius, 150.
 Trent, Council of, 149 160-61 168-70
 181 198-99 264 333 382 384 393
 401 435 452.
 Treves, Elector, Abp of, 119.
 Tribonius, 326.
 Triptolemus, 183.
 Trogus Pompeius, 124.
 Trojan Horse, 317 446.
 Truchsess von Waldburg, Card
 Otto, Bp of Augsburg, 158 380
 391.
 Truchses(s), Gebhard, ex-Abp of
 Cologne, 339 415.
Truth, requisite of History, 397.
 Tulken, Tulichius, Herman, G, lm,
 ii, 513.
 Tunstall, Cluthbert, Bp, amb, 112.

Turin Univ, xii.
 Turinus, Thurinus, Pisciensis,
 Andrew, md, 44.
 Turnebus, Adrian, pf, hm, 181 373
 379.
 Turnhout, Chapter & School, 410;
 — *Latin teaching by Verepæus*
and Goossens, 410; — John of,
 dv : *see* Driedo.
 Turnhout, Joannes a, pr, 413.

U

Ubbena, Haio Herm. : *see* Hompen.
Ulphilas, 35.
 Ulpian, 319 327.
 Ulysses, 496.
Univ Copenhagen & Tril, xii.
Uppsala Library, vi 508.
 Ursel family (Corard Schets), 210.
Utrecht : St. Mary's Chapter, 213;
 — *Maltese Knights*, 163-64.
 Utrecht, Adrian of : *see* Adrian.
 Uutenhove, Charles v., plt, ii, 515.
 Uwen, George, Antwerp secr, 338;
 — cp. M. Hoc, *Jean-Gaspard*
Gevaerts : Brs, 1922 : 42.

V

Valdès, Francis, amld, 195.
 Valeolætus, James, 100 244.
 Valerius, Cornelius : *see* Auwater.
 Valerius Flaccus, 96.
 Valerius Maximus, 203 207.
 Varen, John van der, Varennius,
 lm, i, 247.
 Varenacker, John, dv, pf, 5.
 Vargas, 391.
 Varnbühler, Nicolas, jp, 348.
 Vasæus, John Was, secr, lm, ii,
 248 369 515; — his *s*, Agostin,
 369.
 Vasari, Giorgio, artist, 168.
 Vascosanus, Michael, pr, 271.
 Vatable, Francis, pf Paris, 132.
Vatican Library : Librarian Hen-
ry Gravius, 445; — *Palimpsest*,
 488.
 Vaughan, Stephen, amb, 96.
 Veere, Adolph of : *see* Burgundy.
 Velaræus, Verrebroc., Jud. Huy-
 ghens, lm, ii, 514; — *AntoDiercx*,
 iv, 19.

- Velde, Campester, Laurent van de, erd, lm, iii, 244 517.
- Velde, Francis van den : *see* Sonnius.
- Velde, John Francis van de, and the Louvain Univ documents, 148 491.
- Velpius, R., pr, 49 244 273 401 468.
- VELSIUS, JUSTUS, Velsen, Veltius, Welsens, md, hm, ctv, xii 90-92 **93 134-43** 211 292 (judged by Ascham) 304 408 448 520.
- Veltwyck, Gerard van, Vice-Chanc, stm, amb, iii, 122 185 367 517.
- VENDEVILLE, JOHN DE, jp, pf Douai, Bp of Tournai, xii 222 320 **330-6** 344 393 521 526 ; — his d, Mary, 334.
- Vendeville, John d'Estournel, Ld of, & his s, 336.
- venereal diseases*, — *St. Job's evil*, — *introduced from America*, 504.
- Veranzio, Bp Antony : *see* Wranzy.
- Veranzio, Faustus, 372.
- Verborch, Verburch, Nicolas : *see* Borch.
- Verduneus, Verdunius, Verduyn, Adam, im, 513.
- Verdussen, Henry, pr, 420 ; — Jerome, pr, 196 405.
- VEREPÆUS, SIMON VERREPT, lm, cn, dv, pdg, i, iii, **406-15** 522.
- VEREPÆUS, HENRY VERREPT, pf, regent of Porc, dn of Hilvarenbeek, dv, iii, **406** 407-09 522.
- VERGARA, JUAN DE, hm, iii, **274**.
- Vergerio, P. P., hm, 262 523.
- VERHAER, FRANCIS, Haræus, dv, cn, **411** 448.
- Verhagen, Verhaghen, John, pf, jp, & Pres *Tril.*, 347 362 455.
- Verhulst, Elizabeth, 192.
- VERLEN, JEROME VAN, VERLENIUS, Sylvius, dv, lm, **162-64** 520 ; — his rr, Henry & Rutgerus Verlenius, sts, 162.
- Vermand, Viromandus, Jerome of, secr, ii, 514.
- Vernulæus, Nicolas, L P, hist, i, 446.
- Veronensis Codex*, 387.
- Verrebrocanus, Judocus : *see* Velæræus.
- Verrept : *see* Verepæus.
- Verrutius, Jerome, st, jp, 346.
- VERRYDT, CLAUD, dn of Audenarde, founder of Mechlin College, **157**.
- VESALE, ANDREW, Vesalius, md, atm, pf, iii, xii 41 135 212 444 **452-53** 517 ; — called *Vesanus* by Sylvius, 453.
- Vespasianus, 193.
- VESSEM, BARTHOLOMEW VAN, cn, test. execut., i, ii, iii, **7-8** 58 73 76-79 221 226-29 235 **241-43** 246 473-74 478-79 511-12.
- Vianen, Mgr Will. de, pf, plebanus, 210.
- Victorinus, Vettori, Piero, erd, 271.
- Vidius, Vidus, md, 41.
- Vidoué, Peter, pr, 523.
- Vieira, Christ., P, st in divinity, 57 *Vienna Library*, 430.
- Vienna, Jerome de, st, 517.
- Vieringen, Viringus, John : *see* Wauters.
- Vieuxmont, Claude de, wr, 411.
- VIGLIUS AB AYTTA, OF ZUICHEM, jp, cc, Pres, ii, iii, xii 134 137-39 141-42 155 158 180 212 214-15 222 257 266 **277** 316 318 325-29 331-32 334 336 340 347-48 353-54 367 377 380-82 397 400 430-31 443 450 452 481 508 514 523.
- Villa-Dei, Alexander de, 254 451.
- Villa-Vicentia, Laurent de, of Xeres, dv, cc, 153.
- Villegas, Hernán de : *see* Ruyz.
- Vinandi, Stephen : *see* Pigge.
- Vincent, St. : *see* Lerins.
- Virgil, 12 89 95-96 97 177 244 267-68 270 278-79 295 422 453 462 464 470-71 487 490-506.
- Viringus, John : *see* Wauters.
- Viromandus, Jer. : *see* Vermand.
- Visbroeck, John, secr, cn, hm, epg, iii, x 122 166-67 170 517.
- Viterius, Peter, ii, 523.
- VIVES, JOHN LOUIS, hm, i, ii, iii, v *vii xii* 105 112 143 185 276 **327** (& Laws) 334 349 414 421 424 433 **488-89** 508 **509-10** 515.
- Viviani, John, 419.
- VLADERACKEN, CHRISTOPHER, lm, **410** 522.
- Vlaminck, Vleeminck, st, 208 520.

Vlas, Thomas : *see* Lineus.
 Vlatten, John von, chanc, II, III, 28 415.
 Vlatten, Cono, G, st, 519.
 Vleeminck, Vlaminck, st, 208 520.
 Vlemincx, Ger., founder of scholarship in Porc, 222.
 Vlierbeek Abbey, 393.
 VLIERDEN, DANIEL VAN, md, **43-45** 519; — his *f*, BALTASAR, jp, Brabant cc, **43** 44; — his *s*, John, cn, 44; — his *bb*, Gabriel, Ghent cn, founder of scholarships in Louv. Univ, 44-45; George, dn of Briel, 44; Giles, adv, 44; Adolph, rcg, 44; John, secr to Privy Council, 44; Peter, secr to Mary of Hungary, 43 45; — his *nn*, Henry, aml, 44; Baltasar, Antwerp ald, 44, and his *s* Francis, Abb of Parc, 44.
 Vierden van Nymmeghen, John, goldsmith & engraver, 44.
 Vlimmer, John, mk, erd, patr, III, xii 444 519.
 Voerthuisse, John, cn, pv, 324.
 Vogel, Kilian, Abbot of Mons Sti. Petri, near Erfurt, 353.
 Voghele, Louis, st, 505.
 VOLKAERD, VOLKAERD, JAMES, Bergensis (Geertruidenberg), II, **481** 524.
 Vollenhoven, Eberhard von, Xanten cn, 207.
 Vorstius, Ælius Everard, pf Leyden, 374.
 Vorst, James van der, secr, cc, II, 515.
 Vorst, John van der, Vorstius, a Loonbeek, dn of Utrecht, 199.
 Vorsterman, Will., pr, 360.
 Vos van Cortenbach, Margaret, 194.
 VOSKENS, GERARD, VOSSIUS, of Tongres, Roman Curialist, **175-76** : his help to Louvain.
 Vossius, Gerard John, erd, 128.
 Vrancx, Augustine, mayor, 84; — his *d*, Mary, 84.
 Vriendt, Peter de, Amicus, pf, jp, II, 25 321 515.
 VRIENT, MAXÆMIANUS DE, Vrientius, Vrients, pt, **383**.

VROYE, JUDOCUS, of Gavere, hm, jp, pf, I, II, **5** (vroius gauricus) 6 254 257.
 Vroilande, John, Ld of : *see* Deurnagle.
 Vrye, Liber, Barbara de, I, 245.
 Vryenborch, J., pr, 345.
 Vulcanius, Bonaventura, pf Leyden, 97 328 351 371 373-74 471 524; — his *f*, Peter : *see* Smet.
Vulgate : its valour and its authority, 297 305 379 384-85 388.
 Vuelen, Arnold, Ld of : *see* Merode.
 Vulpart, Philip, tax-gatherer, 62.
 Vyncx, Mary, 192.

W

Wachtendonck, Arnold, Liège cn, 38 525.
 Waele, William de, II, 524.
 Waelscapelle, Maximilian of, Utrecht cn, 186.
 Waemis, John : *see* Wamesius.
 Wakefeld, Robert, H P, I, 241 513.
 Waldburg, Otto von : *see* Truchsess.
 Waldeck, Philip, Count of, G, st, 211 521.
Waldsassen Abbey, 116-21.
 Walebeke, Barbara of : *see* Claisone.
 Walick, Martin : *see* Rythoven : he promoted 2nd in 1533 : *ULPromRs*, 81; *ULPromLv*, 12.
 Walker, John, of Cambridge, st, 210.
 Walterhoser, of Tirol, Christopher, A, st, 519.
 Walteri of Westerhoven, Laurent, Pres H. Ghost, 157.
 WAMESIUS, WAEMIS, JOHN, of Liège, pf, jp, **248 320-24** 337 345 354 360 521; — his *si*, Mary, 322.
 War(h)am, Will., E, st, 210.
 Warin, Claude, ædituus, Im, 194.
 Waroux, Mechlin tyrant, 340.
 Warwick, John Dudley, Earl of, stm, 284.
 Wary of Marville, Nicolas, *Tril* pres, II, 55 233 240 514; — his *n*, Nicolas, st, 518.
 Was, Peter, Abb of St. Gertrude's, III, 345 360.

- Was, John : *see* Vasæus.
- Waterdyck, John, Ld of : *see* Berghes.
- Waterland, Watervliet, Lds of : *see* Laurin.
- Wauters, John, van Vieringen, of Louvain, md, pf, cn, 383.
- Wechel, Christ., pr, 52 97 257.
- Weingarten Abbey, 118-19.
- Weissenhorn, Raymond, Count of : *see* Fugger.
- Weissenhorn, Wolfg., pr, 312.
- Welle, Wellæus, J., pr, 217 401.
- Welsens, Justus : *see* Velsius.
- WELSER PEUTINGER, MARGARET, 432 ; — her f, Antony, mayor of Memminghen, 432.
- Werter, John von, pf Erfurt, II, 513.
- Wesemael & S. Job, 499 502 504-5.
- WESEMBEEK, MATTHIAS (van), jp, pf Jena & Wittenberg, III, xii 303 348-50 521 ; — his n, PETER VINCENT, jp, III, 350.
- Wesembeek, Andrew, st, 348.
- Westfield, Thomas, 418.
- Westerhoven : *see* Walteri.
- Westhoven, residence, 217.
- Weyden, Roger van der, painter, 2-3.
- Weyms, Stephen, jp, pf, 322.
- WEZE, JOHN DE, Abp of Lund, Bp of Roskilde and Constance, 89 92 116-18 125 ; — his n, Henry Rudolph, *next paragraph*.
- WEZE, HENRY RUDOLPH UP TEN HAITZHOVEL DE (*see* Haitzhovel), cc, 89 116-23 204-06 270 520 ; — his m, si of Bp John de Weze, 116 120.
- Whitaker, William, E, rf, 386.
- Wied, Herman de, ex-archbp, 47 146 415.
- Wielant, Philip, jp, cc, II, 405.
- WIERINCK, JOHN IN THE, painter, 59.
- Wierius, Vigerius, md, 122.
- Wilderen (*Wilre*) Hall, Mechlin, 407.
- Willebringen, Matthias van, neighbour, 6.
- Willemont, Philibert, Bruges cn, 220.
- Willems : *see* Guilielmus.
- Winchester, Robert of, 419.
- Winckel, Peter, Erasmus' warden, 21.
- Winckele, John de, md, pf, I, III, 53.
- Windesheim Chapter, 348.
- Winellius, Guinellius, pf Cologne, 153.
- Winghe, Hermes de, jp, pf, cc, II, 319 515.
- Winghe, Nicolas van, mk of St. Martin's, translator of Bible, 437.
- Winghe, Philip van, atq, mdl († in Italy), III, 524.
- Winsum, Renier of : *see* Prædinus.
- Winter, Guinterus, Andernacus, John, md, pf Paris, II, xii 516.
- Winter, John de, Xanten cn, 206 208.
- Witlich, Michael, G, st, 211 521.
- Witte, Bp John de, founder of Bruges school, I, III, 130.
- Wittebroet, James, Brugensis, 481 524.
- Wittenberg Univ, xii 349-50.
- Woelaerd Arnold : *see* Motorius.
- Woestyne, Louis, Ld of : *see* Flanders.
- Wolfaert, John : *see* Sterck.
- WOLFFS, WILLIAM, Lupus, pf, 90 91 209 268 ; — cp. NijKron., I, 1546.
- Wolsey, Cardinal, ix 113 282 424 433 447.
- Woodford, Sister Elizabeth, of Burnham Abbey, 427-28.
- WOTTON, NICOLAS, E, amb, 96 98 112-13 271 279 282 423 520 ; — his b, Sir Edward, treasurer of Calais, II, 112.
- Woude, Petronella van den, 309.
- Wouters, Cornelius, cn, erd, III, 514.
- Wouwere, John van den, 271.
- Wranzy, Veranzio, Antony, Bp of Pet-Costely, 372.
- Wree, Oliver de, hist, 417.
- Würzburg, Bp of, 370 373.
- Wynants, Stephen : *see* Pigge.
- Wyts, John, Ld of Boucharderie, 418.

X

Xanten *ferculum*, 180 204-06.
 Xenophon, 163 430 499.
 Ximenes, Card, II, III, 146 274 447.
 Ximenes, Peter, pf, jp, 347.

Y

Ydeghe, John d', Ld of Hembyze,
 161.
 York, Duchess Margaret of, 222.
 Ysselstein, Maximilian of, Count
 of Buren, aml, 514.
 Yves, St., Bp of Chartres, 347.

Z

Zandelin, Jerome : *see* Sandelin.
 Zasius, Ulrich, pf, jp, II, 326 432.
 Zassen, Servatius van, Zassenus,
 Sassen, pr, II, 20 89-91 96 98 114
 125 222 253 269-72 273 415 469 470.
 Zay, Francis, adm of Donau Fleet,
 372.
 Zegers, James, pr, 454.

Zegerscapelle, Cornelius of, st, kt,
 II, 238 482 484 515; — his *f*,
 Christian, 482.
 Zenete, Mencia Marchioness of :
see Mendoza.
 Zenocarus, Wil. : *see* Snoeckaert.
 Zeunius, ed, 273.
 Zimmern, Christopher, Baron,
 later Count (cp. III, 465-66) of :
see Froben.
 Zoemerren : *see* Someren.
 Zoesius, Henry, G P, jp, 445-46.
 Zoes, Nicolas, cc, Bp of Hertogen-
 bosch, 336.
 Zoete, Louis de, imp secr, 149.
 Zoilus, 496.
 Zolderbeke, Mary van, 168.
 Zovitus, Driescharius, James, lm,
 III, 517 525.
 Zuerius, Philip, jp, pf, 445.
 Zuichem : *see* Viglius.
 Zurita, Jerome, hist, 328.
Zwijndrechtsche Waard, 378.
 Zwingli, 142.
 Zype, Elizabeth van den, 152; —
 her *f*, Henry, 152.

CONTENTS

Preface	pp 9
-------------------	------

CHAPTER XXI. — PRESIDENCY OF JAMES EDELHEER

1. THE NEW AUTHORITIES	
A. The Edelheer Family	1
B. The New President	4
C. Death of van Vessem	7
2. NANNIUS LATIN PROFESSOR	
A. His Training	9
B. Qualifications	12
C. Lectures	13
3. KNOTTY QUESTIONS	
A. Goclenius' Inheritance	15
B. Erasmus' Money	17
C. Claim of the University	19
4. PHYSICIANS	
A. John van Gorp	31
B. Peter van Foreest	40
C. Daniel van Vlierden	43
5. STUDENTS	
A. Canonist	45
B. Ludi Magistri	46
C. Churchmen	48
6. COLLEGE LIFE	
A. Affluence of Hearers	50
B. Inmates	51
C. Death of the President	52

PRESIDENCY OF NICOLAS VAN DER BORCH

CHAPTER XXII. — I. MANAGEMENT

1. THE NEW PRESIDENT	
A. Family & Training	54
B. His Documents	55
C. College Life	57
2. RESCIUS' CLAIMS	
A. Lawsuit against the Heirs	62
B. Processus Arbitralis	
C. The <i>Actio Principalis</i> lodged	
3. RESCIUS' ACTIONS	
A. The Defence	74
B. Rescius' Instance	80
C. Secondary Action & Appeal	83
4. NANNIUS' WORK	
A. Projected Leave for Italy	88
B. The Defence of Louvain	95
C. His Professorate	96

5. THE OTHER PROFESSORS	
A. Rescius and his Printing	99
B. Balenus' Illness	100
C. Beneficent Influence	101
6. EFFICIENT TEACHING	
A. The Example Followed	102
B. Brecht's ' <i>Euripus</i> '	106
C. Distinguished Visitors	110

CHAPTER XXIII. — II. STUDENTS

1. DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES	
A. Henry de Weze	116
B. James & Nicolas de' Fieschi	123
C. Henry van Ravesteyn	126
2. WAYWARD HEARERS	
A. Knobbelsdorf	128
B. Justus Velsius	134
C. Francisco de Enzinas	143
3. THEOLOGIANS	
A. Hunnæus	152
B. Rythovius and Hessels	158
C. Verlenius	162
4. PHILOLOGUES	
A. Lævinus Torrentius	165
B. Nicolas Florentii	177
C. Carolus Langius	180
5. ANTIQUARIANS AND HISTORIANS	
A. Mark & Guy Laurin	185
B. Peter Opmeer	193
C. Stephen Pighius	197
6. VAN DER BORCH'S LEAVING	
A. Inmates & Foreign Hearers	208
B. Van der Borch's Resigning	211
C. Further Career	214

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN REYNDERS

CHAPTER XXIV. — I. THE STAFF

1. THE PRESIDENT	
A. His Training	219
B. His Presidency	220
C. Later Life	223
RESCIUS' LAWSUIT	
A. In the Apostolic Court	224
B. The ' <i>Motivum Juris</i> '	229
<i>Erasmus' letter to G. de Busleyden : October 30, 1517 : Annex A</i>	231
C. Argumentation	235
3. RESCIUS' LAST YEARS	
A. His last Editions	243
B. His Decease	245
C. His Nonsuit	249

4. ADRIAN AMEROT	
A. His Studies and Teaching	252
<i>Amerot's letter to Dean Tapper re study books</i>	260-62
B. His Death and Foundation	263
C. His Substitute and Successor	265
5. PETER NANNIUS	
A. His Work	268
B. His English Friends	279
C. His Decease	294
6. ANDREW VAN GENNEP BALENUS	
A. His Studies and Influence	298
B. John Isaac Levita	299
C. Balenus' Successors	306

CHAPTER XXV. — THE STUDENTS

1. ERUDITE PHYSICIANS	
A. Bosche	310
B. Quickelbergh	313
C. Gameraen	315
2. JURISPRUDENTS	
A. The Quadriga	317
John Wamesius	320
Joachim Hopper	323
John de Vendeville	330
Peter Peck	336
B. Lawyers	338
Andrew Gail	338
Jerome Eelen	341
Dominicus Benedixius	341
C. Professors	343
John Tack Ramus	343
Renier Tegnagel	345
John Molinæus	346
Matthias Wesembeek	348
Hubertus van Giffen	350
3. SCHOLARS	
A. Suffridus Petri	351
& Rataller	363
B. Rym	366
& Clusius	368
C. James Reyvaert	376
4. THEOLOGIANS	
A. Lindanus	377
B. Martin Hessels	379
C. Cunerus Petri	399
5. PHILOLOGISTS	
A. Kilianus	402
& 't Sestich	405
B. Verepæus	406
C. Solenander,	415
Meetkerke	417
& Divæus	419

6. ADVENTITIOUS HEARERS

A. The Chapuys	421
and Clements	425
B. The Fuggers	429
and Peutingers	432
C. Perez,	434
Furió	436
and Morcillo	438
EPILOGUE	442

APPENDIX V

Nannius' Funeral Oration by Auwater

The History	454
The Text	456
The Edition	457
ORATIO FUNEBRIS	458

APPENDIX VI

Students' Attestations in the Lawsuit against Rescius

The History	473
The Text	475
The Documents	476

APPENDIX VII

Nannius' *Oratio de Rebus Inferorum*

The Subject	487
The History	490
The Manuscript	491
The Edition	492
PARALIPOMENA	493

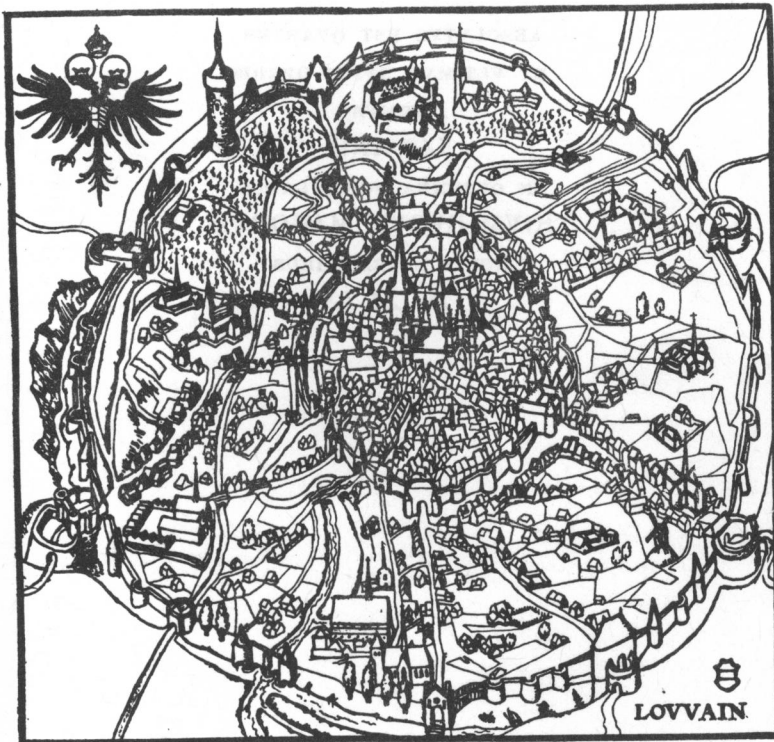
APPENDIX VIII

Synoptical View of the Work and the Influence
of the *Collegium Trilingue* from 1517 to 1550

Limitations	507
Representation	510
List of Staff, Visitors, Friends & Students	512
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA	523
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	527
LIST OF PERSONAGES	545
CONTENTS	587
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	591

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Busleyden facing title
Portrait of Peter Nannius	pp 115 & 458
The <i>Wendelsteen</i>	p 218
Letter of Erasmus to Giles de Busleyden, October 30, 1517	p 231
Doorway leading to Lecture Room.	p 441
Entrance to the <i>Wendelsteen</i>	p 457
View of N. W. part of Louvain town (xvii th century) with, to the left, the ' <i>turris impensarum perditarum</i> ',	p 499
also showing in left top (near escutcheon) of a view com- posed by Dom Thomas DUEZ, O.S.B., Louvain, for <i>Acta-</i> <i>Mori</i> , 204, from a set of drawings of about 1600	here below
Busleyden's escutcheon	p 522
View of the <i>Trilingue</i>	p 544





ABSOLVTVS EST QVARTVS
ET VLTIMVS HVIVS OPERIS
TOMVS
LOVANII
IN OFFICINA FORMVLARIA
TRIVM REGVM MAGORVM
NONIS DECEMBRIBUS
M. CM. LV

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